THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

The Third Part.

BEING A SUPPLEMENT TO THE Two Volumes formerly publish'd.

By the Right Reverend Father in GOD, GILBERT Lord Bishop of SARUM.

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TO THE

KING.

SIR,

THIS Work, which is designed to Finish the History of Our *Reformation*, seems reserved to be laid at Your MAJESTY'S Feet; who, we trust, is designed by God, to Compleat the *Reformation* it self.

To Rectify what may be yet amiss, and to Supply what is defective among us; to Oblige us to Live, and to Labour, more suitably to our Profession; to Unite us more firmly among our selves; to Bury, and for ever to Extinguish, the Fears of our Relapsing again into *Popery*; and to Establish a Confidence and Correspondence, with the *Protestant* and *Reformed Churches* Abroad.

DEDICATION.

The Eminent Moderation of the moſt *Serene Houſe* from which Your MAJESTY is deſcended, gives us Auſpicious Hopes, that as God has now raiſed Your MAJESTY, with Signal Characters of an amazing Providence, to be the Head and the Chief Strength of the *Reformation*; ſo Your MAJESTY will, by a Wiſe and Noble Conduct, form all theſe Churches into One Body; ſo that tho' they cannot agree to the ſame Opinions and *Rites* with us in all Points, yet they may join in One Happy Confederacy, for the Support of the Whole, and of every Particular Branch of that Sacred Union.

May this be the Peculiar Glory of Your MAJESTY's Reign; and may all the Bleſſings of Heaven and Earth reſt upon your Moſt Auguſt PERSON, and upon all Your Royal Poſterity.

This is the Daily Prayer of him, who is with the Profoundeſt Reſpect,

SIR,

Your MAJESTY's

Moſt Loyal, moſt Obedient,

and moſt Devoted

Subject and Servant,

GI. SARUM.

THE PREFACE.



I HAD in my Introduction to this Volume, which I publish'd a Year ago, said all that then occurred to me in the way of Preface: But some Particulars coming to my Knowledge since that Time, give me an Occasion to add a little to what was then copiously deduced.

I begin with Mr. *Le Grand*, who I understand is now in a considerable Post in the Court of *France*. He being lately at *Geneva*, explained himself to my Friends in these Terms, *That he was Young when he wrote against me; and that the Heat of Youth had carried him to some Expressions, from which he would abstain, if he were to write now: He was glad to hear that I was upon the Reviewing the History of the Reformation*; and named to them a Life that he had seen in *Spain*, of *Bartholomew Caranza*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, who was King *Philip*'s Confessor, and went with him to *England*, and was particularly employed in Reforming (as they called it) the Universities. And, as he said, he died when he was to be delivered out of the Prison of the Inquisition. He added, that he had also seen a Collection of Cardinal *Pole*'s Letters, with an Account of what passed in *England* after the Death of King *Edward*, which he believed I had not seen, and that could inform me of many Particulars; but that he himself had other Employments than to think of the Affairs of *England*. If I had received this Civil Message from Mr. *Le Grand* before I had published my Introduction, I would have said nothing at all with relation to him: But what is passed cannot be recalled: So I hope he will accept of this for all the Reparation I can now make him.

As for *Anthony Harmer*, some have doubted if he could be capable of making Three Capital Errors in one Line:

 And

And ſince Mr. *Strype* has ſuggeſted to me that, in which I was under ſome Reſerve before, as having it from another Hand, I am now free to ſet it down. For *Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis*, he has printed, *Epiſtolam Conventus Eccleſiæ Catholicæ*. If the Abbreviations may ſeem to excuſe the Reading *Epiſtolam* for *Capitulum*, and *Catholicæ* for *Cathedralis*, nothing can excuſe the adding the Word *Conventus*, which he thought wanting to make a compleat Title; having read the others as he did: So I hope I have Reaſon to have no Regard to any Thing that comes from him upon his bare Authority. The weak and ill-natured Attempts that ſome among our ſelves have of late made upon me, give me no ſort of Concern, unleſs it is to pray for thoſe who have deſpitefully uſed me.

There was alſo a great Poem lately prepared, and, I ſuppoſe, deſigned to be publiſhed, when that which our Enemies hoped was near accompliſhed, ſhould have been effected: It was written in imitation of *Hudibras*, and ſo was a Mock-Poem on the Reformation, compoſed by one *Thomas Ward*, of whom I can give no other Account, but that it is ſaid he is a Prieſt. In it, *Sanders*'s Work was made the Plot of the Fable: It was full of impious Abuſe, put in a Strain apt enough to take with thoſe who were diſpoſed to divert themſelves with a Shew of Wit and Hnmour, dreſſed up to make the Reformation appear both Odious and Ridiculous; not doubting of equal Succeſs with *Butler*'s admired Performance. It was no wonder, if upon ſuch a Deſign, my Hiſtory was treated with all the Characters of Scorn and Contempt. This was what I might juſtly expect from thoſe of that Side: But I was ſorry to find ſo much Cenſure from thoſe from whom I had no Reaſon to expect it; and which ſeemed to be the Effect only of Envy and Ill-Nature: God forgive them for it.

I muſt ſay a little more, with Relation to a Learned, and Copious Writer of our *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, who finds my Hiſtory often in his way: He treats me decently as to his Expreſſions, but deſigns all through to ſet ſuch Remarks on my Work, as if they were well grounded, muſt deſtroy the Credit that it has hitherto obtained. I will Firſt

give

give ſome Iuſtances to ſhew what the Spirit, the Principles, and the Deſign of that Writer muſt be: I will name but Four out of a great many.

When he ſets forth King *Henry* the VIIIth's Proceedings against the Memory of *Thomas Becket*, he has theſe Words, *And though his Conduct in this Diſpute was not altogether defenſible, he was far however, from being guilty of that groſs Miſmanagement with which he is charged.* I will leave the Judgment that muſt be paſſed upon this Period, to all who are in any ſort acquainted with the Hiſtory of that Time.

P. 150. II. Vol. I. Col.

When he gives the Character of King *Edward* the VIth, immediately before he tells of his Death it is in theſe Words, *His Conſcience was not always under a ſerviceable Direction,* (the Meaning of this dark Expreſſion I do not reach:) *He was tinctured with* Eraſtian *Principles, and under wrong Prepoſſeſſions as to Church Government: He ſeems to have had no Notion of Sacrilege:—— And which is ſomewhat remarkable, moſt of the Hardſhips were put upon Eccleſiaſticks, in the latter End of his Reign, when his Judgment was in the beſt Condition:* And without adding one Word of his Good Qualities, or to correct thoſe ſevere Reflections, he concludes with the Account of his Death.

P. 332. II. Col.

He gives a very different Account of the Death of *Mary* Queen of *Scotts*, in theſe Words, *Her Fortitude and Devotion were very remarkable. She ſupported her Character with all imaginable Decency: She died like a Chriſtian, and like a Queen.*

P. 601. II. Col.

And to mention no more, when he comes to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death and Character, he runs a Parallel between the Two Siſters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, in theſe Words, *The one made Martyrs, the other made Beggars: The one executed the Men, and the other the Eſtates: And therefore, reſerving the Honour of the Reformation to Queen* Elizabeth, *the Queſtion will be, Whether the Reſuming the Firſt Fruits and Tenths, putting many Vicarages in a deplorable Condition, and ſettling a Perpetuity of Poverty on the Church, was not much more prejudicial than Fire and Faggot? Whether deſtroying Biſhopricks, was not a much greater Hardſhip than the deſtroying Biſhops? Becauſe this Severity affects Succeſſion,* and

P. 671. II. Col.

and reaches down to future Ages : And lastly, whether as the World goes, it is not more easy to recruit Bishops, than the Revenues to support them ? These Words give such an Indication of the Notion that the Author has of the Happiness, or Misery of a Church, that they want no Commentary.

II. Vol. *Hist. of the Refor.* P. II. Book I. P. 149.

I will add this one Remark of a Fact upon a Passage that I had writ concerning the Book of Ordination, publish'd in the 3d Year of King *Edward*, which was in these Words, *Another Difference between the Ordination Book set out at that Time, and that we now use, was, that the Bishop was to lay his one Hand on the Priest's Head; and with his other to give him a Bible, with a Chalice and Bread in it, saying the Words that are now said at the Delivery of the Bible. In the Consecration of a Bishop, there is nothing more than what is yet in use, save that a Staff was put into his Hand with this Blessing, Be to the Flock of Christ a Shepherd.* Upon this, his Remark is in these Words, *But here, as it happens, this Learned Person has been led into a Mistake : For the Two First Editions of the Ordinal made in King* Edward's *Reign, have none of the different Rites mentioned by this Gentleman.*

P. 290. II. *Col.*

I was indeed surprized when I read this, and went to look into the First Edition of that Ordinal, which I knew was in the *Lambeth* Library; for by Archbishop *Sancroft*'s Order, I had the free Use of every Thing that lay there. There I went to examine it, and I found indeed a small Variation from my History; the Whole is in these Words: In the Ordination of a Priest, after the Imposition of Hands, with the Words still used, follows this Rubrick : *Then the Bishop shall deliver to every one of them the Bible in the one Hand, and the Chalice, or Cup, with the Bread in the other Hand, and say, Take thou Authority,* &c. *In the Consecration of a Bishop, this Rubrick is, The Elected Bishop having upon him a Surplice, and a Cope, shall be presented by Two Bishops, being also in Surplices and Copes, having their Pastoral Staves in their Hands.* And after the Form of the Consecration, this Rubrick follows, *Then shall the Archbishop lay the Bible upon his Neck, saying, give heed to reading.* The next Rubrick is, *Then shall the Archbishop put into his Hand the Pastoral Staff, saying, Be to the*

Flock

Flock of Christ a Shepherd; on to the End of the Charge now given all together, but then divided in Two. This Book was printed by *Richard Grafton*, the King's Printer, in *March* 1549; or by the *Roman* Account, 1550. I have given this full Account of that Matter in my own Justification: I am sorry that I cannot return this Learned Person his Compliment to my self, *That he was led into a Mistake.*

The next, and indeed the last Particular that out of many more I will mention, is the setting down the Explanation that was made upon the Order for Kneeling at the Sacrament in King *Edward*'s Time, wrong in a very material Word: For in that, the Words were, *That there was not in the Sacrament any Real, or Essential Presence of Christ's Natural Flesh and Blood*; but he instead of that puts, *Corporal Presence*. It seems in this he only looked at the Rubrick, as it is now at the End of the Communion Service, upon a Conceit that it stands now as it was in King *Edward*'s Book; though it was at that Time changed; and we know who was the Author of that Change, and who pretended that a *Corporal Presence* signified such a Presence as a Body naturally has, which the Assertors of Transubstantiation it self do not, and cannot pretend is in this Case: Where they say the Body is not present Corporally, but Spiritually, or as a Spirit is present. And he who had the Chief Hand in procuring this Alteration, had a very extraordinary Subtilty, by which he reconciled the Opinion of a Real Presence in the Sacrament with the last Words of the Rubrick, *That the Natural Body and Blood of Christ were in Heaven, and not here; it being against the Truth of Christ's Natural Body, to be at one Time in more Places than One.* It was thus; a Body is in a Place, if there is no intermediate Body but a *Vacuum* between it and the Place: And he thought that by the Vertue of the Words of Consecration, there was a *Cilinder* of a *Vacuum* made between the Elements and Christ's Body in Heaven: So that no Body being between, it was both in Heaven and in the Elements. Such a solemn Piece of Folly as this, can hardly be read without Indignation. But if our Author favours this Conceit,

P. 310. II. Col.

D. P. G.

yet when he ſets down that which was done in King *Edward*'s Reign, he ought not to have changed the Word, eſpecially ſuch an important one. I ſhall ſay no more of that Work, but that there appeared to me quite thro' the IId Volume, ſuch a conſtant Inclination to favour the Popiſh Doctrine, and to cenſure the Reformers, that I ſhould have had a better Opinion of the Author's Integrity, if he had profeſſed himſelf not to be of our Communion, nor of the Communion of any other Proteſtant Church.

But as I thought my ſelf bound to give this Warning to ſuch as may have heard of that Work, or that have ſeen it; ſo there is another Hiſtory lately written in *French*, and which, I hope, is ſoon to appear in our own Language, which I cannot recommend more than it deſerves. It is Mr. *L' Enfant*'s Hiſtory of the Council of *Conſtance*; in which that Excellent Perſon has with great Care, and a Sincerity liable to no Exception, given the World in the Hiſtory of that Council, ſo true a View of the State of the Church, and of Religion, in the Age before the Reformation, that I know no Book ſo proper to prepare a Man for Reading the Hiſtory of the Reformation, as the attentive Reading of that Noble Work: He was indeed well furniſhed with a Collection of Excellent Materials, gathered with great Fidelity and Induſtry by the Learned Doctor *Vander Hardt*, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of *Helmſtadt*; and procured for him by the Noble Zeal, and Princely Bounty of that moſt Serene and Pious Prince *Rodolph Auguſt*, the late Duke of *Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle*, who ſet himſelf with great Care, and at a vaſt Charge, to procure from all Places the Copies of all Papers and Manuſcripts that could be found, to give Light to the Proceedings of that Great Aſſembly. That Collection amounted to Six Volumes in *Folio*. From theſe Authentick Vouchers, the Hiſtory of that Council is now happily compiled. And if that Learned Author can find Materials, to give us as full, and as clear a Hiſtory of the Council of *Baſil*, as he has given of that of *Conſtance*, I know no greater Service can be done the World: For by it, Popery will appear in its

True

True and Native Colours, free from those palliating Disguises which the Progress of the Reformation, and the Light which by that has been given the World, has forced upon those of that Communion. We have the celebrated History of the Council of *Trent*, first published here at *London*, written with a true Sublimity of Judgment, and an Unbyassed Sincerity; which has received a great Confirmation, even from Cardinal *Palavicini*'s Attempt to destroy its Credit; and a much greater of late from that Curious Discovery of *Vargas*'s Letters. But how well, and how justly soever the History that *P. Paulo* gave the World of that Council is esteemed, I am not afraid to compare the late History of the Council of *Constance*, even to that admired Work; so far at least as that if it will not be allowed to be quite equal to it, yet it may be well reckoned among the best of all that have Written after that Noble Pattern, which the Famous *Venetian* Fryar has given to all the Writers of Ecclesiastical History.

Since I published my Introduction, I fell on many Papers concerning the Reformation in *Scotland*, which had escaped the Diligence of that Grave and Judicious Writer Archbishop *Spotswood*, of which I have given a full Account, and have used the best Endeavours I could to be furnished with all the other Materials that I could hear of: It is true, I never searched into a lately gathered Famous Library in this Place, but yet I had from some, on whose good Judgment and great Care I might well depend, who had carefully looked through it, every Thing that they found material to my Purpose.

No Curiosity pleased me more than that Noble Record of the Legate's Proceedings in the Matter of King *Henry*'s Divorce; of which I had the free Use, as of every Thing else that was in the Library of my Learned, and Dear Brother, the late Bishop of *Ely*; in whose Death the Church, and all his Friends, and none more than my self, have had an Invaluable Loss. I read that Record very carefully twice or thrice over, and gave a full Abstract of it, but did not then reflect on what has occurred to me since: For though upon the Credit of so Noble a

Record,

Record, I have ſaid that the King and Queen were never together in Court, yet I find the contrary is affirmed by that King himſelf, in a Letter bearing Date the 23d of *June*, to his Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, in theſe Words, *Both We and the Queen appeared in Perſon :* And he ſets forth the Aſſurances the Cardinals gave of their proceeding without Favour, or Partiality, *yet ſhe departed out of Court, though thrice called to appear, and was denounced Contumacious.* The only reconciling of this apparent Contradiction ſeems to be this, that they were indeed together in the Hall where the Court ſate; but that it was before the Cardinals ſate down, and had formed the Court: For as it is not to be imagined that in the Record ſo material a Step could have been omitted, ſo highly to the Honour of the Court; ſo it is not likely that the Queen after her Appeal, would have owned the Court, or have appeared before thoſe Judges; therefore the moſt probable Account of that particular is this, That the King intending to appear in the Court, the Queen went thither after him, and made that Speech to him in the open Hall, that I mentioned in my former Work: But all this was over, and they were both gone before the Court was opened, or that the Cardinals had taken their Places; ſo that their Appearance could be no Part of the Record of the Court.

I am now to give an Account of ſome Papers that I add as an Appendix, for they relate to the former Volumes. The Firſt of theſe was ſent me by one Mr. *Thomas Granger*, of whom I can give no other Account, but that I underſtood he was a Clergyman. He dated his Letter from *Lammerton* near *Taviſtoke* in *Devon.* the 7th of *February*, 168¾. I wrote him ſuch a Civil Anſwer, as ſo kind a Cenſure deſerved: And I promiſed that I would make my Acknowledgments more publickly to him whenſoever I reviewed that Work. Upon my ſettling at *Salisbury*, I enquired after him, but I was told he was Dead: So I loſt the Occaſion of returning my Thanks to him in a more particular Manner, which I now expreſs thus publickly.

I had

I had another Letter writ in another Strain, full of Expostulation, from *Anthony* (who affected to write himself) *a Wood.* He thought it incumbent on him to justify himself, since I had reflected on him; So he gave this Vent to it. I wrote short Remarks on it; one of these I hold is in the Bishop of *Worcester*'s Hand; they were sent to Bishop *Fell* to be communicated to him, but whether they were or not, I cannot tell. The Thing has escaped my Memory, but the Paper still remains with me; and therefore I have thought it a Justice to Mr. *Wood*'s Memory, and to his Writings, to insert it here.

The Third Paper was drawn by me at *Paris*, in the Year 1685. My History being then translated into *French* was much read; and as to the main Conduct of our Reformation, it was approved by some Men of Great Name. At that Time there was an Imbroilment between the Court of *Rome* and that of *Versailles*: And the Propositions that passed in the Year 1682, seemed to threaten a greater Rupture to follow. Upon that, the Scheme of the *English* Reformation was a Subject of Common Discourse: And that was so much magnified by those who were called the *Converters*, that the Hope of a Reformation in *France*, was one of the Artifices that prevailed on some, who knew not the *Depths of Satan*, and were easily wrought on to make their Court by changing their Religion, in hope, that a great Reformation of Abuses among them was then projected: But one of the Learnedest Men that ever I knew of that Communion, said then to my self, that all that was only done to fright Pope *Innocent* the XIth, who was then in the Interests of the House of *Austria*, but that whensoever they should have a Pope in the Interests of *France*, their Court would not only declare him Infallible in Points of Doctrine, but even in Matters of Fact: And he added, that it was an Abuse that People put upon themselves, to imagine that with what Pomp or Zeal soever the Court seemed to support those Articles passed in the Assembly of the Clergy, that this could have any other Effect but to bring the Court of *Rome* into their Interests. He said this had been Cardinal *Mazarine*'s Practice during his whole Ministry. When he could not

carry Matters to his Mind at *Rome*, he ſhewed ſuch Favour to the *Janſeniſts*, as let many of them into great Dignities; but when he had brought that Court to what he deſigned, he preſently changed his Conduct towards them.

A Perſon of Diſtinction at *Paris*, finding my Hiſtory ſo much liked, wrote a Cenſure upon it. This run through many Hands, but was never printed. It fell into Mr. *Auzout*'s Hands, and from him I had it. I wrote an Anſwer to it, and got it to be tranſlated into *French*: It was favourably received by many in *Paris*. I do not find the Copy of that Cenſure among my Papers: But I have ſtill the Copy of my Remarks on it, from which the Subſtance of that Cenſure may be gathered: So I have thought fit to add this to my Appendix.

The 4th Paper is a large Collection of many Miſtakes, (deſcending even to Literal ones) in both the Volumes of my Hiſtory, and in the Records publiſhed in them, which a Learned and Worthy Perſon has read with more Exactneſs than either my Amanuenſis, or my ſelf had done. I publiſh theſe Sheets, as that unknown Perſon ſent them to me, whom I never ſaw, as far as I remember; and who will not ſuffer me to give any other Account of him, but that he Lives in one of the Univerſities. His Copy of my Work being of the 2d Edition, only ſome very few of the Errors marked that had crept into the 2d, but that were not in the 1ſt Edition, are ſtruck out. In ſeveral Particulars I do not perfectly agree with theſe Corrections; but I ſet them down as they were ſent me, without any Remarks on them; and I give my hearty Thanks in the fulleſt Manner I can, to him who was firſt at the Pains to make this Collection, and then had the Goodneſs to communicate it to me, in ſo obliging a Manner: For he gave me a much greater Power over theſe Papers than I have thought fit to aſſume.

The next Paper is a much ſhorter one. It is indeed the Abſtract of a larger Paper, but I have taken out of it only that which relates to my Hiſtory: And have not meddled with ſome Remarks made on *Harmer*'s Specimen, and many more made on the *Rights of an* Engliſh *Convocation*.

cation. These did not belong to my Subject, so I have not copied them out. The Writer has not let me know his Name; he sent the Sheets to me in an unsubscribed Letter, to which I wrote an Answer by the Conveyance that he marked out to me, but I have heard no more of him.

The 6th and last Paper was sent me by the Sincere and Diligent Mr. *Strype*, who has descended to such a full and minute Correction, both of my History, and of my Copies of the Records, that I confess it gave me great Satisfaction: Many of his Corrections may seem so inconsiderable, that it may be suggested that they were not worth the while. But my whole Concern in Writing, being to deliver the Transactions of a former Age, faithfully down to Posterity, nothing could please me more than to have every Error I had fallen into discovered: And it was no small Satisfaction to me, to find that a Writer who has been now above 30 Years examining all that passed in that Age, and has made great Discoveries of many Secrets hitherto not known; and who was so kind as to pass over nothing how small and inconsiderable soever it may appear to be, that was liable to Correction; yet did not touch upon any one Thing that is of any Moment in my whole Work. This I look on as a very Authentick Confirmation of it all, except in the Places thus censured by one who has searched into all the Transactions of that Time with so much Application and Success.

This Work was composed above a Year ago; and after it was read and corrected by some proper Judges, it was put in the Press, and was printed off to the End of King *Edward's* Reign, before the 1st of *August* last: Nor has any Thing been added to it since that Time, except some very few Particulars in the last Book relating to *Scotland*.

I cannot conclude this Preface, and so dismiss this Work out of my Hands, without some Reflections on what has appeared among us of late, but too evidently, in a Course of some Years. Many who profess great Zeal for the Legal Establishment, yet seem to be set on

forming a New Scheme, both of Religion, and Government: And are taking the very ſame Methods, only a little diverſified, that have been purſued in Popery, to bring the World into a blind Dependance upon the Clergy, and to draw the Wealth and Strength of the Nation into their Hands.

The Opinion of the Sacrament's being an Expiatory Sacrifice; and of the Neceſſity of Secret Confeſſion and Abſolution; and of the Churches Authority acting in an Independence on the Civil Powers, were the Foundations of Popery, and the Seminal Principles, out of which that Maſs of Corruptions was formed. They have no Colour for them in the New Teſtament, nor in the Firſt Ages of Chriſtianity; and are directly contrary to all the Principles on which the Reformation was carried on; and to every Step that was made in the Whole Progreſs of that Work: And yet theſe of late have been Notions much favoured, and written for with much Zeal, not to ſay Indecency: Beſides a vaſt Number of little Superſtitious Practices, that in ſome Places have grown to a great heighth, ſo that we were inſenſibly going off from the Reformation, and framing a New Model of a Church, totally different from all our former Principles, as well as from our preſent Eſtabliſhment: To all which they have added that ſingular and extravagant Conceit, of the Invalidity of Baptiſm, unleſs miniſtred by One Epiſcopally Ordained; though this not only cuts off all Communion with the Foreign Proteſtant Churches; of which, perhaps, they make no great Account, but makes Doubtings to ariſe with relation to great Numbers, both among our ſelves, and in the *Roman* Communion.

This I lament; not that I think that there is ſuch a Sacredneſs in any Human Conſtitution, that it is never to be called in queſtion, or altered: For if we had the ſame Reaſons to alter any Thing eſtabliſhed at the Reformation, that our Fathers had to alter the former Eſtabliſhment in the Times of Popery, I ſhould acknowledge we had now as good Grounds to change the preſent, as our Anceſtors had then to change the former Conſtitution. The Scriptures are the only ſure Foundation of

our Faith that is unalterable: All other Conſtitutions being always to be governed by that perfect Declaration of God's Holy Will with relation to Mankind. But it gives a juſt Indignation, to ſee the ſame Men make wide Steps to great Alterations on the one Hand, and yet make heavy Complaints where there is no juſt occaſion given, and that about Points of meer Speculation; whereas the other relate to Matters of Practice, which had been in former Ages ſo managed, that the whole Complex of the Chriſtian Religion was totally depraved by them.

We have alſo Rules and Rubricks for Worſhip that are our Standards, fixed by Law: And yet we ſee a Humour of Innovation making a great Progreſs in theſe, without the leaſt Complaint, by the ſame Perſons who are apt to make Tragical Out-cries on the ſmalleſt Tranſgreſſions on the other Hand.

Both are very culpable: But of the Two, we find the Growth of Superſtition has been ſo ſpreading, as well as ſo ſpecious, that the Extreams of that Hand may be juſtly reckoned the more Dangerous: One of the worſt Effects of Superſtition being that with which our Saviour charged the *Phariſees* of his Time, that while they were exact in *Tything* Mint, Anniſe, *and* Cummin, *they omitted the weightier Matters of the Law, Judgment, Mercy, and Faith:* In oppoſition to which, he gives a ſtanding Rule applicable to all ſuch Caſes, *Theſe Things ye ought to have done, and not to leave the other undone.* This relates to Practices of a lower Order, but ſuch as are commanded; whereas voluntary and aſſumed ones, like the Waſhings among the *Jews* in our Saviour's Time, eat out the Senſe of the great Duties of Religion; inſtead of which, ſome trifling Performances are ſet up, and are highly magnified, while the others are ſpoken of more coldly: Nor does any Thing feed a Cenſorious and Uncharitable Temper more than theſe voluntary and diſtinguiſhing Practices, which as they are the Badges of different Parties, ſo they are Engines to keep up that Wrath, Emulation, and Hatred, that has made ſuch Havock among us, of the Great and Indiſpenſible Duties of *Peace*, *Brotherly-Kindneſs*, and *Charity*.

These

Theſe have been but too viſibly the Arts of Satan to divide and diſtract us; and have oftner than once brought us near the Brink of Ruin. God has often reſcued us, while the Continuance and Progreſs of theſe Evil Diſpoſitions have as often made us Relapſe into a broken and disjointed State. Oh that we may at laſt *ſee the Things that belong to our Peace*, and *follow after thoſe* Things that *make for Peace, and the Things wherewith we may Edify one another.* In this Prayer I will continue as long as I Live, and I hope to End my Days with it. We muſt ask it of God, and of him only: It is in vain to ask it of ſome Men, who when we *ſpeak to them of Peace, make them ready to Battel*; we muſt look for it only to him who ſaid, *Peace I leave with you, my Peace I give unto you; not as the World giveth give I unto you.* The World will only give it to thoſe of their own Knot and Party. But *the Wiſdom that is from above, is firſt Pure, then Peaceable, Gentle, and eaſy to be intreated; full of Mercy and good Fruits, without Partiality, and without Hypocriſy: And the Fruits of Righteouſneſs are ſown in Peace, of them that make Peace.*

Errata *in the Hiſtory.*

PAge 37. l. 2 fr. bott. Marg. 14, r. 15.
P. 18. l. 14. fr. bott. 11, r. 111.
P. 81. l. 1. 12, r. 112.
P. 101. l. 10. Marg. r. *Col. Numb.* 35 Ibid. l. 11. fr. bott. Marg. 35. r. 36.
P. 111. l. 11. fr. bott. *ious*, r. *pious.*
P. 158. l. 23. *dears*, r. *bears.*
P. 160. l. 31. *The*, r. *But all.* Ibid. l. 32. *did not agree*, r. *except* Ely *and St.* David's *proteſted againſt.* Ibid. l. 38. *After King*, r. *Upon the Convocation's being aſſembled on the 16th of* Feb. 1542.
P. 233. l. 5. fr. bott. *muſt*, r. *more.*
P. 238. l. 16. Marg. r. *Coll. Numb.* 31.
P. 240. Marg. 1554, r. 1555. This Error on in the Marg. to p 250, and from thence to p. 256, 1554, r. 1556.
P. 261. l. 20. fr. bott. after *and*, r. *He.*
P. 269. l. 16. after *not*, dele *that.*

In the Collection of Records.

PAge 28. l. 13. Marg. r. *Ex MS. Rymeri.*
P. 47. l. 4. Marg. r. *Ex MS. Rymeri.*
P. 80. l. 12. fr. bott. Marg. r. *Ex MS. Rymeri.*
P. 84. l. 14. Marg. r. *Paper-Office.*
P. 148. l. 14. Marg. Scored here, r. *in Italica.*
P. 173. l. 21. Marg. r. *Paper-Office.*
P. 187. l. 1. r 4.
P. 189. l. 4. r. 5.
P. 199. l. 5. fr. bott. Marg. r. *Ex MS. Tiguri.*
P. 206. l. 4. fr. bott. Marg. r. *Ex MS. Petyti.*
P. 207. l. 6. fr. bott. Marg. r. *Ibidem.*
P. 210. l 1. Marg. r. *Cotton Libr.*
P. 223. l. 19. fr. bott. Marg. r. *Paper-Office.*
P. 246. l 9. 23, r. 35.
P. 249. l. 7. fr. bott. Marg. r. *Paper-Office.*
P. 267. l. 14. fr. bott. *Terio*, r. *Ferio.*
P. 301. l. 10. *ſad*, r. *had.* Ibid. l. 21. *Lawſier*, r. *Lawyer.*
P. 325. l. 14. fr. bott. *Chariſſimo*, r. *Chariſſimus.* Ibid. l. 6. fr. bott. after *rebus*, r. *Succurret.*
P. 350. l. 4. after *were*, r. *not.*

THE INTRODUCTION.

I Come, after a long Interval of Three and Thirty Years, to give all the Finishing to the History of Our REFORMATION, that I have been able to Collect, either from New Discoveries that have come in my own way, or the Kind Advertisements of Friends, and the Severe Animadversions of Criticks; of which I have endeavoured to make the best Use that I could. It has been objected to me, That I wrote in Haste, and did not reflect enough on the Matters I wrote about. That may be very true; and I will give an Account how it happen'd to be so. When Sanders's History was publish-ed in France, it had so ill an Effect there, that some of our best Divines were often called on, to hasten such an Answer to it, as might stop the Course of so Virulent a Book. Those, to whom these Advices were sent, thought me a proper Person to be engaged in it.

The Ancient, the Learned, and the Pious Bishop of Worcester, is the only Person now alive, that was concerned in the Choice: And he having read all the Printed Books that he could hear of, relating to those Times, had taken the Dates of every Remarkable Thing that passed, out of them; which he caused to be Copied out for me. They are about Eight Sheets of Paper. Upon this Stock I set out, and search-ed all the Publick Offices about the Town, with a Labour and Diligence, that was then look'd on as no contemptible Performance. I mark'd every Thing as exactly as I could. I might, in such a Variety, make some Mistakes; for which, Men of Candor will make just Allowances. But when I had gone thro' all that lay thus open to me, I knew what Treasures were still in the Cotton-Library.

The present Bishop of Worcester carried me to Sir John Cotton, to ask Admittance: But a great Prelate had been beforehand with us; and had possess'd him with such Prejudices against me, as being no Friend to the Prerogative of the Crown, nor to the Constitution of our Church, that he said, (as he was prepared) That unless the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a Secretary of State would Recommend me, as a Person fit to have Access to his Library, he desir'd to be excus'd. And tho' that Worthy Prelate said, He would be answerable for the Use that I should make of it; yet he could not be prevail'd on, to depart from the Answer that he had made us. Nor could that Reverend Person prevail with Archbishop Sancroft, to interpose. And tho' I offer'd to deliver up all the Collections I had made, to any Person that would undertake the Work, yet no Regard was had to that: So I saw it was resolv'd on, either not to let that Work go on; or at least, that I should not have the Honour to be employ'd in it.

 With

With this we were at a full Stop, when accidentally meeting with Sir John Marsham *the Younger, I told him how I was deny'd Access to the* Cotton *Library; but he told me he was by Marriage a Nephew to the Family, and that for many Years he had free Access to it, and he might carry with him whom he pleas'd; So I, with a Copier, went thither under his Protection; and we were hard at Work from Morning to Night for Ten Days; but then the Owner, with his Family, coming to Town, I could go no further. In that Time, and in the Haste we were in, I did make such a Progress, that the good Bishop, together with the late Archbishop of* Canterbury, Tillotson, *and the late Bishop of* Worcester, Stillingfleet, *though I was sufficiently furnish'd with Materials for composing the First Volume. Every Part of it, as I wrote it, pass'd through their Hands, and under their Censure, and I submitted to their Judgment in every particular.*

I have been told, One that was much practised in that Library, who is now Dead, has censured me for not comparing what my Copier wrote, carefully with the Originals: To this, all I can say is, that, as my Copier by much Practice was become pretty exact; so I made him read all over to me, having the Originals in my Hands. I cannot say in such dull, though necessary Work, as the Collating those Things, I carried along with me all the Attention that was requisite; but I did it as well as I could. And when I was lately in the Cotton *Library, I read over several of the Originals, but found no Material Differences from the Copies I had printed. One indeed runs through all those in the* English *Language, which might perhaps offend a severe Critick, that the Old Spelling is not every where exactly copied. I did recommend it to my Copier, and he observ'd it often; but he said when he wrote quick, it was impossible for him to carry an antiquated Spelling along with his Pen.*

The First Volume lay a Year after I wrote it, before it was put in the Press, and was offerd to be read and corrected by all who were willing to give themselves that Trouble. When it was brought to Secretary Coventry *for his Licence, he was pleased to say that he dipped into it out of Curiosity, but added, that he found such an Entertainment in it, that he could not part with it 'till he had read it quite through. The Earl of* Nottingham, *Lord Chancellor, took Time to read and examine it, and to add many Remarks in several Parts of it, in all which I submitted to his Censure: And some smaller Matters coming in my way, they were added; so when those under whose Direction I made every Step in it, advised me to put it in the Press, I went on with it.*

It happened to come out a few Months after the Discovery of the Popish Plot; *and the Ferment of that working powerfully over all the Nation, the Work was favourably received; and as I had the Thanks of both Houses of Parliament for it, with a Desire to finish what I had begun; so those who were the most Zealous against Popery, pressed me to make all possible hast with the IId Volume, when they understood that I had made considerable Discoveries, with Relation to Queen* Mary's *Reign. By that Time Sir* John Cotton *seeing the good Use I had made of his Library, was pleased to acknowledge the Injustice of the Suggestions that had been made to my Prejudice, and allowed me*

free Liberty to examine every Thing in it: In which I ought to have been more exact than I was, in searching into the Matters set forth in my First Volume; *but the repeated Importunities of my Friends, for my Publishing the* Second Volume, *so far prevail'd, that I only examin'd what belonged to that Period. I took indeed some Papers relating to the former Reign, that accidentally fell in my way, and inserted them. I had also other Materials, brought me from several Hands; upon the Publick Notice that I gave of my Design in the First Volume.*

That Primitive Bishop, Fell, *of* Oxford, *engaged an Acquaintance of his, Mr.* Fullman, *to make Remarks on it: Which he did with a particular Acrimony of Stile; for which the Bishop had prepared me. I bore it, and drew out of it all that was Material; and sent it to him, to see if he did not find in it the Substance of all his Remarks on the First, at the End of the Second Volume. It has been publish'd over and over again, that he complain'd, that I did not Print a full Account of his Censure. The Fact was thus: I sent it to him by the Carrier; and begg'd of him, That if he had any Exception to the Abstract I had made of his* Remarks, *he would return it back to me, as soon as was possible; for the Press was to be stopp'd till it came. I stay'd for it till the Second Return of the Carrier: And when no Answer came, I reckon'd he acquiesced in my* Abstract; *so I put it in the Press. But before it was printed off, his Answer came by the Third Return of the Carrier: And I, finding that he excepted to some few Parts of my Paper, was at the Charge of Reprinting it exactly to his Mind; and he afterwards received the Present that I made him, without any Insinuation of any Complaint.*

Thus this Work was sent abroad into the World. Nor do I yet see, what more I could have done, to procure me better Information, nor what other Steps I could have made. It took quiet Possession of the Belief of the Nation at Home, and of a great Part of Europe *abroad; being Translated into Four Languages: And for some Years, I heard of neither Censure, nor Answer.*

When I went to Paris, *in the Year* 1685, *I found there was a Censure going about, written, but not printed. It came into my Hands, and I presently wrote an Answer to it; which I got to be put into* French: *And all who read both Papers, seem'd fully satisfy'd with my Answer; which will be found at the End of this Volume. I was told, that it was writ by Mr.* Le Grand; *who had given out in many Companies, that he had great Objections, ready to be made to my* History. *Upon that, Two Learned and Worthy Men, Mr.* Auzont, *and Mr.* Thevenot, *designed to bring us together, and to hear what Mr.* Le Grand *had to object. We din'd at Mr.* Thevenot's: *And after Dinner, for the Space of Three Hours, Mr.* Le Grand *proposed his Objections, and I answer'd them on the sudden; far from Charming them with my Eloquence: Which Mr.* Le Grand *must certainly mean as a Jest; for I pretend to no more* French, *than to be understood, when I speak it. What he said was mean and trifling; and yet it was so fully answered by me, that we parted Civily, and (as I thought) good Friends. And when he was gone, both* Thevenot *and* Auzont *said,*

 They

They were aſhamed to hear ſuch Poor Things objected, (Pauvretes *was their Word*) *after the Noiſe that Mr.* Le Grand *had made. But two Days after, Mr.* Auzont *came to me, both in his own Name, and in Mr.* Thevenot's, *and deſired me not to ſpeak of that Matter to any Perſon. The Court was then ſo ſet on Extirpating* Hereſy, *that they apprehended any Thing ſaid by me, might bring me into Trouble: They would do me Juſtice, ſo I needed not be concern'd to do it to my ſelf.*

I muſt alſo add, that Mr. Le Grand *ſaid, after he had offer'd his Objections, That as to the Main of my* Hiſtory, *he could furniſh me with many Materials to ſupport it. And he made me a Preſent of a very Valuable Book, publiſhed by* Camuſat *at* Troyes, 1613, *with the Title of* Melanges Hiſtoriques; *of which I have made good Uſe in the following Work. The Matter reſted thus till the Year* 1688, *that Mr.* Le Grand *publiſhed the* Hiſtory of King *Henry* the VIIIth's Divorce. *And ſoon after that, Two other Volumes of his appeared: One was a ſevere Invective againſt me and my* Hiſtory; *the other was, a Collection of Letters, by which his* Hiſtory *was juſtified. In this laſt, there are ſome very Valuable ones; to which I have had Occaſion oftner than once to refer my Reader. In the Two Firſt of theſe Tomes, Mr.* Le Grand *thought fit to lay aſide all Sort of Good Manners, and to treat me more in the Stile of an angry Monk, than of one that had lived long in the Company of well-bred Men. I imputed this to a Management he was under by ſome of the Court of that Unfortunate Prince, who ſoon after felt the Tragical Effects of ſuch Unhappy Counſellors, as had then the Aſcendant. To theſe, I did believe, Mr.* Le Grand *had dedicated his Pen; and that drew from me a ſevere* Poſtſcript, *to a Cenſure that I publiſh'd upon the Biſhop of* Meaux's *Book of Variations; for which I am heartily ſorry, and aſk his Pardon.*

The Truth is, the firſt Paper in his Third Tome, ſeemed to juſtify any Thing that could have been ſaid, to expoſe a Man that could offer ſuch an Abſtract as he gave of it in his Hiſtory, *and them that judged ſo ill, as to think fit to Print that Letter, that does plainly contradict the Senſe he gave of it. The Letter is writ by* Pace, *Dean of St.* Paul's, *to King* Henry, (*ſaid by him to be written in the Year* 1526; *but in that he is miſtaken, as will appear afterwards*) *on the Subject of the Divorce. He owns that he writ the Book, which had been brought to the King the Day before, by the Advice and Aſſiſtance of Dr.* Wakefeld; *who was ready to defend it all, either in Writing, or in a Publick Diſputation.* " * *And ſince he heard from the King,* " *that ſome of his Learned Counſellors wrote, that* Deuteronomy *abrogated*

* Et quoniam Majeſtas tua mihi ſignificavit, neſcio quos è ſuis literatis Conſiliariis ſcripſiſſe Deuteronomium abrogare Leviticum, diligenter perquiſivi quid id ſibi vellet; & tandem inveni id indubitato falſum eſſe: Eſt Compendium, ac Repetitio, ſeu, ut ita dicam, Recapitulatio Legis Moſaicæ. Et illud Græcum nomen *Deuteronomium*, quantum ad ſenſum rei attinet illud, idem ſignificat quod habetur in Hebræo; id eſt, Liber, in quo continetur ſecunda Lex, vel Repetitio primæ Legis. Poſt meum à Majeſtate tua diſceſſum, D. R. *Wakefeldus* unice me rogavit, ut ſibi ſignificatem, an placeret tibi veritatem hac in re intelligere, utrum ſtaret à te an contra te? Ei ita reſpondi, Te nihil velle quod eſſet alienum à Nobili Principe, & ſingularibus

" *rogated* Leviticus, *he shews him how false that was. It was only* " *a Recapitulation of the* Mosaick *Law; it seems they thought this* " *was the Importance of the* Greek *Word* Deuteronomy, *(or a Second* " *Law) but he shews that it imported only a Repetition of the former* " *Law, and the Book had another Title in the* Hebrew. *Then he says* " *that* Wakefield *desired him to let him know whether the King had a* " *Mind to know the Truth in that Matter, whether it stood for him,* " *or against him: To this* Pace *answer'd, That the King desired no-* " *thing but what became a Noble, and a Vertuous Prince; and that* " *he would do a most acceptable Thing to him, if he would take Pains* " *to let him know what was the Pure Verity: Then he being under* " *some Fear, said he could not set about it, unless his Majesty would* " *Enjoin and Command it; but when he received his Commands, he* " *would set forth such Things both against him, and for him, as no* " *other Person within his Kingdom could do.*" *There is nothing here but what is Honourable both for the King, for* Pace, *and for* Wakefield.

Mr. Le Grand *has made a very particular Abstract of this: He says,* " † Pace *designing to flatter his Prince's Passion, thought they should* " *not stand either on the Vulgar, or the 70 Translators, but have re-* " *course only to the* Hebrew, *which he maintained was more favour-* " *able to the King. He had written to* Wakefeld, *and shewed him* " *the Trouble the King was in, and desired he would clear up the* " *Matter;* Wakefeld *ravished to be thus employ'd, said he would* " *justifie all that* Pace *had said to the King; but then apprehending* " *that* Pace *might deceive him, or be deceived himself; or perhaps* " *that the King might change his Mind, he desired that the King him-* " *self would let him know what he would have him to do; whether he* " *should defend the one side, or the other; and he would do accord-* " *ing to the Orders he should receive, and make such Discoveries for* " *or against it as should pass the Capacity of all* English-Men. *Thus* " *(ends he)* Wakefeld, *who had more Vanity than Religion, was* " *driving a Traffick with his Sentiments.*

I have put in the Margin the Latin *of* Pace's *Letters, and the Account that Mr.* Le Grand *gives of it in* French, *that the Reader may judge what can be thought of a Man that represents Things so unfair-*

laribus Virtutibus prædito; Illum Majestati tuæ rem gratissimam facturum si laboraret ut puram veritatem tibi declaret. Tum ille nescio quo ductus timore negavit se hoc posse facere, nisi Majestas tua id sibi injungeret & mandaret; & si mandares se producturum in medium tam contra te quam pro te illa quæ nemo alius in hoc tuo regno producere posset.

† Nos avous la lettre de ce darnier (*Pace*) qui cherchant à flatter la Passion de son Prince, vouloit que sans s'arreter ni à la Vulgata ni à la Traduction des septante, on eut recours au texte Hebrew; qu'il soutenoit luy estre plus favourable. Il en ecrivit à *Robert Wakfield*, & luy decovrit l'embarras ou le Roy se trouvoit, le priant de luy vouloir eclaircir cette matiere. *Wakfield* ravy de travailler pour le Roy, repondit d'abord, qu'il appueroit ce que *Pace* avoit dit à *Henry*. Puis faisant reflexion que *Pace* pouvoit le tromper ou se tromper luy meme, ou que le Roy changeroit peut estre, Il alla trouvoir *Pace*, & luy temoignoit, qu'il souhaitroit que sa Majesté luy ecrivit elle meme, ce qu'elle Vouloit qu'il fit, & si il devoit defendre le pour ou le contre, & qu' alors selon les ordres qu'il recevroit, il donneroit des eclaircissemens ou pour ou contre, qui passeroient le capacitè de tous les Anglois. C'est ainsi que *Wakefield*, qui avoit plus de Vanitè que de Religion, trafiquoit de ses sentimens.

ly, and makes such Inferences from them. I confess this raised in me too much Indignation to be governed as it ought to have been: I therefore thought such a Writer deserved not to be followed in every Step. I likewise employ'd at several Times, some who went to Paris, *to try in what Esteem that Performance was; and if I was not much deceived in the Accounts sent me from thence, the Book had lost the Esteem of all Persons there, so that it was no more talked of, nor read. I cannot therefore bring my self to examine it minutely, yet where any Matter of Weight requires it, I shall either justify, or retract what I had delivered in my History. I shall say no more of that Work in this Place, save only that the Original Judgment of the* Sorbonne, *about which Mr.* Le Grand *seemed to be chiefly concerned, both in the Conference I had with him, and in his Book, is now found by Mr.* Rymer, *among the other Judgments of the Universities in the secret Treasury, out of which that Laborious Searcher into our Original Treaties, has already published* 15 *Great Volumes in Folio: Of this I shall give a more particular Account in its proper Place.*

The next Attack that was made on my Work, was in the Year 1693, *under the Title of,* A Specimen of some Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation of the Church of *England*: By *Anthony Harmer. It is well known that was a disguised Name, and that the Author was Mr.* Henry Wharton, *who had published Two Volumes with the Title of* Anglia Sacra: *He had examined the dark Ages before the Reformation, with much Diligence, and so knew many Things relating to those Times beyond any Man of the Age; he pretended that he had many more Errors in reserve, and that this Specimen was only a hasty Collection of a few, out of many other Discoveries he could make: This consisted of some trifling and minute Differences in some Dates of Transactions of no Importance, upon which nothing depended; so I cannot tell whether I took these too easily from printed Books; or if I committed any Errors in my Notes taken in the several Offices. He likewise follows me through the several Recapitulations I had made of the State of Things before the Reformation, and finds Errors and Omissions in most of these; he adds some Things out of Papers I had never seen. The Whole was writ with so much Malice, and such Contempt, that I must give some Account of the Man, and of his Motives. He had express'd great Zeal against Popery, in the End of King* James's *Reign, being then Chaplain to Archbishop* Sancroft, *who, as he said, had promised him the First of those Prebends of* Canterbury *that should fall in his Gift; so when he saw that the Archbishop was resolved not to take the Oaths, but to forsake his Post, he made an earnest Application to me, to secure that for him at Archbishop* Tillotson's *Hands: I pressed him in it as much as was decent for me to do, but he said he would not encourage these aspiring Men, by promising any Thing before it should fall; as indeed none of them fell during his Time.* Wharton *upon this Answer thought I had neglected him, looking on it as a Civil Denial, and said he would be revenged; and so he published that* Specimen. *Upon which, I, in a Letter that I printed, addressed to the present Bishop of* Worcester, *charged him again and again to bring forth all that he pretended to have reserved at that Time; for 'till that was done, I would not enter upon the Examination of that* Specimen. *It was received*

received with Contempt; and Tillotson *justified my pressing him to take* Wharton *under his particular Protection so fully, that he sent and asked me Pardon: He said he was set on to it, and that, if I would procure any Thing for him, he would discover every Thing to me: I despis'd that Offer, but said that I would at any Price Buy of him those Discoveries that he pretended to have in reserve; but Mr.* Chiswel *(as whose House he then lay, being Sick) said he could draw nothing of that from him, and he believed he had nothing: He died about a Year after: So I will say no more of him, only this, that where I see a Voucher for any Thing that he Objects, I will submit and own my Error, but I have no Reason to take any Thing on his Word. I have a Work lying on my Table, which shews how little Regard is due to his Collections. It was sent me by a worthy Person in one of the Universities, and is a Collating of Ten Pages of his* Anglia Sacra, *with the Manuscript that he Vouches: It swells indeed to a Book.* Wharton *omits the most Material Passage of an Instrument that blemished one of his Heroes. In some Places there are Errors in every Line; and there are Three Capital Errors in One Line, and about* 50 *in that small compass; I have shewed the Book to a great many Persons, and will shew it to any who desire to see it, but do not descend here to further Particulars, for that perhaps might discover the Author, and expose him to the Malice of an ill-natur'd Cabal. Since that Time, a Writer of a greater Name, has with abundance of ill-natur'd Scorn, pretended to under-value my Work. I name him not, for I love not to transmit the Remembrance of such Things to Posterity. Where he gives such Vouchers as can be come at, I will be ready to retract; but when he appeals to some Nameless Manuscript in his own Possession, I will have no Regard to this; for a Writer that has been found too faulty in citing such Vouchers as can be examined, ought not to expect Belief, when he has Recourse to such as are kept by him as Secrets, not to be communicated but to a few Confidents, nor entirely to these, as I have been informed. All that has been hitherto objected to me, though with Airs of great Assurance and Scorn, has been so trifling, that some good Judges have thought I shewed them too much Respect to take any Notice of them: They thought it was enough to mark down such small Mistakes as I saw had been made by me, without so much as mentioning those who made such Reflections: I would have complied with their Advice, if I had not a just Zeal to maintain the Credit of that Work; which I cannot do better than by acknowledging the Discoveries that had been made, even in the minutest Matters, though with all the Indecency and Contempt possible.*

A very Worthy Person in one of the Universities, has sent me a Copious Collection of Remarks on both my former Volumes, but upon Condition not to name him; which I will observe religiously, because I promised it; though it is not easy to my self, since I may not own to whom I owe so great an Obligation; but I suppress none of them, and give them entirely as he offered them to me. I have had Assistance from some other Hands, which I will gratefully own as I come to mention them, in their proper Places.

I have

I have chosen rather to publish all that is of new offer'd to me, in a Volume a-part, than to reprint my former Volumes with these Corrections, as some have advised me to do. There are some Thousands of the former Impressions abroad in the Nation, that would be of little Value, if any such New Edition should appear. I have ever looked on such new enlarged Editions, as little less than a robbing the Publick; besides that, in so doing, I should only drop those Errors of my former Work, without that formal disowning and retracting of them, which I think I owe the Publick. I have ever looked on Falshoods in History, when fallen into deliberately, as the worst sort of Lying, both the most publick, and the most lasting. But if they are more innocently committed, and are yet persisted in after a Discovery, they are as bad as when done on Design. I writ before as well and as carefully as I could; and if in so great a Variety of Materials, some are Spurious, and others appear Doubtful; and if in the Haste in which the Circumstances of that Time almost forced me to publish that Work, without looking out for more Aid, and without waiting for further Discoveries, there are some inconsiderable Errors and Defects in the less important Parts of my Work, that relate not to the Main of Things, I hope the World will be so just, and so favourable, as to make fair Allowances for them, and to accept all the Reparation I can make for past Errors, when I own my Failing, and set my Readers right.

I come next to give an Account of the Reasons that moved me to set about this Work at this Time. The Reasons of my engaging in it at first, seemed now to return upon me; and have determined me to delay the doing of it no longer. The Danger of a Popish Successor then in view, and the dreadful Apprehensions we had of the Power of France, *and of the Zeal with which the extirpating that which some called the* Pestilent Heresy, that had so long infested those Northern Kingdoms, *was then driven on, made it seem a proper Time to awaken the Nation, by shewing both what Popery, and what the Reformation was; by shewing the Cruelty and Falshood of the former, and what the Patience and Courage of our Reformers was; and the Work had generally so good an Effect then, that if the like Dangers seem to revert, it may not be an improper Attempt to try once more to awaken a Nation that has perhaps forgot past Dangers, and yet may be nearer them than ever.*

If there is any Difference between the present State of Things, and that we were in above 30 Years ago, it is that we are now more naked and defenceless, more insensible and stupid, and much more depraved in all Respects than we were then. We are sunk in our Learning, vitiated in Principle; tainted, some with Atheism, others with Superstition; both which, though by different ways, prepare us for Popery. Our Old Breaches are not healed, and new ones, not known in former Times, are raised and fomented with much Industry and great Art, as well as much Heat: Many are barefacedly going back to that Misery, from which God with such a mighty Hand rescued us; and has hitherto preserved us with an amazing Chain of Happy Providences; but the deaf Adder stops her Ear, let the Charmer charm never so wisely.

All Books relating to those Controversies lie dead in Shops, few calling for them; many of them (as Men of the Trade have told me) being looked on as Waste Paper, and turned to Pasteboard. There are, after all, some Real and Sensible Arguments, that may perhaps have some Effect on those, who let not themselves be moved with Matters of dry Speculation, or with cold Reasoning. I have made many Discoveries, that may awaken some, on whom the clearest Demonstrations will perhaps make no Impression.

In Queen Mary's *Time, beside all that Scene which I had formerly opened, of a perfidious Breach of solemn Promises, of the corrupting and packing of Parliaments, and of that unrelenting Cruelty, which was pursued to the End of that Reign without Intermission; I have had Occasion to see much farther into the Spirit which then prevailed. I have had the Perusal of the Original Council-Book, that went from the Beginning of her Reign to the last Day of the Year* 1557; *in which such a Spirit of Cruelty and Bigottry appears, thro' the whole Course of that Reign, that I was indeed amazed to find a poor harmless Woman, weak tho' learned, guilty of nothing but what her Religion infused in her, so carried to an Indecence of Barbarity, that it appears that* Bonner *himself was not cruel enough for her, or at least for her Confessor. She believed her self with Child, and when the Time came in which she expected to be delivered, she continued looking for it every Day above a Month; then a Conceit was put in her Head, that she could not bear her Child, as long as there was a Heretick left in the Kingdom.*

It was a great Part of the Business of the Council, to quicken the Persecution every where: Letters were writ to the Men of Quality in the several Counties, to assist at the Execution of those who suffered for Heresy, and to call on all their Friends to attend on them. Letters of Thanks were writ to such officious Persons, as expressed their Zeal, ordering them to commit all to Prison, who came not to the Service, and to keep them in Prison till the Comfort of their Amendment appeared. Directions were given to put such as would not discover others, to the Torture: Thanks were in a particular Stile sent to some Gentlemen, who (as it is expressed) came so honestly, and of themselves, to assist the Sheriffs at those Executions. *Pretences of Conspiracies were every where under Examination; many were committed, and tried for Words. Letters were writ to* Corporations, *about the Elections of* Mayors: *And the Lords had many Letters, to look carefully to the Elections of* Parliament-Men, *and to engage the Electors, to reserve their Voices for such as they should name.* Sheriffs *began to grow backward, and to delay Executions, in Hopes of Reclaiming Persons so condemned: But they were order'd to do so no more.*

Letters were on one Day wrote to the Sheriffs of Kent, Essex, Suffolk, *and* Staffordshire, *and to several Mayors, to signifie what had moved them to stay the Executions of such Persons as had been delivered to them by the Ordinaries, being condemned for Heresy. One Letter of a more singular Strain, was wrote to the* Lord-Mayor *and the* Sheriffs *of* London, *to give Substantial Orders, (I give the Words in the Council-Book,) "That when any obstinate Man, condemned by "Order of the Law, shall be deliver'd to be punish'd for Heresy, there*

" be

"*be a good Number of Officers and other Men appointed to be at the*
"*Execution; who may be charged to see such as shall misuse themselves,*
"*either by comforting, aiding, or praising the Offenders, or otherwise*
"*use themselves to the ill Example of others, to be apprehended and*
"*committed to Ward; and besides, to give Commandment that no*
"*Housholder suffer any of his Apprentices, or other Servants to be*
"*abroad, other than such as their Masters will answer for; and that*
"*this Order be always observ'd in like Cases hereafter*". *Such Pains were taken to extinguish all the Impressions of Humanity, or at least to punish every Expression of it; and this was so constantly pursued, that Three Men and Two Women were burnt at* Canterbury *on the* 10*th of* November, *a Week before her Death; for she died on the* 17*th*.

Cox Hist. of *Ireland*.

Nor were they satisfied with all these Arts of Cruelty in England; *but hearing that there were some of that sort in* Ireland, *one* Cole *was sent over with a Commission to set a Persecution on foot there. When he was at* Chester, *the Corporation waited on him, in respect to his being sent by the Queen; he shewed them his Powers and Letters to the Government of* Ireland, *but leaving his Papers on the Table, when he went in Respect to this Body to conduct them down Stairs, the Mistress of the House being secretly a zealous Woman, did with a particular Address make up a Pacquet like his, in which she put a Pack of Cards, the Knave of Clubs being turned uppermost; and so she took away his Papers, putting this instead of them. He suspecting nothing, nor looking into them, went over to* Dublin, *and deliver'd his Message and Pacquet to the Council there, which was certainly received with Scorn and Indignation. He came back to* London, *and got new Powers, a few Days before the Queen's Death; for the News of it overtook him before he had his Passage. The Levity of this Story made me at first suspect it, till I found it in several Books, in which it is said that the Woman had for this Service a Pension from Queen* Elizabeth.

I have in my former History shewed what Steps were made in that Reign, towards the setting up an Inquisition in England; *which was very probably suggested by King* Philip, *and some of his* Spaniards, *as the only sure Method to extirpate Heresy: But I have since seen some further Steps made towards it.* Ratcliffe, *Earl of* Sussex, *was in high Favour; and he, who saw what was the Method to secure and advance it, moved, that instead of the dilatory Proceedings in the Ordinary Courts, such Offenders should be proceeded against by Martial Law. To this the Council wrote Answer, They commended his Zeal, and acknowledged that such Persons deserv'd to be so us'd: Yet it was not thought the best Way, but they were to be punish'd as the Laws did order. But when they had had their Punishment, he was order'd to keep them in Prison and in Irons, till they came to know themselves and their Duty. I have also found what he did towards the setting up an Inquisition. I did formerly print the Instructions that were sent to the County of* Norfolk. *Of these the 6th did run thus*: "*They shall*
"*procure to have in every Parish, or Part of the Shire, as near as may*
"*be, some one or more honest Men secretly instructed, to give Informa-*
"*tion of the Inhabitants amongst or about them*". *I find in a Regi-*

2d. Volume of *H. R.* Coll. of Rec. *p.* 283.

ster of the Earl of Suffex, *that to the 6th Article it is agreed,* "*That*
" *the Justices of the Peace, in every of their Limits, shall call se-*
" *cretly before them, One or Two honest and secret Persons, or more,*
" *by their Discretions, and such as they shall think good; and com-*
" *mand them by Oath, or otherways, as the same Justices shall think*
" *good, that they shall secretly learn and search out, such Person or*
" *Persons, as shall evil-behave themselves idly at Church, or despise*
openly by Words the King and Queen's Proceedings; or go about
" *to make or move any Stirr, Commotion, or unlawful Gathering toge-*
" *ther of the People; or that shall tell any Seditious, or Lewd Tales,*
" *Rumors or News, to move or stir any Person or Persons, to rise, stir,*
or make any Commotion or Insurrection, or to consent to any such In-
" *tent or Purpose. And also, that the same Persons so to be appoint-*
" *ed, shall declare to the same Justices of the Peace, the Ill Behaviour*
" *of lewd, disorder'd Persons; whether it shall be for using Unlawful*
" *Games, Idleness, and such other Light Behaviour of such suspected*
Persons, as shall be within the same Town, or near thereabouts.
" *And that the same Information shall be given secretly to the Justi-*
ces: And the same Justices shall call such accused Persons before
" *them, and Examine them, without declaring by whom they be ac-*
" *cused. And that the same Justices shall, upon their Examinations,*
" *Punish the Offenders, according as their Offences shall appear to*
" *them upon the Accusement and Examination, by their Discretion,*
" *either by open Punishment, or good Aberring. Here are sworn Spies*
appointed, like the Familiars of the Inquisition: *Secret Depositi-*
ons not to be discovered; and upon these, further Proceedings are or-
der'd. If this had been well settled; what remained to compleat a
Court of Inquisition, *would have been more easily carried.*

Here is that, which those who look towards a Popish *Successor,*
must look for, when that Evil Day comes. All this will make little
Impression on those, who have no fixed Belief of any Thing in Religi-
on themselves, and so may reckon it a small Matter, to be of any Re-
ligion, that comes to have the Law and the Government on its Side;
and resolve to change with every Wind and Tide, rather than put any
Thing to Hazard by Struggling against it. Yet some Compassion to
those, who have a more firm Belief of those great Truths, might be
expected from Men of the same Country, Kindred, and who have hi-
therto professed to be of the same Religion. The Reviving the Fires in
Smithfield, *and from thence over the whole Nation, has no amiable*
View, to make any Haste to it; and least of all to those, who, if
they have any Principles at all, must look for nothing less than the
being turned out of their Livings, or forced to abandon their Families,
and, upon every Surmise or Suspicion, to be hunted from Place to
Place, glad if they can get out of the Paw of the Lion, into Parts
beyond the Seas: And then they may expect to meet with some of that
Haughty Contempt, with which too many have treated Foreigners, *who*
took Sanctuary among us.

But when this Fatal Revolution *comes upon us, if God, for our*
Sins, abandons us into the Hands of Treacherous and Bloody Men;
whither can we hope to fly? For, with us, the whole Reformation

must fall under such an Universal Ruin, that, humanly speaking, there is no View left beyond that.

Yet since that Set of Men is so impiously corrupted in the Point of Religion, that no Scene of Cruelty can fright them from leaping into it, and perhaps from acting such a Part in it, as may be assign'd them; there are other Considerations of another Sort, arising from some Papers (put in my Hands since I wrote the History*) that may perhaps affect them deeper, because they touch in a more sensible Part.*

It is well known, how Great and how Valuable a Part of the whole Soil of England, *the* Abbey-Lands, *the Estates of the Bishops, of the Catherals, and the Tythes are. I will not enter into any strict Computation of what the whole may amount to. The Resumption of these, would be no easy Matter to many Families: And yet all these must be thrown up; for Sacrilege in the Church of* Rome *is a Mortal Sin. And therefore Cardinal* Pole, *even in that pretended Confirmation of the Grants that were then made, laid a heavy Charge on those who had the Goods of the Church in their Hands, to remember the Judgments of God that fell on* Belshazzar, *for Prophaning the Holy Vessels; tho' they had not been taken by himself, but by his Father. It is true, this may be supposed to relate only to Church-Plate: Tho' there is no Reason to restrain such a Solemn Charge, to so Inconsiderable a Part of what had been taken from the Church; no doubt, he had the whole in his View. And this shewed, that tho' he seemed to secure them from any Claim that the Church might have, or any Suit or Proceeding upon that Account; yet he left the Weight of the Sin on their Consciences; which a dextrous Confessor might manage so, as to make the Possessors yield up their Rights, especially when they themselves could hold them no longer. The Thing was still a Sin; and the Possession was unjust. And to make it easy to restore in the last Minutes, the Statute of* Mortmain *was repealed for 20 Years; in which Time, no doubt, they reckon'd, they would recover the best Part of what they had lost. Besides that, the Engaging the Clergy to renew no Leases, was a Thing entirely in their own Power; and that, in 40 Years Time, would raise their Revenues to be about Ten times their present Value.*

But setting all this aside; it has appeared evidently to me, from some Papers sent me, some Years after I wrote my History, *that all that Transaction was fraudulent, and had so many Nullities in it, that it may be broke through, whensoever there is a Power strong enough to set about it. In the First Powers that are in that* Collection, *all the Grace and Favour that the Pope intended to the Possessors of those Lands, was to indempnify them for the Mean Profits they had received, and for the Goods that had been consumed*: They Restoring first (if that shall seem expedient) the Lands themselves, that are unjustly detained by them. *This was only the Forgiving what was past; but the Right of the Church was insisted on, for the Restitution of those Lands. The Reservation in these Words,* [If that shall seem expedient to you,] *can be understood in no other Sense, but that it was referred to his Discretion, whether he should insist to have the Restitution first made, before he granted the Indemnity for the Mean Profits, or not.*

It

It is true, the Council in England *who were in that supported by the Emperor, thought these Powers were too narrow, and insisted to have them enlarged. That was done, but in so Artificial a Manner, that the Whole Settlement made by* Pole *signified nothing, but to lay the Nation once asleep, under a false Apprehension of their being secured in those Possessions, when no such Thing was intended; nor was it at all granted, even by the latest Powers that were sent to Cardinal* Pole. *For in these, after the Pope had referred the settling that Matter to him, that he might transact it with such Possessors, for whom the Queen should intercede, and dispence with their Enjoying them for the Future without any Scruple, a* Salvo *is added, by which the Whole Matter is still reserved to the Pope for his final Confirmation, in these Words,* Salvo tamen in his quibus propter rerum magnitudinem & gravitatem hæc sancta sedes merito tibi videretur consulenda, nostro & præfatæ Sedis beneplacito & confirmatione. "*Saving always in* "*such Things, in which for their Greatness and Importance it shall* "*appear to you, that this Holy See ought in Reason to be consulted,* "*our and the said See's good Pleasure and Confirmation. By these Words it is very plain, that as in the Powers granted, they seem'd to be limited to a few, to such for whom the QUEEN should intercede, since it is not expressed that the Pope thought that she should intercede for all that possessed them; so they were only Provisional: And therefore since no Bull of Confirmation was ever obtain'd, all these Provisional Powers were Null and Void, when the Confirmation was ask'd and deny'd: As all the Historians of that Time agree it was: And this was so suitable to* P. Paul *the IVth's Temper and Principles, that no Doubt is to be made of his persisting stedfastly in that Resolution.*

I know there was a Mercenary Writer found in King James's *Reign, who studied to lay all People asleep, in a secure Persuasion of their Titles to those Lands. He pretends there was a Confirmation of all that* Pole *did, sent over to* England. *He brings indeed some Proof that it was given out and believed, which might be a Part of the Fraud to be used in that Matter. But as no such Thing appears in the* Bullary, *so he does not tell us who saw it, or where it was laid up. He indeed supports this by an Argument that destroys it quite: For he tells us, that Two Year after this, Secretary* Petre *had a particular Bull, confirming him in his Possession of some Church-Lands. This shews, that either that Person, who was Secretary of State, knew that no Confirmation was sent over; so that it was necessary for him to procure a particular Bull for securing his own Estate; or whatever might be in* Pole's *Powers, he might think such a General Transaction, which the Necessity of that Time made reasonable, would be no longer stood to, than while that Necessity continued,*

General Treaties and Transactions have had such a Fate that few will trust to them. The Spirit of the Church, as well as the Spirit of a Treaty, will be prefer'd to the Words of all Transactions. *Have not we seen in our own Days an Edict that was passed with all Solemnity possible, and declared perpetual and irrevocable, yet recalled with this very Preamble, That it was made in Compliance to the Necessity of that Time, and on Design to bring those, that were promised to be for ever tolerated by it, into the Bosom of the Church. There is so much in the*

Canon Law against all Sacrilege, and all Alienations of what is once dedicated to God; that though some Canonists many have carried the Plenitude of the Papal Power so far, as to reach even to this, which this hired Writer builds on; yet there is so much affirmed to the contrary by others, that it is certain whensoever the Papacy has Strength enough to set aside all the Settlement then made, they will find sufficient Grounds in Law to proceed to the Overturning all that was then done. The Princes of Germany, *whose Settlements he appeals to, do not trust to any Treaty, with either Emperor, or Popish Princes, with relation to the Church-Lands, of which they possessed themselves; but to the Treaties and Guaranties into which they enter'd with one another: And so they are engag'd by their Faith, and by their mutual Interests to maintain one another and themselves in their Possessions: Nor does it appear that a Papal Bull was ever obtained to confirm them. On the contrary, the Pope's Legates protested against them; and, as will appear afterwards,* Charles *the Vth's Confessor refus'd to give him Absolution for his consenting to Edicts of that sort. If the Necessity of the Time makes it necessary to maintain that Settlement, so long it will be maintain'd, and no longer.*

But to put this Matter out of all Doubt, that some Pope did soon after our Ambassador were sent to him, by a Bull dated the 12th of July, 1555, *within Three Weeks after the* English *Ambassadors had their Audience, condemn all the Alienations of Church-Lands, and even all Leases for one or more Lives; or for a Term longer than Three Years: This he extends to all Cathedrals, Monasteries, and Hospitals, and annuls all Leases, Grants, Exchanges, Mortgages, and Obligations of Lands, Castles, Towns, and Cities, even though made by Popes themselves, or by their Authority and Order; and by the Presidents, Prelates, or Rectors of Churches, Monasteries, or Hospitals, of what Rank and Dignity soever, Cardinals by Name being expressed, that were done to the Prejudice of the Church, the Solemnity by Law required, not being observed: And that which was Null in the first making, but supply'd by subsequent Contracts, in what Form soever made, though by Proofs upon Oath, and by what length of Time soever it may claim Prescription, is all rescinded, and made void and null. And the Detainers of Goods, upon those Titles are requir'd to quit Possession, and to make full Satisfaction for what they have receiv'd, and to be thereto compelled, if they obey not, both by Ecclesiastical Censures, and Pecuniary Punishments.*

It is true, in all this, England *is not expresly named, and perhaps the Pope had the recovering from the Family of the* Farnese, *that which* Paul *the IIId had alienated to it, chiefly in his Eye: But the Words of this Bull do plainly take in the late Settelment in* England: *For though the* English *Ambassadors were then newly come to* Rome, *demanding the Confirmation of what* Pole *had done, yet no Exceptions are made for* England: *So it seems, it was intended by these General Words, put in on Design, to overthrow it. Now because this Matter is of such great Concern, and every one has not a Bullary to examine into this Bull; I will begin my Collection of Records with it, as no small Piece of Instruction, to all who are possessed of any Estate so alienated from Churches, Monasteries, or Hospitals.*

Upon the Conclusion of this Head, I cannot but take notice of one Insinuation, that I hear some are not asham'd to make: That such a Resumption may be indeed a Prejudice to the Laity, but that the Clergy will be enrich'd by it, If this had been brought me by an Ordinary Hand, I should not have thought it worth mentioning; but since some have the Impudence to set it on foot, I must add, That these are vain Hopes, as well as they are suggested on black Designs: For though the Church, take it in the Bulk, has immense Riches in the Roman *Communion; yet in no Church that ever I saw are the Parochial Clergy kept poorer, and made more despicable; they are as the Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water, kept at hard Labour, on a very poor Subsistence. The several Orders among them, the governing Clergy, and the outward Magnificence of their Churches, and Services, devours all that Treasure.: So that the poor Clergy, even in that State of Celibate, have scarce necessary Sustenance, unless it be in some Capital Cities, and in very vast Parishes in them: They are starved, to maintain the Luxury and Vanity of others: This was the true Occasion of all the Poverty of the Parochial Clergy among us, to which some Remedies have been sought for, and to some Degree found, ever since the Reformation was first settled among us.*

But none of these Things will move an insensible and degenerate Race, who are thinking of nothing but present Advantages: And so they may now support a Luxurious and Brutal Course of irregular and voluptuous Practices, they are easily hired to betray their Religion, to sell their Country, and to give up that Liberty, and those Properties, which are the present Felicities and Glories of this Nation. The giving them up, will be a lasting Infamy on those who are guilty of it, and will draw after it the heaviest Curses of Posterity on such perfidious Betrayers of their Trust: By this they will bring Slavery on themselves (which they well deserve, being indeed the worst sort of Slaves) and entail it on the succeeding Generation.

I return to prosecute the Account of my Design in this Work. I went through those Volumes in the Cotton *Library, of which I had only a transient View formerly; and laid together all that I thought necessary to compleat it. I saw a great and a fair Prospect of such a Change ready to be made in* France, *as King* Henry *had made in* England. *Mr.* Le Vassor *has, out of an Invaluable Collection of Original Papers that are in Sir* William Trumball's *Hands, published Instructions sent by the Duke of* Orleans *to the Princes of* Germany; *by which, as he declared himself a Protestant, so he gave in General Words good Hopes of his Father* Francis. *I found also, both in Papers, and printed Books, that King* Henry *often reproached* Francis *for not keeping his Word to him; and in a long Dispatch of a Negotiation that* Paget *was employ'd in with the Admiral of* France, *I saw further Evidence of this. I was by these Indications set on to see how far I could penetrate into that Secret.*

I was by the Favour of the Earl of Dartmouth *admitted to a free Search of the Paper-Office, which is now in much better Order and Method than it was above 30 Years ago, when I saw it last: And there, among other very valuable Papers, I found the Copy of that solemn Promise that* Francis *made to* Henry, *minuted on the Back by* Cromwell's *Hand as a true Copy, in these Words,* An Instrument devised from the *French* King, for his Justification and Defence of the Invalidity of the King's Highness's First Marriage, and the Validity of the Secoud.

" By

" *By this, he in express Words condemns the Pope's Bull dispensing with*
" *the Marriage with Queen* Catherine, *which he, by the Unanimous*
" *Consent of those Learned Men whom he had appointed to examine it,*
" *condemns as Incestuous and Unlawful; and reputes the Daughter born*
" *in it, Spurious and Illigitimate: And that the Second Marriage with*
" Anne, *then Queen, was Lawful and Just; and that Queen* Eliza-
" beth *born of it, was lawfully Born. And he promises to assist and*
" *maintain the King in this against all the World. In this Instrument*
" *he owns King* Henry *to be, under God, the* Supreme Head of the
" Church of *England: And he affirms, that many of the Cardinals, in*
" *particular the late Cardinal of* Ancona, *and even* Pope Clement *the*
" *VIIth himself, did both to his Ambassador, and to himself at* Marseilles
" *plainly confess, that the Pope's Bull, and the Marriage made upon it,*
" *were null and void; and that he would have given a Definitive Sen-*
" *tence, if some Private Affections, and Human Regards had not hin-*
" *der'd it. This makes me conclude, that he gave other Instruments*
" *of a further Extent to King* Henry; *for failing in which, I find he was often reproached, though this single Instrument is all that I could find out: But the Lord* Herbert *reckons among the Chief Causes of King* Henry's *last Rupture with* Francis, *That he had not deserted the Bishop of* Rome, *and consented to a Reformation as he once promised.*

I saw when I passed through Zurich, *a Volume of Letters that passed between* Bullinger *and those* English *Divines that had been so kindly entertained by him in that Noble Canton: And by the Interposition of my Learned, Judicious, and Pious Friend, Mr.* Turretin *of* Geneva, *Mr.* Otto, *a Worthy Professor there, has taken such Care, that Copies of them are procured for me; in which we may see the Sense of those who revived our Reformation in Queen* Elizabeth's *Time. Men who had been Abroad, and had seen all Things about them in a true Light, that saw in what the Strength of* Popery *lay, and what fortified, or weakened the Body of the Reformed, were liker to have truer Views than can be expected from retir'd, or sullen Men, who have lived in a Corner, and have but a small Horizon.*

It has been objected to me, that I have said little of Proceedings in Convocation, and of the Struggle that the Clergy made before they were brought to make the Submission, which brought those Bodies under Restraints, that seem now uneasie to the Advocates for Church Power. I must confess I have been veery Defective here: I understood that the Books of Convocation were burnt: None of those Great Men, under whose Direction that Work went on, knew any Thing of those Discoveries that have been of late made; so no wonder if I passed over what was then so little known. Yet now I have examined all that I could find of those Matters, I confess I am not inclined to expect much from the Assemblies of Clergymen. I have seen nothing in Church History to incline me to depart from Gregory Nazianzen's *Opinion of those Assemblies: What has happened among our selves of late, has not made me of another Mind: And I will not deny, but that my Copiousness on these Matters, is in my own Opinion, one of the meanest Parts of my Work. The Wisest, and Worthiest Man in that Convocation Archbishop* Warham, *was the Person that promoted the Submission the most. It was no Wonder if a corrupt Clergy, that made such ill Use of their Power, had no Mind to Part with any Branch of it. Yet, since these Things have been of late such a Subject of Debate*

among

among us, I have taken what Pains I could, to gather all that is left of those Times, in such Copies, or rather Abstracts, as have been of late found in Private Hands: Only I will set down the Opinion of Sir Thomas More, *the best Man of the* Popish *Side in that Age, of those Meetings.* "*It is* "*true, he says, the Clergy's Assembling at the Convocation, was call'd by* "*the Name of Confederacies. But, he adds, if they did assemble often,* "*and there did such Things, for which such Assemblies of the Clergy in eve-* "*ry Province thro' all* Christendom, *from the Beginning, were instituted* "*and devised, much more good might have grown thereof, than the long* "*Disuse can suffer us now to perceive. But all my Days, as far as I have* "*heard, nor (I suppose) a good Part of my Father's neither, they came* "*never together to Convocation, but at the Request of the King; and at* "*such their Assemblies, concerning Spiritual Things, have very little done.* "*Wherefore that they have been in that Necessary Part of their Duty so* "*negligent, whether God suffer to grow to an unperceived Cause of Divisi-* "*on and Grudge against them; God, whom their such Negligence hath, I* "*fear me, sore offended, knoweth.*

More's Apol. 1533. *Fol.* 241.

The Affinity of the Matter, has led me to reflect on a Great Transaction, with Relation to the Church of France, *which was carried on, and finally settled, in the very Time that K.* Henry *was Breaking with the Court of* Rome. *It was the* Concordate, *that* Francis I. *made with Pope* Leo X. *The King and the Pope came to a Bargain, by which they divided the Liberties of the* Gallican *Church between them, and indeed quite enslaved it. There are so many Curious Passages in the Progress of that Matter, that I hope the Opening these, will be a very acceptable Entertainment to the Nation. And the rather, because in it this Nation will see, what it is to deliver up the Essential Liberties of a Free Constitution to a Court, and to trust to the Integrity and Firmness of Courts of Justice, when an Assembly of the States is no more necessary to the Raising of Money, and the Support of the Government. I know nothing writ in our Language, with Relation to this Matter, besides that Account I gave of it, in a Book concerning the* Regale. *It was taken from a very Exact History of that Transaction, that was written by Mr.* Pinsons, *printed* Anno 1666; *and that seemed to some very Proper Judges, to relate so much to our Affairs, that, as they thought, it very probably disposed the Nation, more easily to throw off the* Papal *Authority. They saw, what a filthy Merchandise the Court of* Rome *had made of the Liberties of the Neighbouring Church; taking Care only to secure their own Profits, and delivering up the rest to the Crown. The best Writers of that Church have, on many Occasions, lamented the Loss of their Liberties by that detestable Bargain, into which* Francis's *Necessities, wrought on by the Practices of the Court of* Rome, *drew him.* "*By this, the Church of* France, *from being a Queen, be-* "*came (as Bishop* Godeau *expresses it) a Slave. And he adds, Our Fa-* "*thers have groaned, and all that love the Order of the House of God* "*will still groan, as long as Elections continue to be put down: So that* "*we must needs enter into the Sanctuary, by the way of the Court. In another Place:* "*These Promotions have been always fatal to the Church;* "*and the Bishops that the Court has made, have been ordinarily the Chief* "*Advancers of Schisms, Heresies, and of the Oppression of the Church. And he concludes,* "*One cannot read* Nazianzen's *Verses, of the Prelates* "*of his Time, without being struck with Horror, and forc'd to acknow-* "*ledge, that a Secular Temper is entirely contrary to the Episcopal Spi-* "*rit.*

1532.

"*rit. Of this, a* Greek *Writer makes a severe Remark, in the History of* Andronicus's *Reign; which may perhaps be as justly apply'd to other Reigns, telling what Sort of Bishops were then made.* "*Princes chuse*
"*such Men to that Charge, who may be their Slaves, and in all Things*
"*obsequious to what they prescribe; and may lie at their Feet, and have*
"*not so much as a Thought contrary to their Commands. This Change in their Constitution, has put an End not only to National, but even to Provincial Synods in that Kingdom. Some were indeed held, upon the Progress that* Luther's *Doctrine was beginning to make in* France; *and others, during the Civil Wars, in order to the getting the Council of* Trent *receiv'd in* France. *But now in the Space of 90 Years last past, these are no more brought together. The Assemblies of the Clergy meet only to give Subsidies, and to present their Grievances; but do not pretend to the Authority of a Regular Synod. And tho' in the Year 1682 they drew up some Articles, yet these had their Authority only from the Severity of the King's Edict, till by a Transaction with the Court of* Rome *that was let fall.*

I have now gone over all the Matters, that do properly fall within this Introduction. *It remains, that I leave the Sense of the Subject of this, and of my Two former Volumes, upon the Consciences of my Readers. Can it be possible, that any are so depraved, as to wish we had no Religion at all; or to be Enemies to the Christian Religion? Would these Men reduce us to be a Sort of* Hottentots? *And yet this must grow to be the Effect of our being without all Religion. Mankind is a Creature, by his Make and Frame disposed to Religion; and if this is not managed by true Principles, all the Jugglings of* Heathenism *would again take Possession of the World. If the Principles of Truth, Justice, Temperance, and of Universal Love, do not govern Men, they will soon grow Curses and Plagues to one another: And a Crew of Priests will grow up, who will teach them to compound for all Crimes, and to expiate the Blackest Practices by some* Rituals.

Religion has so much to struggle with, that, if it is not believ'd to be reveal'd by God, it will not have Strength enough to resist those ill Inclinations, those Appetites and Passions, that are apt to rise up in our Minds, against its Dictates. What is there in the true and unsophisticated Christian Religion, that can give a Colour to Prejudices against it? The whole Complex of that Rule of Life which it prescribes, is so plainly suited to our Composition, both in our Souls and their Faculties, and in our Bodies, with Relation to good Health, to Industry and long Life; and to all the Interests of Human Society, to the Order and Peace of the World, and to the Truth and Love, that are the Cements and Securities of the Body Politick, that, without any labour'd Proof of its Divine Original, these are such Characters, that they may serve to prove, it is sent into the World by a Lover of Mankind, who knew our Nature, and what was proper both to perfect it, and to render it not only safe, but happy.

But when to all this, we add the Evidence that was given at its appearing in the World: That he, who was the first Author of it, and those whom he employ'd first to Propagate it, did, upon many Occasions, in full Day-Light, and in the Sight of great Multitudes, do Things so far above the Powers of Nature, in such uncontested Miracles, that by these it evidently appear'd they were assisted by somewhat superior to Nature, that could command it at Pleasure. Here is the fullest Ground of Conviction possible. These Things were written, publish'd, and receiv'd in the Age,

in which they were transacted: And those Writings have been preserved with great Care, and are transmitted down to us, at the Distance of above Sixteen Ages, Pure and Uncorrupted. In these we have the fixed Standard of our Religion; and by them, we can satisfy our selves concerning all such Practices as have been made upon it, or such Inferences as are drawn from it. I wish those, who take to themselves the Name of Free-Thinkers, *would consider well, if they think it is possible to bring a Nation to be without any Religion at all; and what the Consequences of that may prove; and then see, if there is any Religion so little liable to be corrupted, and that tends so much to the Good of Mankind, as the True Christian Religion Reform'd among us.*

As for those that do truly believe this Religion, and have an Ingenuous Sense and Taste of Liberty; can they admit a Comparison to be made, between a Religion restrain'd to a Fixed Standard, (into which, every one is admitted to examine the Sense of it, in the best Method he can) and that which sets up another uncertain Standard, of which they pretend to be the Depositaries; I mean, Traditions; *and pretend further, they are the Infallible Expounders of it; and that the True Standard it self is not to be expos'd to common View? That God is to be Worshipped in a Language not understood; That instead of a Competent Provision to those who Labour in this Work, the Head of them is to become a Great Prince, and may pretend to a Power to Dispose of Kingdoms and States, to Pardon Sins, and to Redeem Sinners out of the Miseries of a Future State: And that the Character derived from him is so Sacred, that, in Defiance to Sense and Reason, a Priest, by a few Words, can work a Miracle, in Comparison to which, the greatest of Miracles is nothing; and who, by these Means, have possessed themselves of an Immense Wealth, and a Vast Authority.*

These are all Things of so strange a Nature, and so contrary to the Genius and Design of the Christian Religion, that it is not easy to imagine how they could ever gain Credit and Success in the World: But when Mens Eyes have been once open'd, when they have shaken off the Yoke, and got out of the Noose; when the Simplicity of true Religion has been seen into, and the Sweets of Liberty have been tasted; it looks like Charm and Witchcraft, to see so many looking back so tamely on that Servitude, under which this Nation groaned so heavily for so many Ages. They may soon see and know what our happy Condition is, in the Freedom we enjoy from these Impositions, and what their Misery is, that are condemned to them. It is not enough for such as understand this Matter, to be contented in their own Thoughts with this, That they resolve not to turn Papists themselves: They ought to awaken all about them, even the most ignorant and the most stupid, to apprehend their Danger, and to exert themselves with their utmost Industry, to guard against it, and to resist it: They ought to use all their Efforts to prevent it, and earnestly to pray to God for his Blessing upon them. If after all Mens Endeavours to prevent it, the Corruption of the Age, and the Art and Power of our Enemies, prove too hard for us, then, and not till then, we must submit to the Will of God, be silent, and prepare our selves for all the Extremities of Suffering and of Misery; and if we fall under a Persecution, and cannot fly from it, we must resolve to glorify God, by bearing our Cross patiently. Illegal Sufferings are no more to be born, than the Violences of a Robber: But if the Law comes once to be in the Hands of those wicked Men, who will not only revive the Repealed Laws against Hereticks, but, if they can, carry their Cruelty up to the Heighth of an Inquisition, then we must try by the Faith and Patience of the Saints, to go through Fire and through Water, *and in all Things to be* more than Conquerors.

I know some, who are either apt to deceive themselves, or hope to deceive others, have this in their Mouths, That Popery *is not what it was before the Reformation; Things are much mended, many Abuses are detected, and Things*

are not so gross as they were then: And they tell us, that further Corrections might be expected, if we would enter into a Treaty with them; in particular, they fancy they see the Error of Proceeding severely with Hereticks; so that there is no Reason to apprehend the Return of such Cruelties, as were practised an Age and a half ago.

In Answer to this, and to lay open the Falshood of it, we are to look back to the first Beginning of Luther's *Breach: It was occasion'd by the scandalous Sale of Pardons and Indulgencies, which all the Writers of the* Popish *Side give up, and acknowledge it was a great Abuse; so in the Countries where the Reformation has got an Entrance, or in the Neighbourhood of them, this is no more heard of: And it has been taken for granted, that such an infamous Traffick was now no more practised. But of late, that we have had Armies in* Spain *and* Portugal, *we are well assured that it is still carried on there, in the most bare-fac'd manner possible. It is true, the proclaiming a Sale is forbid by a Bull: But there is a Commissary in every Place, who manages the Sale with the most infamous Circumstances imaginable. In* Spain, *by an Agreement with the Pope, the King has the Profits of this Bull; and it is no small Branch of his Revenue. In* Portugal, *the King and the Pope go Shares. Dr.* Colbatch *has given a very particular Account of the managing the Bull there: For as there is nothing so impudent, that those Men are ashamed to venture on; so they may safely do what they please, where the Terror of the Inquisition is so severe a Restraint, that Men dare not whisper against any Thing that is under that Protection.*

A notable Instance of this has appear'd lately, when in the Year 1709, the Privateers of Bristol *took the* Galleon, *in which they found 500 Bales of these Bulls, and 16 Reams were in a Bale: So that they reckoned the whole came to 3840000. These Bulls are imposed on the People, and sold, the lowest at 3* Ryals, *a little more than 20* d. *but to some at 50 Pieces of Eight, about 11* l. *of our Money; and this to be valued according to the Ability of the Purchaser, once in two Years: All are obliged to buy them against* Lent. *Besides the Account given of this in the Cruising Voyage, I have a particular Attestation of it by Captain* Dampier, *and one of the Bulls was brought me printed, but so, that it cannot be read. He was not concern'd in casting up the Number of them; but he says, that there was such a vast Quantity of them, that they careen'd their Ship with them.*

As for any Changes that may be made in Popery, it is certain, Infallibility is their Basis: So nothing can be altered where a Decision is once made. And as for the Treatment of Hereticks, there has been such a Scene of Cruelty of late open'd in France, *and continued there now almost 30 Years without Intermission; that even in the Kingdom, where Popery has affected to put the best Face on Things possible, we have seen a cruel Course of Severity, beyond any thing in History. I saw it in its first and sharpest Fury, and can never forget the Impression that made on me.*

A Discovery lately made, shews what the Spirit of those at Rome, *who manage the Concerns of that Religion, is, even in a mild Reign, such as* Odeschalci's *was; and we may well suppose that because it was too mild, this was ordered to be laid before him, to animate him with a Spirit of Persecution. When the Abbey of* St Gall *was taken in the late War in* Switzerland, *a Manuscript was found, that the Court of* Propaganda *ordered their Secretary to prepare for* Innocent *the XIth's own Use, which after his Death came into the Hands of Cardinal* Sfondrato, *who was Abbot of* St. Gall, *and so at his Death left this Book there. It gives a particular Account of all the Missions they have in all the Parts of the World; and of the Rules and Instructions given them, with which I hope those Worthy Persons, in whose Hands this Valuable Book*

is

is now fallen, will quickly acquaint the World. The Conclusion of it, is an Address to the Pope, in which they lay his Duty before him, from two of the Words in the New Testament, directed to St. Peter. *The First was,* Feed my Sheep, *which obliged him not only to feed the Flock that was gathered at that Time, but to prosecute the constant Increase of it, and to bring those Sheep into it that were not of that Fold. But the other Word was addressed to him by a Voice from Heaven, when the Sheet was let down to him full of all sorts of Beasts, of which some were unclean,* Rise, Peter, kill and eat, *to let all see that it is the Duty of the Great Pontiff to rise up with Apostolical Vigilance, to kill and to extinguish in the Infidels their present Life, and then to eat them, to Consubstantiate their false and brutal Doctrine into the Verity of our Faith. There is an Affectation in these last Words suitable to the Genius of the* Italians. *This Application of these Two Passages, as containing the Duties of a Pope, was formerly made by* Baronius; *in a flattering Speech to encourage Pope* Paul *the Vth in the War he was designing against the* Venetians.

By this we see, that how much soever we may let the Fears of Popery wear out of our Thoughts, they are never asleep, but go on steadily, prosecuting their Designs against us. Popery *is* Popery *still, acted by a Cruel and Persecuting Spirit; and with what Caution soever they may hide, or disown some scandalous Practices, where Hereticks dare look into their Proceedings, and lay them open; yet even these are still practised by them, when they know they may safely do it, and where none dare open their Mouth against them; and therefore we see what Reason we have to be ever Watching, and on our Guard against them.*

This is the Duty of every single Christian among us; but certainly those Peers and Commoners, whom our Constitution has made the Trustees and Depositaries of our Laws and Liberties, and of the Legal Security of our Religion, are under a more particular Obligation of watching carefully over this Sacred Trust, for which they must give a severe Account in the last Day, if they do not guard it against all Danger, at what Distance soever it may appear. If they do not maintain all the Fences and Outworks of it; or suffer Breaches to be made on any of them; if they suffer any Part of our Legal Establishment to be craftily undermin'd; if they are either absent or remiss, on Critical Occasions; and if any Views of Advantage to themselves prevail on them, to give up, or abandon the Establishment and Security of our Religion: God may Work a Deliverance for us another way, and if it seem good in his Eyes, he will deliver us; but they and their Families shall perish, their Names will rot and be held in detestation; Posterity will Curse them, and the Judgments of God will overtake them, because they have sold that which was the most Sacred of all Things, and have let in an Inundation of Idolatry, Superstition, Tyranny, and Cruelty upon their Church and Country.

But in the last Place, those who are appointed to be the Watchmen, *who ought to give warning, and to* lift up their Voice as a Trumpet, *when they see those Wolves ready to break in and devour the Flock, have the heaviest Account of all others to make, if they neglect their Duty; much more if they betray their Trust: If they are so set on some smaller Matters, and are so sharpened upon that Account, that they will not see their Danger, nor awaken others to see it, and to fly from it; the guilt of those Souls who have perished by their Means,* God will require at their Hands, *if they, in the View of any Advantage to themselves, are silent when they ought to cry out Day and Night: They will fall under the Character given by the Prophet, of the Watchmen in his Time.* They are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb Dogs, they cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber: Yea, they are greedy Dogs, which can never have enough: And they are Shepherds that cannot understand; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter: That say, come,

I will fetch Wine, and we will fill our selves with strong Drink; to morrow shall be as this Day, and much more abundant.

This is a lively Description of such Pastors as will not so much as study Controversies, and that will not know the Depths of Satan; that put the Evil Day far off, and as the Men in the Days of Noah *or* Lot, *live on at their Ease, satisfying themselves in running round a Circle of dry and dead Performances; that do neither awaken themselves, nor others. When the Day of Tryal comes, what will they say? To whom will they fly for help? Their Spirits will either sink within them, or they will swim with the Tide: The Cry will be, the Church, the Church, even when all is Ruin and a Desolation. I hope they will seriously reflect on the few Particulars that I have, out of many more, laid together in this Introduction, and see what Weight may be in them, and look about them, to consider the Dangers we are in, before it is too late: But what can be said of those, who are already going into some of the worst Parts of Popery. It is well known, that in Practice, the Necessity of Auricular Confession, and the Priestly Absolution, with the Conceit of the Sacrifice of the Mass, are the most gainful Parts of Popery, and are indeed those that do most effectually subdue the World to it. The Independance of the Church on the State, is also so contended for, as if it were on Design to disgrace our Reformation. The indispensible Necessity of the Priesthood to all Sacred Functions, is carried in the Point of Baptism further than Popery. Their Devotions are openly recommended, and a Union with the* Gallican *Church has been impudently proposed; the Reformation and the Reformers are by many daily vilified; and that Doctrine that has been most universally maintained by our best Writers, I mean the Supremacy of the Crown, is on many Occasions arraigned. What will all these things end in! And on what Design are they driven! Alas it is too visible.*

God be thanked there are many among us that stand upon the Watch Tower, *and that give faithful Warning; that stand in the* Breach, *and make themselves* a Wall for their Church and Country; that cry to God Day and Night, and lie in the Dust mourning before him, *to avert those Judgments that seem to hasten towards us: They search into the Mystery of Iniquity that is working among us, and acquaint themselves with all that Mass of Corruption that is in Popery. They have another Notion of the Worship of God, than to dress it up as a splendid* Opera: *They have a just Notion of Priesthood, as a Function that imports a Care of Souls, and a Solemn performing the Publick Homage we owe to God; but do not invert it to a Political Piece of Craft, by which Mens Secrets are to be discovered, and all are subdued by a Tyranny that reaches to Mens Souls, as well as to their Worldly Concerns. In a word, they consider Religion in the Soul, as a secret Sense of Divine Matters, which purifies all Mens Thoughts, and governs all their Words and Actions: And in this Light they propose it to their People, warning them against all Dangers, and against all Deceivers of all sorts: Watching over them as those that must give an Account to the* Great Bishop of Souls, feeding the Flock over which the Holy Ghost has made them Overseers, *ready to lay down their Lives for them, looking for their Crown from the* Chief Shepherd, when he shall appear.

May the Number of these good and faithful Servants encrease daily more and more; may their Labours be so blessed, that they may see the Travail of their Soul and be satisfied; and may many by their Means, and by their Example be so awakened, that they may resist even to Blood, striving against Sin, and against the Man of Sin: And may I be of that Number, labouring while it is Day, and ready when the Night comes, either to lie down and rest in the Grave; or if God calls me to it to Seal that Doctrine, which I have been preaching now above Fifty Years, with my Blood: May his Holy will be done, so I may but Glorify him in my Soul and Body, which are his.

THE

The Third Part
OF THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
OF THE
Church of England.

BOOK I.

Of Matters, *that happen'd in the Time comprehended in the First Book of the History of the Reformation.*



BEFORE I enter on the Affairs of *England*, I have thought it would be of great Use to prepare the Reader for what relates to them; by setting before him the Progress of that Agreement, into which the *French* King's Affairs carried him, by which he deliver'd up One Great Part of the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church to the Pope, and invaded the rest himself. This was carried on in a Course of many Years; and the Scene lying next us, and it being concluded in the very Time in which the Breach of this Nation was far carried on, in the Year 1532, I thought it would not be an improper Beginning of my Work, to set out that Matter very copiously; since it is highly probable, that it had a great Influence on all who were capable to reflect on it.

The greatest Transaction that happened in this Period, being the setting up the *Concordat*, in the room of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, by *Francis* the First, it will be necessary in order to the clear opening of the Matter, to look back into the former Ages.

The Progress of the Papal Usurpations.

ANNO 1300.

The Progress the Papacy had made from Pope *Gregory* the VIIth, to Pope *Boniface* the VIIIth's Time, in little more than 230 Years, is an amazing thing: The one begun the Pretension to depose Kings, the other in the Jubilee that he first opened, went in Procession thro' *Rome*, the first Day attired as Pope, and the next Day attired as Emperor, declaring, That all Power, both Spiritual and Temporal, was in him, and derived from him: And he cried out with a loud Voice, *I am Pope and Emperor, and have both the Earthly and Heavenly Empire*; and he made a solemn Decree in these Words, *We Say, Define, and Pronounce, that it is absolutely necessary to Salvation, for every Human Creature to be subject to the Bishop of* Rome. The Holy War, as it was called, was a great Part of the Business of that Interval; by which the Authority and Wealth of the Papacy received no small Addition: It is true, the Removal of the Popes to *Avignon*, and the Schism that followed upon the Popes Return to *Rome*, did put no small Stop to that growing Power, and to the many and great Usurpations, and Inventions not known to former Ages, which were set on foot to draw all People into a servile Dependance on the Popes.

The Schism in the Papacy.

This long Schism between the Popes that sate at *Rome* and *Avignon*, was the best Conjuncture the Bishops could ever have hoped for, to recover their Authority; which had been for some Ages oppressed, and indeed trodden under foot by the Papacy. And if that had happened in a less ignorant Age, it is very probable there would have been more effectual Provisions made against it. The Bishops that met at *Constance*, did not apprehend that the Continuance of that Breach was that in which their Strength lay: They made too much haste to heal it; but they soon found that when all was again united, none of the Regulations that they made, could restrain a Power that pretended to know no Limits. The greatest Security of the Church, as they thought, was in the Act for Perpetual General Councils; which were to meet after short Intervals; and in the Act for Subjecting the Popes to the Councils, requiring them to call them and the Council to meet at the End of Ten Years, whether the Pope summoned it, or not.

The Council of *Basil*.

But these proved feeble Restraints; yet the Council of *Basil* did sit pursuant to the Decree made at *Constance*: And the Bishops who met there, endeavoured as much as their low Size of Learning could direct them, to set forward a Reformation of those Abuses that were brought into the Church, and that supported that Despotick Power which the *Popes* had assumed. They reckoned a Regulation of the Elections of Bishops was the laying a good Foundation, and the setling of Pillars and Bases upon which the Fabrick of the Church might securely rest. Many Bishops were made by Papal Provisions; these they simply condemned: Others were promoted by the Power and Favour of Princes; to which Ambitious Men recommended themselves by base Compliances, and simoniacal Bargains; in Opposition

to

to these; they restored Elections to the Chapters, with as good Provisions as they could contrive, that they should be well managed.

1300

The Pope and Council quarrel.

A Contest falling in upon their Proceedings, between them, and Pope *Eugenius* the IVth; they addressed themselves to *Charles* the VIIth King of *France*, for his Protection. They sent him the Decrees they had made against *Annats*, that is, First-Fruits; a late Device of Pope *Boniface* the IXth, then about 50 Years standing, pretending to carry on a War against the *Turk* by that Aid. They also condemned *Gratias Expectativas*, or the Survivances of Bishopricks, and other Benefices; with all Clauses of Reservations in Bulls, by which Popes reserved to themselves at pleasure, such Things as were in a Bishop's Collation. They appointed Elections to be confirmed by the Metropolitan, and not by the Pope. They condemned all Fees and Exactions upon Elections, except only a Salary for the Writers Pains; and all Appeals, except to the immediate Superior; with all Appeals from a Grievance, unless it was such that the final Sentence must turn upon it: And when the Appeal rose up by all intermediate Steps to the Pope, it was to be judged by Delegates appointed to sit upon the Place, where the Cause lay, or in the Neighbourhood: Only the Causes marked expresly in the Law, as *greater Causes*, were reserved to the Pope. Provision was made for the Encouragement of Learning, and of the Universities, that the Benefices that fell in any Collator's Gift, should be in every Third Month of the Year, given to Men that had been, during a limited number of Years, bred in them; and had upon due Trial obtained Degrees in them. If a Bishop had Ten Benefices in his Gift, the Pope might name to One; and if Fifty, to Two, but to no more. Some of the Provisions relate to the Discipline and Order of the Cathedral Churches: But the main Thing of all was their declaring the Council to be above the Pope; that the Pope was bound to submit to it, and that Appeals lay to it from him.

The First Breach between the Pope and the Council, was made up afterwards by the Interposition of *Sigismond* the Emperor: The Pope recalled his Censures, confessed he had been misled, and ratified all that the Council had done: But that lasted not long; for upon the Pretence of treating a Reconciliation with the *Greek* Church, some moved for a Translation of the Council to *Ferrara*; but the Majority opposed it: Yet the Pope did Translate it thither. Upon which, the Council condemned that Bull, and proceeded against *Eugenius*. He on the other Hand declared them to be no Council, and excommunicated them: They on their Part deposed him, and chose another Pope, *Amadee* Duke of *Savoy*, who took the Name of *Felix*: He had retired from his Principality, and upon that, they again begged the Protection of *France*.

1438.

The Pragmatick Sanction made in France.

The King being thus applied to by them, summoned a great Assembly to meet at *Bourges*; where the *Dauphin*, the *Princes* of the *Blood*, many of the Nobility, and many Bishops met. They would not approve the Deposition of the Pope, nor the new Election of *Felix*: But yet they rejected the Meeting of *Ferrara*, and adhered to that at *Basil*. The Decrees past at *Basil* were by them reduced into the Form of an Edict; and published under the Title of the *Pragmatick*

1438

Sanction: Which the King declared he would have to be inviolably observed; and he resolved to moderate Matters between the Pope and the Council.

The Effects it had.

There are very different Relations made of the Effects that this Edict had: Some say that the Church of *France* began to put on a new Face upon it, and that Men were advanced by Merit, and not as formerly by Applications to the Court of *Rome*; nor Solicitations at the Court of *France*: "Others give a most tragical Representation "of Elections, as managed by Faction, indirect Arts, the Solicitations "of Women, and simoniacal Bargains; and in some Places by open "Violence; out of which, many Suits were brought into the Courts "of Law. The Treasure of the Church was, as they said, applied "to maintain these; the Fabrick was let go to Ruin; and Bishops "Houses dilapidated. Pope *Leo* the Xth in his Bull that abrogates "this Sanction, enumerates many Evils that arose out of these Ele- "ctions, and that in particular, Simony and Perjury prevailed in "them, of which he says he had undeniable Evidence, in the many "Absolutions and Reabilitations that were demanded of him. This might be boldly alledged, because it could not be disproved, how false soever it might be.

There might be some Instances of Faction, which were no doubt aggravated by the Flatterers of the Court of *Rome*: For the Profits which came from *France* being stop'd by the *Pragmatick* all Arts were used to disgrace it.

The Pope condemns it.

Eneas Silvius was counted one of the ablest Men of that Time. He was Secretary to the Council of *Basil*, and wrote copiously in Defence of it against the Pope: But he was gained over to the Interests of the Court of *Rome*; he had a Cardinal's Hat, and was afterwards advanced to the Popedom, and reigned by the Name of *Pius* the IId. He retracted all his former Writings, but never answered them: Yet he was so barefaced in setting himself to Sale, that when he was reproached for changing Sides, he answered, the Popes gave Dignities, Abbies, Bishopricks, and Red Hats to their Creatures; but he asked, how many of such good Things did the Council give.

In a Council at Mantua.

He distinguished himself as Deserters are apt to do, by railing at all that the Council of *Basil* had done, and against the *Pragmatick Sanction*. He branded it as a *Heresy*: And in a Council that he held at *Mantua* 20 Years after, he inveighed severely against it. He said,

1458.

Bishops thought to have established their Power, but on the contrary their Authority was ruined by it: For Ecclesiastical Causes were brought into the Secular Courts, and all Things were put into the King's Hands: Yet that *Sanction* was observed in *France* till the King's Death; and though some were persuaded to go to *Rome*, and to procure Bulls, these were esteemed no better than Traitors and Enemies to the Country. It is true, upon this the Courts of Parliament took upon them to judge in all Ecclesiastical Matters, and to examine whether the Ecclesiastical Courts had proceeded according to the Laws of the Church or not: And that the Sentences of the Temporal Courts might be executed, they ordered the Revenues of Bishops, if they stood out in Contumacy, to be seized into the King's Hands, and their Persons to be arrested.

When

When *Danesius* the Attorney-General heard how Pope *Pius* had arraigned the *Pragmatick Sanction*, and that he was designing to proceed to Censures against the King and his Ministers, he protested against all he had said, referring the Decision of the Matter to a General Council.

1458.

Upon that King's Death he was succeeded by *Lewis* the XIth; and the Bishop of *Arras* having great Credit with him, the Pope gained him by the Promise of a Cardinal's Hat, to use his Endeavours to get the King to abrogate the *Sanction*; and because he thought that which might work most on the King, was the Apprehension that much Money which was now kept within the Kingdom, would upon the laying it aside, be carried to *Rome*; this Expedient was offered, that there should be a Legate Resident in *France*, with Powers to grant such Bulls as was necessary: Though this was never done, and it seems it was only offered as a Specious Concession to gain their Point. King *Lewis* the XIth's Character is given us so fully by *Philip de Comines*, who knew him well, that none who have read him, will wonder to find, that when he needed any Favour from the Court of *Rome*, he made the fullest Submission that any King perhaps ever made: He in a Letter that he wrote to the Pope, owns *the Pope to be God's Vicar on Earth, to whose Words he will always hearken and obey: And therefore, though the* Pragmatick Sanction *was received upon long Deliberation, in a great Assembly, and was now fully settled, yet since the Pope desired that it might be abrogated, and since the Bishop of* Arras *had put him in mind of the Solemn Promise that he had made by him, before he came to the Crown, he reckoning that Obedience was better than all Sacrifice, since that* Sanction *was made in a Time of Sedition and Schism, so that by it his Kingdom was not conform to other Kingdoms; though many Men studied to maintain it, yet he resolved to follow and obey the Pope's Orders; therefore he abrogates it entirely, and does of his own accord, not compelled in any sort, restore him to the Authority that* Martin *the Vth, and* Eugenius *the IVth, did exercise in former Times: And bids him use the Power, given him by God, at his Pleasure: And promises on the Word of a King, that he will take care that all his Commands shall be executed within his Kingdom, without Opposition or Appeal; and that he will punish such as are Contumacious, as the Pope shall direct.*

Lewis the XIth abrogates it.

Councils Tom. 14. p. 97.

Here was an entire Submission, penned no doubt by the aspiring Cardinal. It was received at *Rome* with no small Joy; the *Pragmatick* was dragged about the Streets of *Rome*, the Pope wept for Joy, and at Mass on *Christmass*-Eve, he consecrated a Sword with a rich Scabbard, to be sent to the King. The Title of the *most Christian King* had been given by former Popes to some Kings of *France*; but Pope *Pius* was the Person who upon this high Merit, made it one of the Titles of the Crown: Such as read *des Comines* History, will not find any other Merit in that King, to entitle him to so Glorious a Compellation.

To the Pope's great Joy.

The Court of Parliament of *Paris* interposed; they made a noble Remonstrance to the King, in which they pressed him to maintain the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which had its Original from a General Council, and they affirmed that the King was obliged to maintain it.

The Parliament of *Paris* oppose it.

Yet

1458.

Yet afterwards, that King's Project of engaging the Pope to assist his Son-in-Law to recover *Sicily*, then possessed by the Bastard of *Arragon*, did miscarry, the Pope refusing to concur in it; upon which, the King was offended, and carried his Submissions no further; only he suffered Bulls of Reservations and Survivances to take Place again.

The honest Courage of the Attorney-General.

This Matter was taken up again Six Years after by Pope *Paul* the IId. A new Minister was gained by the same Bait of a Cardinal's Hat, to procure the Revocation: So the King's Edict was sent to the Court of Parliament of *Paris* to be registred there, in Vacation Time. The Court ordered the Attorney-General to examine it. St. *Romain* was then Attorney-General, and he behaved himself with such Courage, that he was much celebrated for it. "He opposed the Registring it, and spoke much in the Praise of the *Pragmatick Sanction*; "he shewed the ill Consequences of repealing it. That it would let "in upon them Abuses of all sorts, which were by it condemned: "All Affairs relating to the Church would be settled at *Rome*; many "would go and live there, in hopes of making their Fortunes by "Provisions. He set forth that 10 or 12 Bulls of Survivances were "sometimes obtained upon the same Benefice; and during Three "Years in Pope *Pius*'s Time (in which the exact Observation of the "*Pragmatick Sanction* was let fall) 22 Bishopricks happening to fall "void, 500000 Crowns were sent to *Rome* to obtain Bulls; and 62 "Abbies being then vacant, a like Sum was sent for their Bulls; and "120000 Crowns were sent to obtain other Ecclesiastical Preferments. "He added that for every Parish there might be a Bull, of a *Gratia Expectativa*, or Survivance, purchased at the Price of 25 Crowns; besides a vast number of other Graces and Dispensations. He insisted "that the King was bound to maintain the Rights and Liberties of the "Church in his Kingdom, of which he was the Founder, and Defender.

For which he was turn'd out.

The aspiring Cardinal offended with this honest Freedom of the Attorney-General, told him he should fall under the King's Displeasure, and lose his Place for it. He answered, the King had put him "in the Post freely, he would Discharge it Faithfully, as long as the "King thought fit to continue him in it; and he was ready to lay it "down whensoever it pleased the King; but he would suffer all "Things, rather than do any Thing against his Conscience, the "King's Honour, and the Good of the Kingdom. The Favourite prevailed to get him turn'd out, but the Crafty King gave him secretly great Rewards; he esteemed him the more for his Firmness, and restored him again to his Place.

The University of *Paris* also interposed, and the Rector told the Legate, that if the Matter was further prosecuted, they would Appeal to a General Council: But this notwithstanding, and tho' the Court of Parliament stood firm, yet the King being under the Apprehensions of some Practice of his Brothers of *Rome*, whom he hated mortally; in order to the defeating those, renewed his Promises for abrogating the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and it was for many Years let fall into Disuetude. Towards the End of this Reign an Assembly was held at *Orleans*, in order to the re-establishing the *Pragmatick*

Sanction

Sanction; and the hindring Money to be carried to *Rome*. The King died 1483.

1458.

Upon *Charles* the VIIIth's succeeding, an Assembly of the States was held at *Tours*; in which the Observation of the *Pragmatick Sanction* was earnestly press'd; the Third Estate insisted on having it entirely restor'd. The Prelates, who had been promoted contrary to it under King *Lewis*, opposed this vehemently; and were in Reproach call'd the Court Bishops, unduly promoted; and were charged, as Men that aspir'd to Favour at *Rome*. *St. Romain*, now again Attorney-General, said, He knew no Ecclesiastical Law better calculated to the Interest of the Kingdom, than the *Pragmatick Sanction* was; and therefore he would support it. The King saw it was for his Advantage to maintain it, and so was firmly resolved to adhere to it. The Courts of Parliament not only judged in Favour of Elections made by Virtue of that Sanction, but by earnest Remonstrances, they pressed the King, to prohibit the Applications made to the Court of *Rome* for Graces condemned by it.

The *Pragmatick Sanction* re-established.

Innocent the VIIIth continued by his Legates to press the entire Repeal of the *Pragmatick*; yet notwithstanding all Opposition, it continued to be observed during *Charles* the VIIIth's Reign. *Lewis* the XIIth did, by a Special Edict, appoint it to be for ever observ'd. Thus it continued till the Council of *Lateran*, summon'd by Pope *Julius* the IId.* to which *Silvester*, Bishop of *Worcester*, and Sir *Robert Wingfield*, were Commission'd by King *Henry* the VIIIth, to go "in his Name, and on Behalf of the Kingdom, to conclude every "thing for the Good of the Catholick Church, and for a Reformation, both in the Head, and in the Members; and to consent to "all Statutes and Decrees for the Publick Good: Promising to ratify whatever they, or any of them should do. The King's Empowering Two Persons in such a manner, seems no small Invasion of the Liberties of the Church; but it was in the Pope's Favour, so it was not challenged.

But it was still complain'd of by the Popes.

1499.

Rymer, To. 13. 17. Feb. 1511.

This Council was call'd by that angry Pope chiefly against *Lewis* the XIIth: And the *Pragmatick Sanction* was arraigned in it; both because it maintain'd the Authority of the Council to be Superior to the Pope, and because it cut off the Advantages that the Court had made by the Bulls sent into *France*. The Pope brought *Lewis* the XIth's Letters Patents, by which it was abrogated, into the Council; and the Advocate of the Council, after he had severely arraigned it, insisted to have it condemned. So a Monition was decreed, summoning all who would appear for it, to come and be heard upon it within 60 Days. The Pope died in *February* thereafter.

Pope *Leo* the Xth succeeded, and renew'd the Monitory Letters issued out by his Predecessor. But the Personal Hatred with which *Julius* prosecuted *Lewis* being at an end, Things were more calmly managed. Some Bishops were sent from the *Gallican* Church, to assist in the Council: But before any thing could be concluded, King *Lewis* dying, *Francis* succeeded. He understood that the Pope and the Council were intending to proceed against the *Pragmatick Sanction*, so he resolv'd to bring the Matter to an Agreement; in which some Progress was made, in an Interview that he had with the Pope at

Condemn'd by the Council in the *Lateran*

at *Bononia*. It was concluded by a Sanction called the *Concordate*, between the Cardinals of *Ancona* and of *Sanctorum Quatuor*, on the Pope's Side, and Chancellor *Prat* for the King. Some small Differences remained; which were all yielded as the Pope desired: And in the Month of *December*, the Pope's Bull, condemning the *Pragmatick Sanction*, was read, and approved by that Council, such as it was.

1516.

The *Concordate* put instead of it.

The *Concordate* was put instead of it. The Truth was, *Francis* was young; and was so set on pursuing his Designs in *Italy*, in which he saw the Advantage of having the Pope on his Side, that he sacrific'd all other Considerations to that, and made the best Bargain he could. "The King and the Pope divided the Matter between them. When any Bishoprick became vacant, the King was "within Six Months to Name to it, a Doctor, or one Licensed in "Divinity, of the Age of 27. If the Pope did not approve of the "Nomination, the King had Three Months more to Nominate another; but if he fail'd agáin, the Pope was to Provide one to the "See. The Pope had reserv'd to himself the Providing of all that "became vacant in the Court of *Rome*: (A Pretension the Popes had "set on foot, in which by degrees they had enlarged the Extent of it "to very great and undetermined Bounds; and did thereby dispose of "many Benefices.) And the King was limited in his Nomination, "by some Conditions, with Relation to the Person so nominated; "yet the want of these was not to be objected to the King's Kindred, "or to other Illustrious Persons. The King was also to Nominate "to all Abbeys a Person of 23 Years of Age. *Gratiæ Expectativæ*, "or Survivances and Reservations in Bulls, were never to be admit-"ted: Only One Benefice might be reserved from a Collator of 10; "and 2, from one of 50. Causes of Appeals were to be judged *in* "*Partibus*, in the Parts where the Matters lay; excepting the Cau-"ses enumerated in the Law, as *greater Causes*. It was also provi-"ded, that in all Bulls that were obtained, the true Value of the Be-"nefice was to be expressed; otherwise the Grace was null and void. No Mention was made of Annats; and in other Particulars, the Articles in the *Pragmatick Sanction* were inserted. The Pope promised he would send a Legate to *France*, to Tax the Value of all Ecclesiastical Benefices. All former Excommunications were taken off, with an Indemnity for all that was passed.

King *Francis* carried it to the Parliament of *Paris*.

The King having the Two Instruments, the one abrogating the *Pragmatick Sanction*, and the other establishing the *Concordate*, sent in great Pomp to him, in order to their being Registred in Parliament; resolved only to offer the latter, as that in which the other was virtually comprehended. So he went in Person to the Court of Parliament, to which many Great Men, Divines, and other Persons of Distinction were called. The Chancellor set forth the Hatred Pope *Julius* bore King *Lewis* the XIIth, and the Violence with which he had proceeded against him: The King succeeding when the Council of the *Lateran* was assembled; which was composed chiefly of Members of the Court, or of Dependers on the Court of *Rome*; who were all engaged against the *Pragmatick Sanction*, as that which diminish'd their Profits: The King saw it was in vain

to insist in defending it? But apprehending, if it were simply condemned, all the Old Oppressions would again take Place, he being then engaged in a most dangerous War in *Italy*, saw no better way to gain the Pope than by agreeing to the *Concordat*.

1516.

It was there opposed by the Ecclesiasticks of that Court.

The Ecclesiasticks who were present, said by their Mouth the Cardinal of *Boisi*, that the *Concordat* did so affect the Whole *Galican Church*, that without a General Consent it could not be approved. The King upon this said with some Indignation, that he would Command them either to Approve it, or he would send them to *Rome*, to dispute the Matter there with the Pope. The President answered in the Name of the Court, that he would report the King's Pleasure to the Court, and they would so proceed in that Matter, as to please both God and the King: The Chancellor replied, The Court were Wise: The King said, he did enjoin them to Obey without delay. Then Letters Patents were made out, setting forth the *Concordat*, and requiring the Court of Parliament, and all other Judges to observe it, and to see it fully executed.

Opposition made to it by the King's learned Council.

Some Days after that, the Chancellor, with some of the Officers of the Crown, came and brought the Whole Courts together, and delivered them the King's Letters Patents, requiring them to Register the *Concordat*. They upon that, appointed the King's Council to examine the Matters in it. The Advocate General, did in the Chancellor's Presence, represent the Inconvenience of receiving the *Concordats*, by which the Liberties of the *Galican Church* were lessened, and said that by the Paying of *Annats*, much Money would be carried out of the Kingdom: So he desired they would appoint a Committee to examine it. Four were named, who after they had sate about it Ten Days, desired more might be added to them; so the President of the *Enquets*, or Inquisitions, and Four more, were joined to them. A Week after that, the Advocate General moved the Court, to proceed still to judge according to the *Pragmatick*, and not to receive the Revocation of it, against which he put in an Appeal. Four Days after this, the Bastard of *Savoy*, the King's Natural Uncle, came into the Court, with Orders from the King, requiring them to proceed immediately to the Publishing the *Concordats*; appointing him to hear all their Debates, that he might report all to the King. He told them how much the King was offended with their Delays: They on the other hand complained of his being present to hear them deliver their Opinions. They sent some of their Number to lay this before the King; it looked like a Design, to frighten them, when One, not of their Body, was to hear all that passed among them. The King said there were some Worthy Men among them, but others, like Fools, complained of him, and of the Expence of his Court: He was a King, and had as much Authority as his Predecessors. They had flattered *Lewis* the XIIth, and called him the *Father of Justice*: He would also have Justice done with all Vigour. In *Lewis*'s Time some were banished the Kingdom because they did not Obey him; so if they did not Obey him, he would send some of them to *Bourdeaux*, and others to *Tolouse*, and put good Men in their Places: And told them he would have his Uncle present, during their Deliberation: So they were forced to submit to it.

1517.

They resolve not to publish it.

On the 13th of *June* they began to deliver their Opinions, and that lasted till the 24th of *July*: And then they concluded that the Court could not, and ought not, to Register the *Concordats*: But that they would still observe the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and that the University of *Paris*, and all others that desired to be heard, ought to be heard. Therefore they said they must Appeal from the Abrogation of the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and if the King would insist to have the *Concordat* observed, a Great Assembly ought to be summoned, such as *Charles* the VIIth had called to settle the *Pragmatick*. They also charged the *Savoyard* to make a true Report to the King of their Proceedings.

The King was highly offended at this.

Upon this the King wrote to them, to send some of their Body to give him an Account of the Grounds they went on: Two were sent, but it was long before they were admitted to his Presence: The King saying he would delay their Dispatch, as they had delayed his Business. When they were admitted, they were ordered to put what they had to offer in Writing: This they did, but desired to be likewise heard: But being asked, if they had any Thing to offer that was not in their Paper; they said they had not, but desired the King would hear their Paper read to him, the King refused it. They were a Body of One Hundred Persons, and had been preparing their Paper above Seven Months, but the Chancellor would answer it in less Time: And the King would not suffer them to have a verbal Process against what he had done. He told them there was but One King in *France*: He had done the best he could to bring all to a quiet State, and would not suffer that which he had done in *Italy*, to be undone in *France*; nor would he suffer them to assume an Authority like that of the Senate of *Venice*. It was their Business to do Justice, but not to put the Kingdom in a Flame, as they had attempted to do in his Predecessor's Time: He concluded he would have them Approve the *Concordats*, and if they gave him more Trouble, he would make them Ambulatory, and to follow his Court: Nor would he suffer any more Ecclesiasticks to be of their Body. They were not entirely his Subjects, since he had no Authority to cut off their Heads: They ought to say their Breviary, and not to meddle in his Affairs.

They answered him, that these Things were contrary to the Constitution of their Court. He said he was sorry his Ancestors had so constituted it, but he was King as well as they were; and he would settle them on another Foot: So he bid them begone early the next Morning: They begg'd a short delay, for the Ways were bad; but the Great Master told them from the King, that if they were not gone by such an Hour, he would put them in Prison, and keep them in it Six Months, and then he would see who would move to set them at Liberty: So they went to *Paris*. The Duke of *Tremoville* was sent after them to the Parliament, to let them know that the King would have the *Concordats* to be immediately published, without any further Deliberation: They must Obey the King as became Subjects; he told them the King had repeated that Ten Times to him, in the Space of a Quarter of an Hour; and concluded, that if they delayed any longer to Obey the King, the King would make all the Court feel the Effects of his Displeasure.

The

The Court called for the King's learned Council, but they said they had received positive Orders from the King by *Tremoville*, to consent to the *Concordats*; otherwise the King would treat them so, that they should feel it sensibly: The Advocate General said he was sorry for the Methods the King took; but he wished they would consider what might follow, if they continued to deny what was so earnestly pressed on them: The publishing this could be of no Force, since the Church, that was so much concerned in it, was neither called for, nor heard; the Thing might be afterwards set right, for *Lewis* the XIth saw his Error, and changed his Mind. He offered Two Things to soften that which was required of them: One was to insert in the Register, that it was done in Obedience to the King's Commands often repeated: The other was, that they should declare that they did not approve the Abrogation of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, but were then only to publish the *Concordats*; and that they might resolve in all their judiciary Proceedings to have no regard to that: And in particular to that Clause, that all Bulls were void if the true Value of the Benefice was not expressed in them. On the 18th of *March* they came to this Resolution, that their Decree of the 24th of *July*, for observing the *Pragmatick*, was by them fully confirmed; but in Obedience to the King's Commands, they published the *Concordats*; adding a Protestation, that the Court did not approve it, but intended in all their Sentences to judge according to the *Pragmatick Sanction*.

The King's learned Council oppose it no longer.

1518.

The Court made these Protestations in the Hands of the Bishop of *Langres*, a Duke and Peer of *France*, setting forth that their Liberty was taken from them; that the Publication of the *Concordats*, was not done by their Order, but against their Mind, by the King's express Order; and that they did not intend to approve it, nor to be governed by it in their Judgments, but to observe the *Pragmatick Sanction*. They ordered likewise an Appeal to be made from the Pope, to the Pope better advised, and to the next General Council: Upon all which the Bishop of *Langres* made an Authentick Instrument; so it was resolved to proceed to Publication on the 22d of *March*: But on the 21st, the Rector of the University of *Paris*, accompanied by some of that Body, and by some Advocates, appeared, desiring to be heard before they should proceed to such Publication. The Court received his Petition, and promised to consider it: But said if they made the Publication it should not prejudice any of their Rights, for they were resolved to judge as formerly, notwithstanding that: Yet they required him not to publish this. The Dean of *Nostredame* came on the 22d to the Court, and said they heard they were going to publish the *Concordats*, which both implied their condemning the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, and tended to the Destruction of the Liberties of the *Galican Church*, which the Popes had always envied them. He desired they would not proceed to it, 'till the Whole *Gallican Church* was consulted in the Matter; and protested that what they were about to do, should not be to the Prejudice of the Church. After this was received, they proceeded to the Publication, as they had promised, adding these Words to it, *Read, Published, and Registred, by the Order and Command of the*

The Parliament publishes it, but with a Protestation.

 King,

1518. *King often repeated to us, in the Presence of the Lord of* Tremoville *his First Chamberlain, specially sent to have it done.* And on the 24th of *March* they renewed their Protestation, that they did not approve of it; that they insisted in their former Appeals, and were resolved to proceed in all their Judgments without regard to it.

The University and Clergy oppose it.

On the 27th of *March*, the Rector of the University ordered a Mandat to be affixed, prohibiting their Printers to print the *Concordats*: He likewise appealed from the Pope, to a General Council, lawfully assembled, sitting in a safe Place, and in full Freedom. This was printed and affixed: And great Reflections were made by some Preachers in their Sermons, both on the King, and on the Chancellor. The King being informed of this, wrote to the First President, complaining both of the Rector, and of the Preachers: He ordered them to take Informations of all those Matters, and to get the *Concordats* to be printed as soon as was possible, and to punish the Authors of Sedition. But the Court said they knew nothing tending that way; for their Business took them up so entirely, that they could not attend on Sermons. The King complained likewise severely of the Appeal they had made; he was Monarch, and had no Superior, to whom an Appeal could lie: He also sent an Order to inhibit all Meetings in the University.

The Exceptions to the *Concordat* by the Parliament.

In the *Concordat* it was provided, that if it was not published within Six Months in *France*, it should be null and void: But the Delays that had been made, put the King on getting that Term prolonged a Year longer. " The Three Chief Exceptions that the Parliament " had to the *Concordats*, were, *First*, the declaring Bulls void, if " the true Value of the Benefices was not set forth in them; which " might put the Obtainers of them to great Charge, and many Suits: " The *Second*, was the carrying the *Greater Causes* to be judged at " *Rome*: The *Third*, was concerning Elections. The *First* of these " was given up, and was no further urged by the Court of *Rome*: " But it was not settled what those *Greater Causes* were. By the " *Pragmatick* they were restrained to Bishopricks and Monasteries; " but the *Concordats* held the Matter in general Words: So the Number " of these Causes was Indefinite; and on all Occasions it would increase " as the Canonists pleased. They condemned that Device of the Court " of *Rome*, of granting Provisions for all that was held by any who " died in the Court, considering the great Extent to which that had " been carried: They also found that by the *Concordats*, all Nunneries were left to the Pope's Provision; and likewise all Inferior " Dignities, such as Deanries, and Provostships. All Churches that " had special Privileges, were exempted from the King's Nomination; " and at *Rome*, Exceptions might be unjustly made to the Persons " named by the King: But above all, they stood on this, that the " Right of Electing was founded on the Law of God, and on Natural Right: That this was established by the Authority of General Councils, by the Civil Law, and by many Royal Edicts, " during all the Three Races of their Kings: This Right " was now taken away without hearing the Parties concerned to set it forth. If there had crept in Abuses in Elections, these might be corrected: but they thought the King usurped

" that

1518.

" that which did not belong to him, on this Pretence, that the Pope
" granted it to him; which was contrary both to the Doctrine and
" Practice of the *Galican Church*. They found many lesser Excepti-
" ons in Point of Form, to the Method of Abrogating the *Pragma-*
" *tick Sanction*: One was, that the Council of the *Lateran* did for-
" bid all Persons that held Lands of the Church to observe or main-
" tain that Sanction, under the Pain of Forfeiting those Lands;
" which was a plain Invasion of the King's Prerogatives, who is Su-
" preme Lord of all those Lands within his Dominions: The Pope
" also took upon him to annul that Sanction, that then subsisted by
" the Royal Authority: This might be made a Precedent in time to
" come for annulling any of their Laws. They likewise thought
" the taking away the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which was made upon
" the Authority of the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, and had de-
" clared the Subjection of the Pope to the Council, did set aside that
" Doctrine, and set up the Pope's Authority above the Council; tho'
" the *Pragmatick* was made while the Pope was reconciled to the
" Council: And the Breach upon which *Eugenius* was deposed,
" hapned not till almost a Year after that; it being published in *July*
" 1438, and his Deposition was not till *June* 1439: Besides, that 10
" Year after that Pope *Nicolaus* the Fifth confirmed all the Decrees made
" at *Basil*. They likewise put the King in mind of the Oath he
" took at his Coronation, to Maintain all the Rights and Liberties of
" the *Galican Church*. So they moved the King either to prevail
" with the Pope to call a General Council, or that he would call a
" National one in *France*, to judge of the whole Matter: And as
" for the Threatnings given out, that the Pope would Depose the
" King, and give away his Kingdom, if he did not submit to him,
" they said the King held his Crown of God, and all such Threatnings
" ought to be rejected with Scorn and Indignation.

These were answered by the Chancellor.

To all these, the Chancellor made a long and flattering Answer; for which he had the usual Reward of a Cardinal's Cap. He set forth the Danger the King was in, being engaged in the War of *Italy*; the Pope threatning him with Censures: for the *Pragmatick Sanction* was then condemned by the Pope, and that Censure was ratified by the Council in the *Lateran*; upon which he would have re-assumed all the old Oppressions, if the King had not entred into that Treaty; yielding some Points to save the rest. He said the Kings of the first Race nominated to Bishopricks: for which he cited Precedents from *Gregory* of *Tours*. So the Kings of *England* did name, and the Popes upon that gave Provisions: The Kings of *Scotland* did also name, but not by vertue of a Right, but rather by Connivance. He said Electi-ons had gone thro' various Forms; sometimes Popes did Elect, some-times Princes with the People, sometimes Princes took it into their own Hands, sometimes the whole Clergy without the People, and of late the Canons chose without the Concurrence of the Clergy. That the King being in these Difficulties, all those about him, and all those in *France* who were advised with in the Matter, thought the accepting the *Concordats* was just and necessary. Pope *Leo* repented that he had granted so much: and it was not without great difficulty that he brought the Cardinals to consent to it: he went very copiously as a

1518. Canonist thro' the other Heads, softning some Abuses, and shewing that others had a long Practice for them, and were observed in other Kingdoms.

The Matter finally settled. And thus was this Matter carried in the Parliament of *Paris*, in which as the Court shewed great Integrity and much Courage, which deserve the highest Characters, with which such Noble Patriots ought to be honoured; so in this Instance, we see how feeble the Resistance even of the Worthiest Judges will prove to a Prince, who has possessed himself of the whole Legislative Authority; when he intends to break thro' Established Laws and Constitutions, and to Sacrifice the Rights of his Crown, and the Interest of his People, to serve particular Ends of his own. In such Cases the generous Integrity of Judges, or other Ministers, will be resented as an Attempt on the Sovereign Authority: And such is the Nature of Arbitrary Power, that the most modest Defence of Law and Justice, when it crosses the Designs of an insolent and corrupt Minister, and an abused Prince, will pass for Disobedience and Sedition.

If the Assembly of the States in *France* had maintained their share of the Legislative Power, and had not suffered the Right they once had to be taken from them, of being liable to no Taxes, but by their own Consent, these Judges would have been better supported: and the Opposition they made upon this occasion, would have drawn after it all the most signal Expressions of Honour and Esteem, that a Nation owes to the Trustees of their Laws and Liberties, when they maintain them resolutely, and dispence them equally. And the corrupt Chancellor would have received such Punishment as all wicked Ministers deserve, who for their own Ends betray the Interest of their Country.

The Parliament still judged by the *Pragmatick Sanction*. The Court of Parliament shewed great Firmness after this: and it appeared that the Protestation that they made of judging still according to the *Pragmatick*, was not only a Piece of Form to save their Credit. The Archbishop of *Sens* died soon after; and the King sent to inhibit the Chapter to proceed to an Election. It was understood that he designed to give it to the Bishop of *Paris*; so the Chapter wrote to that Bishop not to give such a Wound to their Liberties as to take it upon the King's Nomination: But seeing that he had no regard to that, they Elected him, that so they might by this seem to keep up their Claim. The Bishop of *Alby* died soon after that; the King named one, and the Chapter chose another; upon that *Alby* being within the Jurisdiction of *Tholouse*, the Court of Parliament there, judged in favour of him who was Elected by the Chapter, against him who had obtained Bulls, upon the King's Nomination: at which the King was highly offended. The Archbishoprick of *Bourges* falling void soon after, the King nominated one, and the Chapter elected another. The Chapter pretended a Special Privilege to Elect, so the

1524. Pope judged in their Favour. Some Years after this, the King carried on his Wars in *Italy*, leaving his Mother Regent of *France*; so the Court of Parliament made a Remonstrance to Her, setting forth the Invasions that had been made upon the Rights of the *Galican Church*, desiring her to interpose, that the *Pragmatick Sanction*, and the Liberty of Elections might again have their full Force; but that had no Effect.

Soon

Soon after this, the King was taken Prisoner by the Army of *Charles* the Fifth at the Battel of *Pavia*: and upon that his Mother declared, that she look'd on her Son's Misfortunes as a Judgment of God upon him, for his Abolishing the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and tho' she would not take it upon her to make any Alteration during her Son's Absence, yet she promised, that when he should be set at Liberty, she would use her utmost Endeavours with him, to set it up again, and to abolish the *Concordats*. This was Registred in the Records of the Court of Parliament, yet it had no Effect upon the King's Return out of *Spain*: he finding the Parliament resolved to maintain all Elections, ordered that Matter to be taken wholly out of their Cognizance, and he removed all Suits of that sort from the Courts of Parliament, to the Great Council; upon some Disputes that were then on Foot concerning a Bishoprick and an Abbey given to Chancellor *Prat*, then made a Cardinal, in Recompence of the Service he had done the Court of *Rome*: so by that an End was put to all Disputes.

Upon the King's being a Prisoner, the Concordat was more condemned.

1527.

The Parliament strugled hard against this Diminution of their Jurisdiction: they wrote to the Dukes and Peers of *France*, to move the Regent not to proceed thus to lessen their Authority: On the other hand she said, they were taking all things into their own hands in prejudice of the King's Prerogative. But the King confirmed that, and settled the Chancellor in the Possession of the See and Abbey, and the Proceedings of the Parliament against him were annulled and ordered to be struck out of their Registers: and it appearing that some Chapters and Abbies had Special Privileges for Free Elections; the King obtained a Bull from *Clement* the Seventh, suspending all those during the King's Life: The Court of *Rome* stood long upon this, and thought to have gained new Advantages, before it should be granted: But the Pope was at that time in a Secret Treaty with the Court of *France*, which was afterwards accomplished at *Marseilles*: So he was easier in this Matter, and the Bull was Registred in Parliament in *May* there-after. And upon this the Chancellor pretending that he would see and examine those Privileges, called for them all; and when they were brought to him, he threw them all into the Fire.

These Matters removed from the Parliament to the Great Council.

1531

But to lay all that I have found of this Matter together, the Clergy of *France*, in a Remonstrance that they made to King *Henry* the Third, affirmed, That *Francis* at his Death declared to his Son, that nothing troubled his Conscience more, than his taking away Canonical Elections, and his assuming to himself the Nomination to Bishopricks. If this was true, his Son had no regard to it, but went on as his Father had done. Upon his Death, when the Cardinal of *Lorrain* pressed the Parliament to proceed in the vigorous Prosecution of Heresy, they remonstrated, that the Growth of Heresy flowed chiefly from the Scandals that were given by bad Clergymen, and ill Bishops: And that the ill Choice that had been made by the Court, since the *Concordats* were set up, gave more occasion to the Progress that Heresy made, than any other thing whatsoever. The Courts were so monstrously corrupt, during that and the two former Reigns, that no other could be expected from them.

Remonstrances made by the Clergy against them.

1585

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An

1560.

An Assembly of the States was called in the Beginning of *Charles* the Ninth's Reign. In it the first Estate prayed, that the *Pragmatick Sanction* might again take place, particularly in the Point of Elections; they backed this with great Authorities of Councils, Ancient and Modern: With them the Two other Estates agreed. The Court tried to shift this off, promising to send one to *Rome* to treat about it: But that did not satisfy; so a Decree was drawn up to this Effect, That an Archbishop should be chosen by the Bishops of his Province, by the Chapter of his Cathedral, and 12 Persons of the Chief of the Laity; and a Bishop by the Metropolitan and the Chapter. The Court of Parliament opposed this: They thought the Laity ought to have no share in Elections, so they pressed the Restoring the *Pragmatick Sanction* without any Alteration; yet, in Conclusion, the Decree was thus amended: An Archbishop was to be chosen by the Bishops of the Province, and the Chapter of the See; but a Bishop was to be chosen by the Archbishop, with the Bishops of the Province, and the Chapter, and by 24 of the Laity to be thus nominated: All the Gentry were to be Summoned to meet, and to chuse 12 to Represent them at the Election, and the City was to chuse other 12. All these were to make a List of Three Persons to be offered to the King, and the Man named by the King was to have the See. Thus they designed to bring this Matter into a Form as near the Customs mentioned in the *Roman* Law, as they could. But this Design vanished, and was never put in Practice.

The Clergy still called for Restoring the Elections: President *Ferrier* was sent to *Rome* to obtain it. He in a long Speech shewed, that neither the *Galican Church*, nor the Courts of Parliament, had ever received the *Concordats*; that Shadow of Approbation given to it by the Parliament of *Paris*, being extorted from them by Force; and he laid out all the Inconveniences that had hapned since the *Concordats* were set up: But that Court felt the Advantages they had by them too sensibly, to be ever prevailed with to give them up: And thus that great Affair was settled in the View of this Church and Nation, at the time that King *Henry* broke off all Correspondence with it. It may be very reasonably presumed that Inferences were made from this, to let all People see what Merchandize the Court of *Rome* made of the most Sacred Rights of the Church, when they had their own Profits secured: And therefore the Wise Men in this Church at that time might justly conclude, that their Liberties were safer while they remained an entire Body within themselves, under a legal Constitution; by which, if Princes carried their Authority too far, some Check might be given to it by those from whom the Publick Aids were to be obtained, for Supporting the Government; than while all was believed to belong to the Popes, who would at any time make a Bargain, and divide the Spoils of the Church with Crowned Heads; taking to themselves the gainful Part, and leaving the rest in the Hands of Princes.

An Apology, with the Reasons for this Digression.

I hope, tho' this Relation does not belong properly to the History of the Reformation; yet since it is highly probable it had a great Influence on Peoples Minds, this Digression will be easily forgiven me. And now I turn to such of our Affairs as fall within this Period.

The First Thing that occured to me in order of Time, was a Letter of Queen *Katharine*'s to King *Henry*, who upon his crossing the Sea, left the Regency of the Kingdom in her Hands; the Commission bears Date the 11th of *June*, 1513. King *James* the IVth of *Scotland* having invaded *England* with a great Army, was defeated and killed by the Earl of *Surrey*. The Earl gave the Queen the News, in a Letter to her, with One to the King; this She sent him with a Letter of her own; which being the only One of hers to the King that I ever saw, I have inserted it in my Collection. The Familiarities of calling him in one Place *My Husband*; and in another, *My Henry*, are not unpleasant. She sent with it a Piece of the King of *Scots* Coat to be a Banner: She was then going to visit, as She calls it, Our Lady of *Walsingham*.

Sept. 16. 1513.

Coll. Numb. 2.

Queen *Katharine*'s Letter to King *Henry*, upon the Death of the King of *Scotland*.

I will next open an Account of the Progress of Cardinal *Wolsey*'s Fortunes, and the Ascendant he had over the King. The First Step he made into the Church, was to be Rector of *Lymington* in the Diocese of *Bath* and *Wells*; then on the 30th of *July* 1508, he had a Papal Dispensation to hold the Vicarage of *Lyde*, in the Diocese of *Canterbury*, with his Rectory. There is a Grant to him as Almoner, on the 8th of *November* 1509. The next Preferment he had was to be a Prebendary of *Windsor*: He was next advanced to be Dean of *Lincoln*. A Year after that, Pope *Leo* having reserved the disposing the See of *Lincoln* to himself, gave it to *Wolsey*, designed in the Bulls Dean of St. *Stephen*'s, *Westminster*. But no mention is made of the King's Nomination. This is owned by the King in the Writ for the Restitution of the Temporalities. On the 14th of *July*, that Year, Cardinal *de Medici*, afterwards Pope *Clement* the VIIth, wrote to King *Henry*, that upon the Death of Cardinal *Bembridge*, he had prayed the Pope not to dispose of his Benefices, till he knew the King's Mind, which the Pope out of his Affection to the King granted very readily. Perhaps the King did recommend *Wolsey*, but no mention is made of that in his Bulls. The King granted the Restitution of the Temporalities of *York*, before his Installment; for in the Writ, he is only called the *Elect Archbishop*: And it is not expressed that he had the King's Nomination. He had *Tournay in Commendam*, but resigned it into the Hands of *Francis*, who for that gave him a Pension of 12000 *Livres* during Life: At the same Time Prince *Charles*, afterwards *Charles* the Vth, gave him a Pension of 3000 Pound. It seems he afterwards desired to have it better secured: So in the End of that Year Prince *Charles* lodged a Pension of 5000 *Ducats* to him, on the Bishoprick of *Pace* in *Castile*. Above a Year after that, Pope *Leo* gave him a Pension of 2000 *Ducats* out of *Palencia*, instead of that which was charged on the Bishoprick of *Pace*. Besides all this, when *Charles* the Vth was in *London*, he gave him another Pension of 9000 Crowns, dated the 8th of *June*, 1522. It seems he had other Pensions from *France*; for Five Years after this, there was an Arrear stated there as due to him, of 121898 Crowns. He had also Pensions from other Princes of a lower Order. The Duke of *Milan*'s Secretary did by his Master's express Order, engage in the Year 1515, to pay *Wolsey* 10000 *Ducats* a Year, he on his Part engaging, that there should be a perpetual Friendship settled, between the Kings of *England* and *France*, with that Duke.

The Progress of *Wolsey*'s rise.

July. 14. 1514.

Rymer Tom. 13.

August 5.

July 31. 1518.

Decemb. 16. 1518.

March 29. 1520.

Novemb. 18. 1525.

Rymer Vol. 12.

Decemb. 2, 1524.

The *French* King being a Prisoner, his Favour was necessary in that Distress, so the Regent engaged to pay it in Seven Years Time. But whatever may be in *Wolsey*'s Provisions, when the Bishoprick of *Salisbury* was given to Cardinal *Campegio* by a Bull; mention is expresly made in it, of the King's Letters, interceeding humbly for him.

King *Henry*'s Book of the *Seven Sacraments*.

When King *Henry* wrote this Book of the *Seven Sacraments*, it seems it was at first designed to send it over in Manuscript: For *Woolsey* sent One to the King finely dressed, that was to be presented to the Pope: And he writes that he was to send him more, which were to be sent about with the Pope's Bulls to all Princes, and Universities: One in particular, as he writes, was far more Excellent and Princely: He also sent with it the Choice of certain Verses, to be written in the King's own Hand, in the Book that was to be sent to the Pope, and subscribed by him, to be laid up in the Archives of the Church, to his Immortal Glory and Memory. The Matter was so laid, that the Book was presented to the Pope on the 10th of *October*; and the very Day after, the Bull giving him the Title of *Defender of the Faith* bears Date: And in a private Letter that Pope *Leo* wrote to him, he runs out into copious Strains of Flattery, affirming, *That it appeared that the Holy Ghost assisted him in Writing it.*

Coll. Numb. 3.

1521.

Ut Spiritum affuisse Sanctum appareat.

The King was so pleased with the Title, that *Wolsey* directed his Letters to him with it on the back, as appears in a Letter of his, that sets forth the low State of the Affairs of *Spain* in *Italy*. It appears it was written (for the Year is not added in the Date) after that *Luther* wrote his Answer to the King's Book, at least after Letters came from him on the Subject; the Original of which he desires might be sent him, that he might send it to the Pope: And he intended to send Copies both of those, and of the King's Answers to the Cardinal of *Mentz*, and to *George* Duke of *Saxony*.

Coll. Numb. 4.

Wolsey sent to *Charles* the Vth, gained by him.

After the King's Interviews both with the Emperor, and the King of *France* were over, new Quarrels broke out; by which the Emperor and *Francis* engaged in Hostilities: But King *Henry*, pretending to be the Umpire of their Differences, sent *Wolsey* over to compose them. He came to *Calais* in the beginning of *August*. From *Dover* he wrote to the King, and sent Two Letters to him, which the King was to write in his own Hand to the Emperor, and to the Lady Regent of *Flanders*, which he desired the King would send to him: For he would move slowly towards him. Thus he took the Whole Ministry into his own Hands, and prepared even the King's Secret Letters for him. He was with the Emperor Thirteen Days, who gave him a singular Reception; for he came a Mile out of Town to meet him. The Town is not named, but it was *Bruges*; for in One of *Erasmus*'s Letters, he mentions his meeting *Wolsey* in that Town, he being then with the Emperor. The Cardinal returned by the way of *Gravelin*, and from thence, beside the Publick Letter, in which he gave the King an Account of his Negotiation, he wrote a private One to him, with this Direction on it, *To the Kings Graceys own Hands only*. It seems he had no private Conversation with the Emperor formerly: "For in this he observes, that for his Age he was "very Wise, and understood his Affairs well. He was Cold and

1521.

Coll. Numb. 5.

Coll. Numb. 6.

Temperate

1521.

"Temperate in Speech; but Spoke to very good purpose. He reckon-
"ed that he would prove a very Wise Man: He thought he was
"much inclined to Truth, and to the keeping of his Promises: He
"seemed to be inseparably joined to the King; and was resolved to
"follow his Advice in all his Affairs, and to trust the Cardinal en-
"tirely. He twice or thrice in secret, promised to him by his Faith
"and Truth, to abide by this: He promised it also to all the rest of
"the Privy-Council that were with the Cardinal, in such a Manner,
"that they all believed it came from his Heart, without Artifice, or
"Dissimulation. So *Wolsey* wrote to the King, that he had reason to
"bless God, that he was not only the Ruler of his own Realm,
"but that now by his Wisdom, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the
"*Low-Countries*, should be ruled and governed. Whether the Em-
peror did by his Prudent and Modest Behaviour, really impose upon
Wolsey; or whether by other secret Practices he had so gained him,
as to oblige him to persuade the King to such a Confidence in him,
I leave it to the Reader to judge.

Wolsey's Practices to be chosen Pope.

It passes generally among all the Writers of that Age, that he
aspired to the Popedom: And that the Emperor then promised him
his Assistance; in which he failing to him afterwards, *Wolsey* carried
his Revenges so far, that all the Change of Councils, and even the
Suit of the Divorce, is in a great Measure ascribed to it. I went into
the Stream in my History, and seemed persuaded of it; yet some
Original Letters of *Wolsey*'s, communicated to me by Sir *William Cook*
of *Norfolk*, which I go next to open, make this very doubtful. The
First was upon the News of Pope *Hadrian*'s Death, upon
which he immediately wrote to the King, "That his Absence from
"*Rome* was the only Obstacle of his Advancement to that Dignity:
"There were great Factions then at *Rome*; he protests before God,
"that he thought himself unfit for it, and that he desired much ra-
"ther to end his Days with the King; yet remembring that at the last
"Vacation (Nine Months before) the King was for his being prefer-
"red to it, thinking it would be for his Service, and supposing that
"he was still of the same Mind, he would prepare such Instructions,
"as had been before sent to *Pace*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s, then Ambassa-
"dor at *Rome*, and send them to him by the next: With this he
also sent him the Letters that he had from *Rome*. The next Day he
sent the Letters and Instructions, directed to the King's Ambassadors,
who were the Bishop of *Bath*, *Pace*, and *Haniball*, for procuring his
Preferment; or, that failing, for Cardinal *de Medici*: These he de-
sired the King to sign and dispatch. And that the Emperor might
more effectually concur, though pursuant to the Conference he had
with the King on that Behalf, he verily supposed he had not failed
to advance it, he drew a private Letter for the King to write with
his own Hand to the Emperor, putting to it the secret Sign and
Mark that was between them.

Coll. Numb. 7. Septemb. 30. Septemb. 14.

Coll. Numb. 8. Octob. 1.

The Dispatch, that upon this, he sent to the King's Ambassador at
Rome, fell into my Hands when I was laying out for Materials for
my Second Volume; but though it belong'd in the Order of Time to
the First, I thought it would be acceptable to the Reader to see it,
though not in its proper Place. In it, after some very respectful

Voll. II. Coll. Records Numb. 48 P. 192.

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Wolsey's Designs to be chosen Pope.

Words of Pope *Hadrian*, which, whether he wrote out of Decency only, or that he thought so of him, I cannot determine, "he tells "them that before the Vacancy, both the Emperor, and the King, "had great Conferences for his Advancement, though the Em-"peror's Absence makes that he cannot now join with them; Yet "the Regent of the *Netherlands*, who knows his Mind, has expres-"sed an earnest and hearty Concurrence for it: And by the Letters "of the Cardinals *de Medicis*, *Sanctorum quatuor*, and *Campegio*, he "saw their Affections: He was chiefly determined by the King's "Earnestness about it, tho' he could willingly have lived still where "he was; his Years increasing, and he knew himself unworthy of "so high a Dignity: Yet his Zeal for the Exaltation of the Christian "Faith, and for the Honour and Safety of the King, and the Empe-"ror, made him refer himself to the Pleasure of God: And in the "King's Name he sends them double Letters; the first to the Cardi-"nal *de Medicis*, offering the King's Assistance to him, and if it was "probable he would carry it, they were to use no other Powers: But "if he thought he could not carry it, then they were to propose "himself to him, and to assure him, if he was chosen, the other "should be as it were Pope: They were to let the other Cardinals "know what his Temper was, not austere, but free: He had great "Things to give, that would be void upon his Promotion: He had "no Friends nor Relations to raise, and he knew perfectly well the "Great Princes of *Christendom*, and all their Interests and Secrets: "He promises he will be at *Rome* within Three Months, if they "chuse him; and the King seems resolved to go thither with him; "he did not doubt but, according to the many Promises and Exhor-"tations of the Emperor to him, that his Party will join with "them.

"The King also ordered them to promise large Rewards and Pro-"motions, and great Summs of Money to the Cardinals; and tho' "they saw the Cardinal *de Medici* full of Hope, yet they were not "to give over their Labour for him, if they saw any hope of Suc-"cess: But they were to manage that so secretly, that the other may "have no suspicion of it. This was dated at *Hampton-Court* the 4th of *October*.

To this a Postscript was added in the Cardinal's own Hand, to the Bishop of *Bath*: He tells him "what a great Opinion the King had of "his Policy; and he orders him to spare no reasonable Offers, which "perhaps might be more regarded, than the Qualities of the Person. "The King believed all the *Imperialists* would be with him, if there "was Faith in the Emperor: He believed the Young Men, who for "most part were necessitous, would give good Ear to fair Offers, "which shall undoubtedly be perform'd. The King willeth you "neither to spare his Authority, nor his good Money or Substance; "so he concludes, praying God to send him good Speed. But all this fine Train of Simony came too late, for it found a Pope already cho-sen.

Coll. Numb. 9. *Decemb.* 17.

His next Letter upon that Subject tells the King, "That after great "Heat in the Conclave, the *French* Party was quite abandoned; and "the Cardinals were fully resolved to chuse Cardinal *de Medicis* or



GUL: CECILIUS Baro de Burghley *Regni* Thesaur: *Eques Periscelidis Obiit A.D. 1598. Ætatis 77.*

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" Himself: That this coming to the Knowledge of the City of *Rome*,
" they came to the Conclave-Windows, and cried out what Danger
" it would be to chuse a Person that was Absent: So that the Cardi-
" nals were in such Fear, that tho' they were principally bent on
" him, yet to avoid this Danger, they, by the Inspiration of the Holy
" Ghost (so he writes) did on the 19th of *November* chuse Cardi-
" nal *de Medicis*, who took the Name of *Clement* the 7th; of which
" good and fortunate News, the King had great Cause to thank Al-
" mighty God; since as he was his faithful Friend, so by his Means
" he had attained that Dignity: And that for his own Part he took
" God to Record, that he was much gladder, than if it had fallen on
" his own Person." In these Letters there is no Reflection on the Emperor, as having failed in his Promise at the former Election: Nor is that Election any way imputed to him, but laid on a Casualty ordinary enough in Conclaves; and more natural in that time, because Pope *Hadrian*'s severe way had so disgusted the *Romans*, that no wonder if they broke out into Disorders upon the apprehension of another Foreigner being like to succeed. If it is suspected, that tho' *Wolsey* knew this was a Practice of the Emperor's, he might disguise it thus from the King, that so he might be less suspected in the Revenge that he was Meditating, the Thing must be left as I find it; only tho' the Emperor afterwards charged *Wolsey* as acting upon private Revenge for missing the Popedom, yet he never pretended that he had moved himself in it, or had studied to obtain a Promise from him; which would have put that general Charge of his aspiring, and of his revenging himself for the disappointment, more heavily on him.

The King of *France* taken Prisoner.

The King and the Cardinal continued in a good Correspondence both with that Pope and the Emperor till the Battel of *Pavy* that *Francis*'s Misfortune changed the Face of Affairs, and obliged the King according to his constant and true Maxim, to support the weaker Side, and to balance the Emperor's growing Power, that by that Accident was like to become quickly superior to all *Christendom*. It has been suggested that the Emperor wrote before to *Wolsey* in Terms of Respect, scarce suitable to his Dignity, but that he afterwards changed both his Stile and Subscription: But I have seen many of his Letters, to which the Subscription is either your *good* or your *best Friend*; and he still continued that way of Writing. His Letters are hardly legible, so that I could never read one compleat Period in any of them, otherwise I would have put them in my Collection.

Lord *Burghleigh*'s Character of *Wolsey*.

But having look'd thus far into *Wolsey*'s Correspondence with the King; I shall now set him in another Light from a very good Author the Lord *Burghly*, who in that Memorial prepared for Queen *Elizabeth* against Favourites, probably intended to give some Stop to the Favour she bore the Earl of *Leicester*, has set out the Greatness of *Wolsey*'s Power, and the ill Use he made of it. " He had a Family
" equal to the Court of a Great Prince. There was in it One Earl,
" and Nine Barons, and about a Thousand Knights, Gentlemen, and
" Inferior Officers. Besides the vast Expence of such a Houshold, he
" gave great Pensions to those in the Court and Conclave of *Rome*;
" by

1521. " by whose Services he hoped to be advanced to the Papacy. He
" lent great Sums to the Emperor, whose Poverty was so well
" known, that he could have no Prospect of having them repaid;
" (probably this is meant of *Maximilian.*) Those constant Expences
" put him on extraordinary Ways of providing a Fund for their con-
" tinuance. He granted Commissions under the Great Seal to oblige
" every Man upon Oath to give in the true Value of his Estate;
" and that those who had Fifty Pound, or upwards, should pay Four
" Shillings in the Pound. This was so heavy, that tho' it had been
" imposed by Authority of Parliament, it would have been thought
" an Oppression of the Subject: But he adds, that to have this done
" by the private Authority of a Subject, was what wants a Name.
" When this was represented to the King, he disowned it; and said,
" No Necessities of his should be ever so great, as to make him at-
" tempt the raising Money any other way but by the People's Con-
" sent in Parliament. Thus his illegal Project was defeated; so he
" betook himself to another not so odious, by the way of Benevo-
" lence: And to carry that thro', he sent for the Lord Mayor and
" Aldermen of *London*, and said to them, That he had prevailed
" with the King to recall his Commissions for that heavy Tax, and to
" throw himself on their free Gifts. But in this he was likewise
" disappointed; for the Statute of *Richard* the Third, was pleaded a-
" gainst all Benevolences: The People obstinately refused to pay it;
" and tho' the demanding it was for some time insisted on, yet the
" Opposition made to it, being like to end in a Civil War, it was let
" fall." All this I drew from that Memorial. I found also a Com-

Cotton Libr.

mission to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Calham* and Others, setting forth the great Wars that the King had in *France*, in which the Duke of *Bourbon*, called one of the greatest Princes in *France*, was now the King's Servant: They are by it required to practise with all in *Kent*, whose Goods amounted to Four Pound, or above, and whose Names were given to a Schedule to anticipate the Subsidy granted in Parliament. This is all that has occurred to me with relation to *Wolsey*'s Ministry. I will in the next place set out what he attempted or did in Ecclesiastical Matters, with the Proceedings in Convocation during this Period. When King *Henry* called his first Parliament by a Writ Tested *October* 17. 1509, to meet at *Westminster* the 21st of *January* following, he did not intend to demand a Supply; so there appears no Writ for a *Convocation*: But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* summoned one, as it seems by his own Authority: Yet none sate then at *York*. The House of Lords was sometimes adjourned by the Lord Treasurer; because the Chancellor (*Warham*) and the other Spiritual Lords were absent, and engaged in Convocation: but it does not appear what was done by them.

Wolsey's Proceedings as Legate.

His Insolence to *Warham*.

In the Year 1511, on the 28th of *November*, a Writ was sent to *Warham* to Summon a Convocation, which met the 6th of *February*: They had several Sessions, and gave a Subsidy of 24000 *l.* but did nothing besides with relation to Matters of Religion. There was some Heat among them on the account of some Grievances and Excesses in the Archbishop's Courts. A Committee was appointed of Six Persons, the Bishops of *Norwich* and *Rochester*, the Prior of *Canter-*

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bury, the Dean of St. *Pauls*, and an Archdeacon; but without addition of his Place; these were to examine the Encroachments made by the Archbishop's Courts, and the Inhibitions sent to the Inferior Courts: But especially as to the Probates of Wills, and the granting Administrations to Intestate Goods, when there was any to the Value of Five Pound in several Dioceses: An Estimate first settled by *Warham*, for which he had Officials and Apparitors in every Diocess, three or four in some, and five or six in others, which was look'd on by them as contrary to Law. Cardinal *Morton* is said to be the first who set up this Pretence of Prerogative: Against these the Bishops alledged the Constitutions of *Ottobonus* and of Archbishop *Stratford*: It is also set forth, that when *Warham* was an Advocate, he was employed by *Hill*, Bishop of *London*, in whose Name he appeared against them, and appealed to P. *Alexander* against these Invasions made by the Archbishop on the Rights of his See. And when *Warham* was promoted to the See of *London*, he maintained his Claim against them, and opposed them more than any other Bishop of the Province, and sent his Chancellor to *Rome* to find Relief against them. But when he was advanced to be Archbishop, he not only maintained those Practices, but carried them further than his Predecessor had done. All this, with thirteen other Articles of Grievances, were drawn up at large in the State of the Case between the Archbishop and the Bishops; and Proposals were made of an Accommodation between them about the Year 1514; but the Event shewed that this Opposition came to nothing. This must be acknowledged to be none of the best Parts of *Warham*'s Character. In the Year 1514, they were again Summoned by Writ; they met and gave Subsidies, but they were not to be levied till the Terms of paying the Subsidies formerly granted were out. In the Year 1518, *Warham* Summoned a Convocation to meet at *Lambeth* to Reform some Abuses; and in the Summons he affirmed that he had obtained the King's Consent so to do. At this *Wolsey* was highly offended, and wrote him a very haughty Letter: In it he said, "It belonged to him as *Legate à latere*, to see to the Reformation of "Abuses: and he was well assured, that the King would not have "him to be so little esteemed, that he should enterprize such Reformation to the Derogation of the Dignity of the See Apostolick, "and otherwise than the Law will suffer you, without my Advice "and Consent." And he in plain Words denies that he had any such Command of the King, but that the King's Order was expresly to the contrary. So he orders him to come to him, to treat of some things concerning his Person. This it seems *Warham* was required to send round his *Suffragan* Bishops: So he recalled his Monitions in expectation of a Legatine Council: The Pestilence was then raging, so this was put off a Year longer; and then *Wolsey* summoned it by a Letter, which he transmitted to the Bishops: That to the Bishop of *Hereford* is in his Register. He desires him to come to a Council at *Westminster* for the Reforming the Clergy, and *for consulting in the most convenient and soundest way, of what we shall think may tend to the Increase of the Faith.* He hoped this Letter would be of as much Weight with him as Monitories in due Form would be.

Reg. Heref. Booth. fol. 37.

Wake's State of the Church, *Append.* p. 208.

Reg. Heref. Booth. fol. 41.

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A Legatine Synod.

It appears not by any Record I could ever hear of, what was done in the Legatine Synod thus brought together, except by the Regifter of *Hereford*, in which we find that the Bifhop fummoned his Clergy to meet in a Synod at the Chapter-houfe, to confult about certain Affairs, and the Articles delivered by *Wolfey* as Legate in a Council of the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, to the Bifhops there affembled, to be publifhed by them. All that is mentioned in this Synod, is concerning the Habits of the Clergy; and the Lives and Manners of thofe who were to be ordained; which the Bifhop caufed to be explained to them in *Englifh*, and ordered them to be obferved by the Clergy: And thefe being publifhed, they proceeded to fome Heads relating to thofe Articles: and he gave Copies of all that paffed in every one of them.

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1523. He called the Convocation of Canterbury to fit with him.

The next Step he made was of a Singular Nature. When the King fummoned the Parliament in the 14th Year of his Reign, *Warham* had a Writ to Summon a Convocation of his Province, which did meet Five Days after, on the 20th of *April*. The Cardinal fummoned his Convocation to meet at *York*, almoft a Month before, on the 22d of *March*; but they were immediately prorogued to meet at *Weftminfter* the 22d of *April*. The Convocation of *Canterbury* was opened at St. *Paul*'s: But a Monition came from *Wolfey* to *Warham*, to appear before him, with his Clergy, at *Weftminfter* on the 22d: And thus both Convocations were brought together: It feems he intended that the Legatine Synod thus irregularly brought together, fhould give the King Supplies: But the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* faid, their Powers were only directed to the Archbifhop of *Canterbury*, and thefe would not Warrant them to act in any other Manner, than in the Provincial Way: So the Convocation of *Canterbury* returned back to St. *Paul*'s, and fate there 'till *Auguft*, and gave the Supply apart, as did alfo that of *York*. But *Wolfey* finding thofe of *Canterbury* could not act under him, by the Powers that they had brought up with them, iffued out on the 2d of *May*, Monitory Letters to the Bifhops of that Province to meet at *Weftminfter* the 8th of *June*, to deliberate *of the Reformation of the Clergy, both of Seculars and Regulars, and of other Matters relating to it*. In this he mentions *Warham*'s fummoning a Convocation, which he had brought before him; but upon fome Doubts arifing, becaufe the Proctors of the Clergy had no fufficient Authority to meet in the Legatine Synod, he therefore fummoned them to meet with him, and to bring fufficient Powers to that Effect, by the 2d of *June*: But it does not appear that any Affembly of the Clergy followed purfuant to this: So it feems it was let fall. This is the true Account of that Matter. I gave it indeed differently before, implicitly following fome Writers that lived in that Time; more particularly that Account given of it by either Archbifhop *Parker*, or *Jofceline*, a Book of fuch Credit, that the following it, deferved no hard Cenfure. The Grant of the Subfidy, is indeed, in the Name of the Province of *Canterbury*; but the other Relation of that Matter being too eafily followed by me, it feemed to me, that it was a Point of Form, for each Province to give their Subfidy in an Inftrument apart, though it was agreed to, they being together in One Body. It was indeed an Omiffion not to have explained

Reg. Hereford. Fol.84.

Antiq. Brit.

explained that; but now upon better Evidence, the whole Matter is thus fully opened. I find no other Proceedings of *Wolsey*'s as Legate, on Record, save that he took on him, by his Legatine Authority, to give Institutions at Pleasure into all Benefices in the Diocesses of all Bishops; without so much as asking the Bishop's Consent. In the Register of *London*, an Institution given by him to *South Wickington*, on the 10th of *December*, 1526, is entered, with this Addition, that the Cardinal had likewise given Seven other Institutions in that Diocess, without asking the Consent of the Bishop: And on the Margin it is added, that the giving and accepting such Institutions, by the Legate's Authority, being Papal Provisions, involved the Clergy into the Premunire, from which they were obliged to redeem themselves. *Wolsey* did also publish a Bull, condemning all who married in the forbidden Degrees: And he sent Mandates to the Bishops to publish it in their several Diocesses: He also published Pope *Leo*'s Bull against *Luther*; and ordered it to be every where published: He also required all Persons, under the Pain of Excommunication, to bring in all *Luther*'s Books that were in their Hands: He enumerated 42 of *Luther*'s Errors; and required a Return of the Mandate to be made to him, together with such Books as should be brought in upon it, by the 1st of *August*. The Date of the Mandate is not set down; and this is all that I find in this Period, relating to *Wolsey*.

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Reg. Tonstal, Fol. 31.

Fisher's Regist. Fol. 127.

Reg. Hereford Fol. 66.

This last shews the Apprehensions they were under of the spreading of *Luther*'s Books and Doctrine. All People were at this Time so sensible of the Corruptions that seemed, by common Consent, to be, as it were, Universally received, that every Motion towards a Reformation was readily hearkened to every where: Corruption was the Common Subject of Complaint: And in the Commission given to those whom the King sent to represent Himself, and this Church, in the Council of the *Lateran*, the *Reformation of the Head and Members*, is mentioned as that which was expected from that Council.

This was so much, at that Time, in all Mens Mouths, that One of the best Men in that Age, *Colet*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, being to open the Convocation with a Sermon, made that the Subject of it all, and he set forth many of those Particulars to which it ought to be applied. It was delivered, as all such Sermons are, in *Latin*, and was soon after translated into *English*. I intended once to have published it among the Papers, that I did put in the Collection; but those, under whose Direction I composed that Work, thought that since it did not enter into Points of Doctrine, but only into Matters of Practice, it did not belong so properly to my Design in Writing: Yet since it has been of late published twice, by a Person distinguished by his Controversial Writings on this Subject, I will here give a Translation of all that he thought fit to publish of it.

Colet's Sermon before a Convocation.

His Text was, *Be ye not conformed to this World, but be ye transformed in the renewing of your Mind.* "He told them, he came "thither that he might admonish them to apply their Thoughts wholly to the Reformation of the Church. He goes on thus; Most of "those who are Dignitaries, carry themselves with a haughty Air,

Rights of an English Convocation, in both Editions.

1523. "and Manner; so that they seem not to be in the humble Spirit of "Christ's Ministers, but in an exalted State of Dominion: Not ob-"serving what Christ, the Pattern of Humility, said to his Disciples, "whom he set over his Church, *It shall not be so among you*; by "which he taught them, that the Government of the Church is a "Ministry; and that Primacy in a Clergyman, is nothing but an "humble Servitude.

"O Covetousness! From thee come those Episcopal, but charge-"able Visitations, the Corruptions of Courts, and those New Inven-"tions daily set on Foot, by which the poor Laity are devoured. "Oh Covetousness! The Mother of all Wickedness; from thee "springs the Insolence and Boldness of Officials, and that Eagerness "of all Ordinaries in amplifying their Jurisdiction: From thee flows "that mad and furious Contention about Wills, and unseason-"able Sequestrations; and the Superstitious Observing of those Laws "that bring Gain to them, while those are neglected that relate to "the Correction of Manners.

"The Church is disgraced by the Secular Employments, in which "many Priests and Bishops involve themselves: They are the Ser-"vants of Men more than of God; and dare neither say, nor do any "Thing, but as they think it will be Acceptable and Pleasant to "their Princes; out of this spring both Ignorance and Blindness: "For being blinded with the Darkness of this World, they only see "Earthly Things.

"Therefore, O ye Fathers, ye Priests, and all ye Clergymen! "Awaken at last out of the Dreams of a Lethargick World; and "hearken to *Paul* who calls upon you, *Be ye not conformed to this "World.* This Reformation and Restoration of the Ecclesiastical "State, must begin at you, who are our Fathers: And from you "must come down to us your Priests. We look on you as the "Standards, that must govern us: We desire to read in you, and "in your Lives, as in living Books, how we ought to live: There-"fore if you would see the Motes that are in our Eyes, take the "Beams first out of your own.

"There is nothing amiss among us, for which there are not good "Remedies set out by the Antient Fathers: There is no need of making "new Laws and Canons, but only to observe those already made. "Therefore at this your Meeting, let the Laws already made be recited. "First those that admonish you Fathers, not to lay Hands suddenly "on any: Let the Laws be recited which appoint that Ecclesiastical "Benefices should be given to deserving Persons, and that condemn "Simoniacal Defilement. But above all Things, let those Laws be recited "that relate to you our Reverend Fathers, the Lords Bishops, the Laws "of Just and Canonical Elections, after the Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

"Because this is not done in our Days, and Bishops are chosen, "rather by the Favour of Men, than by the Will of God; we have "sometimes Bishops who are not Spiritual, but Worldly, rather than "Heavenly; and who are led by the Spirit of the World, rather "than by the Spirit of Christ. Let the Laws be recited for Bishops "residing in their Dioceses. Last of all, let those Laws be recited "for frequent Councils, which appoint Provincial Councils to

2 "be

1523.

" be more frequently called, for the Reformation of the Church; " for nothing has happened more Mischievous to the Church, " than the not holding of Councils, both General and Provincial.

" I do therefore with all due Reverence, address my self to you, " O Fathers! for the Execution of Laws must begin at you: If you " observe the Laws, and Transform your Lives to the Rules set by " the Canons, then you Shine so to us, that we may see what we " ought to do, when we have the Light of excellent Examples set " us by you: We seeing you observe the Laws, will chearfully fol-" low your Steps. Consider the Miserable Face and State of the " Church, and set about the Reforming it, with all your Strength. " Do not you, O Fathers, suffer this Famous Meeting to end in vain, " and in doing nothing: You do indeed meet often; but (by " your Favour suffer me to say what is true) what Fruit has the " Church yet had of all your Meetings? Go then with that Spirit " which you have prayed for, that being assisted by his Aid, you may " Contrive, Establish, and Decree such Things as may tend to the " Advantage of the Church, to your own Honour, and to the Glory " of God.

Collet Character.

This *Collet* had travelled through *France* and *Italy*, and upon his Return, he settled for some Time at *Oxford*, where he read Divinity Lectures, without any Obligation, or Reward for it. His Readings brought about him all the Learned and Studious Persons in the University. He read not, according to the Custom that prevailed universally at that Time, of commenting on *Thomas Aquinas*, or on *Scotus*, but his Readings were upon St. *Paul*'s Epistles. He was brought afterwards to the Deanry of St. *Paul*'s, where Old *Fitz-James*, then Bishop of *London*, was his Enemy, but he was protected both by *Warham* and by the King himself. He did in One of his Sermons reflect on *Bosom-Sermons*, which *Fitz-James* took as a Reflection on himself, for he read all his Sermons. He did not recommend himself at Court by Strains of Flattery: On the contrary, he being to preach there, when the King was entring on a War, preached on Christians Fighting under the Banner of Christ, whom they ought to make their Pattern, in all the Occasions of Quarrel that they might have, rather than imitate a *Cæsar*, or an *Alexander*. After Sermon the King sent for him, and told him, he thought such Preaching would dishearten his Military Men; but *Collet* explained himself so, that the King was well satisfied with him, and said, Let every Man chuse what Doctor he pleased, *Collet* should be his Doctor. He Died in the Year 1519.

It seems this Sermon was preached in the Year 1513, though it is printed as preached in the Year 1511; for the mention that he made in it, of the Immunities of the Clergy, and of those Words, *Touch not mine Anointed*, seems to relate to the Opposition that the Clergy made to the Act that passed in Parliament in the Year 1512, against the Immunity of the Inferior Orders of the Clergy. It is true, in the Translation I have given, there are no such Words; but I find them in the Reflections that I made on that Sermon, when I intended to have printed it: So I took it for granted, that the Sermon was not fully printed in the Book, out of which I was forced to make my Translation, the Copy that I had of it being mislaid, or lost. It had

1523. been but a reasonable Thing for that Writer, either to have printed the Whole Sermon, or to have told the Reader that only some Passages were taken out of it, since the Title given to it would make them think it was all printed. I could not find either the Latin Sermon, or the *English* Translation of it, that was printed near that Time: And I cannot entirely depend on a late Impression of the *English* Translation; yet I will add some few Passages out of it, which deserved to be published by him that pick'd out a few with some particular View that it seems he had. Before the First Period printed by him, he has these Words.

"How much Greediness and Appetite of Honour and Dignity is "seen now a-days in Clergymen? How run they (yea almost out "of Breath) from one Benefice to another, from the Less to the "Greater; from the Lower to the Higher? Who seeth not this? "And who seeing Sorroweth not?

Before the next Period, these Words are to be found, "What "other Things seek we now a-days in the Church, but Fat Benefices, "and High Promotions? And it were well if we minded the Duty "of those, when we have them. But he that hath many great Benefices, "minds not the Office of any small one. And in these our "High Promotions, what other Things do we pass upon, but only "our Tythes and Rents? We care not how vast our Charge of Souls "be: How many or how great Benefices we take, so they be of "large Value.

In the next Period, these remarkable Words are omitted. "Our "Warfare is to pray devoutly; to read and study Scriptures diligently; "to preach the Word of God sincerely; to administer Holy "Sacraments rightly; and to offer Sacrifices for the People.

A little before the next Period, he has these Words. "In this "Age we are sensible of the Contradiction of Lay People. But they "are not so much contrary to us, as we are to our selves. Their "*Contrariness* hurteth not us so much, as the *Contrariness* of our own "Evil Life, which is contrary both to God, and to Christ.

After *Collet* had mentioned that of laying Hands suddenly on none, he adds, "Here lies the Original and Spring-Head of all our Mischiefs: "That the Gate of Ordination is too broad: The Entrance "too wide and open. Every Man that offers himself is admitted; "every where, without putting back. Hence it is that we have such "a multitude of Priests, that have little Learning, and less Piety. "In my Judgment it is not enough for a Priest to construe a Collect, "to put forth a Question, to answer a Sophism; but an honest, "a pure, and a holy Life, is much more necessary: Approved "Manners, competent Learning in Holy Scriptures, some Knowledge "of the Sacraments; but chiefly above all Things, the Fear of "God, and Love of Heavenly Life.

A little after this, "Let the Canons be rehearsed that command "Personal Residence of Curates (Rectors) in their Churches: For "of this many Evils grow, because all Offices now a-days are performed "by Vicars, and Parish Priests; Yea, and these foolish, and "unmeet, often times wicked.

At some distance from this, but to the same purpose, he adds, "You might first sow your Spiritual Things, and then ye shall reap "plentifully their Carnal Things. For truly that Man is very hard "and unjust, who will reap where he never did sow, and desires to "gather where he never scattered."

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These Passages seemed proper to be added to the former, as setting forth the Abuses and Disorders that were then in this Church. I wish I could add that they are now quite purged out, and appear no more among us. *Collet* was a particular Friend of *Erasmus*, as appears by many very kind Letters that passed between them.

Sir *Tho. More's* Thoughts of Religion in his *Utopia*.

To this account of the Sense that *Collet* had of the State of Religion at that time, I will add an Account of Sir *Thomas More*'s Thoughts of Religion. Those of the Church of *Rome* look on him as one of their Glories, the Champion of their Cause, and their *Martyr:* He in this Period wrote his *Utopia*; the first Edition that I could ever see of it, was at *Basil* in the Year 1518; for he wrote it in the Year 1516; at which time it may be believed that he dressed up that Ingenious Fable, according to his own Notions. He wrote this Book probably before he had heard of *Luther*; the *Wicklevites* and the *Lollards* being the only Hereticks then known in *England*. In that short, but extraordinary Book, he gave his Mind full Scope, and considered Mankind and Religion with the Freedom that became a true Philosopher. By many Hints it is very easy to collect, what his Thoughts were of Religion, of the Constitutions of the Church, and of the Clergy at that time: And therefore tho' an Observing Reader will find these in his Way, yet having read it with great Attention, when I translated it into *English*, I will lay together such Passages as give clear Indications of the Sense he then had of those Matters.

The References are to the Pages of my Translation.

Page the 21st, when he Censures the inclosing of Grounds, he ranks those *Holy Men*, the Abbots, among those *who thought it not enough to live at their own Ease, and to do no good to the Publick, but resolved to do it hurt instead of good:* Which shews that he called them *Holy Men* in derision. This is yet more fully set forth P. 37. where he brings in Cardinal *Morton*'s Jester's Advice to send all the Beggars to the *Benedictines* to be Lay-Brothers, and all the Female-Beggars to be Nuns, reckoning the Friars as Vagabonds that ought to be taken up and restrained: And the Discourse that follows for two or three Pages, gives such a Ridiculous View of the Want of Breeding, of the Folly and Ill Nature of the Friars, that they have taken care to strike it out of the later Impressions. But as I did find it in the Impression which I translated, so I have copied it all from the first Edition, and have put in the Collection, that which the Inquisitors have left out. From thence it is plain what Opinion he had of those who were the most Eminent Divines and the most Fam'd Preachers at that time. This is yet plainer Page 86. in which he taxes the Preachers of that Age for *corrupting the Christian Doctrine, and practising upon it: For they observing that the World did not suit their Lives to the Rules that Christ has given, have fitted his Doctrine as if it had been a leaden Rule to their Lives, that some way or other they might agree with one another.* And he does not soften this severe Censure, as if

Coll. Numb. 10.

1523. it had been only the Fault of a few, but lets it go on them all, without any Discrimination or Limitation.

Page 83. he taxes the great Company of *idle Priests*, and of those that are called *Religious Persons*, that were in other Nations; against which he tells us in his last Chapter how carefully the *Utopians* had provided: But it appears there, what just Esteem he paid to Men of that Character, when they answered the Dignity of their Profession: For as he contracts the Number of the Priests in *Utopia*, p. 188. so he exalts their Dignity as high as so noble a Function could deserve: Yet he represents the *Utopians, as allowing them to Marry*, p. 114. And p. 130, he exalts *a solid Virtue much above all rigorous Severities*, which were the most admired Expressions of Piety and Devotion in that Age. He gives a perfect Scheme of Religious Men, so much beyond the Monastick Orders, that it shews he was no Admirer of them.

Page 152, He commends the *Europeans* for "observing their "Leagues and Treaties so religiously; and ascribes that to the good "Examples that Popes set other Princes, and to the Severity with "which they prosecuted such as were perfidious. This looks like Respect; but he means it all Ironically: for he who had seen the Reigns of Pope *Alexander* the 6th, and *Julius* the 2d, the Two falsest and most perfidious Persons of the Age, could not say this, but in the way of Satyr: So that he secretly accuses both Popes and Princes for violating their Faith, to which they were induced by Dispensations from *Rome*. Page 192. his *putting Images out of the Churches of the Utopians*, gives no obscure Hint of his Opinion in that Matter. The Opinion, P. 175, that he proposes doubtfully indeed, but yet favourably, of the first Converts to Christianity in *Utopia*, who (there being no Priests among those who instructed them) were inclined to chuse Priests that should officiate among them, since they could not have any that were regularly Ordained; adding, that they seemed resolved to do it; this shews that in Cases of Necessity he had a Largeness of Thought, far from being engaged Blindfold into the Humours or Interests of the Priests of that time; to whom this must have appeared one of the most dangerous of all Heresies.

And whereas Persecution and Cruelty seem to be the Indelible Characters of Popery; he, as he gives us the Character of the Religion of the *Utopians, that they offered not Divine Honours to any but to God alone*, p. 173. so p. 177. he makes it one of the Maxims of the *Utopians, that no Man ought to be punished for his Religion:* The utmost Severity practised among them being Banishment, and that not for disparaging their Religion, but for inflaming the People to Sedition: A Law being made among them, that *every Man might be of what Religion he pleased*, p. 191. And tho' there were many different Forms of Religion among them, yet they all agreed in the main Point of "Worshipping the Divine Essence; so that there was nothing in "their Temples, in which the several Persuasions among them might "not agree.

"The several Sects performed the Rites that were peculiar to them "in their Private Houses; nor was there any thing in the Publick "Worship that contradicted the particular Ways of the several Sects:

By

By all which he carried not only *Toleration*, but even *Comprehension* further than the most Moderate of our Divines have ever pretended to do. It is true, he represents all this in a Fable of his *Utopians*: But this was a Scene dress'd up by himself, in which he was fully at liberty to frame every thing at pleasure: So here we find in this a Scheme of some of the most Essential Parts of the Reformation: "He proposes no Subjection of their Priests to any Head; he makes them to be chosen by the People, and consecrated by the College of Priests; and he gives them no other Authority but that of excluding Men that were desperately wicked, from joining in their Worship, which was short and simple: And tho' every Man was suffered to bring over Others to his Persuasion, yet he was obliged to do it by amicable and modest Ways; and not to mix with these, either Reproaches or Violence; such as did otherwise, were to be condemned to Banishment or Slavery."

1523.

These were his first and coolest Thoughts; and probably if he had died at that time, he would have been reckoned among those, who tho' they lived in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, yet saw what were the Errors and Corruptions of that Body, and only wanted fit Opportunities of declaring themselves more openly for a Reformation. These things were not writ by him in the Heat of Youth; he was then 34 Years of Age, and was at that time employed, together with *Tonstall*, in settling some Matters of State with (the then Prince) *Charles*; so that he was far advanced at that time, and knew the World well. It is not easy to account for the great Change that we find afterwards he was wrought up to: He not only set himself to oppose the Reformation in many Treatises, that put together, make a great Volume: But when he was raised up to the chief Post in the Ministry, he became a Persecutor even to Blood; and defiled those Hands, which were never polluted with Bribes, by acting in his own Person some of those Cruelties, to which he was, no doubt, pushed on by the bloody Clergy of that Age and Church.

He was not governed by Interest; nor did he aspire so to Preferment, as to stick at nothing that might contribute to raise him; nor was he subject to the Vanities of Popularity. The Integrity of his whole Life, and the Severity of his Morals cover him from all these Suspicions. If he had been formerly corrupted by a superstitious Education, it had been no extraordinary thing to see so good a Man grow to be misled by the Force of Prejudice. But how a Man who had emancipated himself, and had got into a Scheme of free Thoughts, could be so entirely changed, cannot be easily apprehended; nor how he came to muffle up his Understanding, and deliver himself up as a Property to the blind and enraged Fury of the Priests. It cannot indeed be accounted for, but by charging it on the Intoxicating Charms of that Religion, that can darken the clearest Understandings, and corrupt the best Natures: And since they wrought this Effect on Sir *Thomas More*, I cannot but conclude, that *if these things were done in the green Tree, what shall be done in the dry?*

His Friend *Tonstall* was made Bishop of *London* by the Pope's Provision; but it was upon the King's Recommendation signified by *Hannibal*, then his Ambassador at *Rome*. *Tonstall* was sent Ambassador to

1523. *Spain*, when *Francis* was a Prisoner there. That King grew, as may be easily believed, impatient to be so long detained in Prison: And that began to have such Effects on his Health, that the Emperor fearing it might end in his Death, which would both lose the Benefit he had from having him in his Hands, and lay a heavy Load on him thro' all *Europe*, was induced to hearken to a Treaty, which he pretended he concluded chiefly in consideration of the King's Mediation. The Treaty was made at *Madrid*, much to the Emperor's Advantage: But because he would not trust to the Faith of the Treaty, *Francis* was obliged to bring his two Sons as Hostages, for the Observance of it. So he had his Liberty upon that Exchange: Soon after, he came back to *France*, and then the Pope sent him an Absolution in full Form, from the Faith and Obligation of the Treaty. It seems his Conscience reproached him for breaking so solemn an Engagement, but that was healed by the Dispensation from *Rome*: Of which the Original was sent over to the King; perhaps only to be shewed the King, who upon that kept it still in his Secret Treasure; where *Rymer* found it. The Reason insinuated in it, is the King's being bound by it to Alienate some Dominions that belonged to the Crown of *France*. For he had not yet learned a Secret, discovered, or at least practiced since that time, of Princes declaring themselves free from the Obligations of their Treaties, and departing from them at their Pleasure.

Rymer.



THE

BOOK II.

Of Matters, *that happen'd during the Time comprehended in the Second Book of the History of the Reformation.*

I Will repeat nothing set forth in my former Work, but suppose that my Reader remembers how *Charles* the Vth had sworn to Marry the King's Daughter, when She should be of Age, under pain of Excommunication, and the Forfeiture of One Hundred Thousand Pounds: Yet when his Match with *Portugal* was thought more for the Interests of the Crown, he sent over to the King, and desired a Discharge of that Promise. It has been said, and printed by One who lived in the Time, and out of him by the Lord *Herbert*, that Objections were made to this in *Spain*, on the Account of the Doubtfulness of her Mother's Marriage. From such Authors I took this too easily, but in a Collection of Original Instructions, I have seen that Matter in a truer Light.

Hall.

Among the Manuscripts of the Bishop of *Ely*

Lee, afterwards Archbishop of *York*, was sent Ambassador to *Spain*, to sollicit the setting *Francis* at Liberty, and in reckoning up the King's Merits on the Emperor, his Instructions mention, " the King's " late Discharge of the Emperor's Obligation to marry his Dearest " Daughter, the Princess *Mary*; whom, though his Grace could " have found in his Heart to have bestowed upon the Empe-" ror, before any Prince living; yet for the more Security of his " Succession, the Furtherance of his other Affairs, and to do unto " him a Gratuity, His Grace hath liberally, benevolently, and kindly " condescended unto it. There are other Letters of the 12th of *August*, but the Year is not added, which set forth the Emperor's earnest Desire, to be with all possible Diligence discharged of his Obligation to marry the Princess. At First the King thought fit to delay the granting it, till a General Peace was fully concluded, since it had been agreed to by the Treaty at *Windsor*; but soon after, a Discharge in full Form under the Great Seal was sent over by an Express to *Spain*: But from some Hints in other Papers, it seems there were secret Orders not to deliver it; and King *Henry* continued to claim the Money due upon the Forfeiture, as a Debt still owing him. The Peace was then treated, chiefly with a View to resist the *Turk*, and to repress Heresy, that was then much spread both through *Germany* and *Poland*.

Many Ambassadors in *Spain*.

Another Original Letter was writ after *Francis* was at Liberty, " setting forth that the Nobles, and Courts in *France*, would not " confirm the Treaty that *Francis* had signed, to obtain his Liberty; " and therefore earnest Persuasions were to be used to prevail with

" the

1527. "the Emperor to restore the Hostages, and to come into reasonable "Terms, to maintain the Peace, and to call his Army out of *Italy*. By these it appears, that the League against the Emperor was then made, of which the King was declared the Protector; but the King had not then accepted of that Title. He ordered his Ambassadors to propose a Million of Crowns for redeeming the Hostages, to be paid at different Times; yet they were forbid to own to the Emperor, that if the Offices, in which the King interposed, were not effectual, he would enter into the League.

Wolsey's Letter to them.

There are in that Collection some of *Wolsey*'s Letters; by One of the 17th of *July* he claims his Pensions of 7500 *Ducats*, upon the Bishopricks of *Palentia* and *Toledo*; besides 9000 Crowns a Year, in Recompence for his parting with the Bishoprick of *Tournay*, and the Abbey of St. *Martins* there; for which there was an Arrear of Four Years due. On the 29th of *September* he wrote over a severe Charge to be laid before the Emperor for the Sack of *Rome*, the Indignities put on the Person of the Pope, the Spoiling the Church of St. *Peter*, and other Churches, and the Ignominious treating the Ornaments of them: All the Blame was cast on the Cardinal *Colonna*, and *Hugo de Moncàda*, they being persuaded that it was done without the Emperor's Knowledge or Order. He proposes the King to be Mediator, as a Thing agreed on by all sides: He uses in this, that bold way of joining himself with the King, very often saying, *the King and I*: And on the 20th of *October*, he presses with great earnestness, the mediating a Peace between *France* and the Emperor; in all which, nothing appears either partial or revengeful against the Emperor. The true Interest of *England* seems to be pursued in that Whole Negotiation.

There was then in the Emperor's Court a very full Embassy from *England*: For in one or other of these Letters, mention is made of the Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, and of *Bath*; of Dr. *Lee*, and Sir *Francis Bryan*. But since the dismal Fate of *Rome*, and of Pope *Clement*, is mentioned in these Letters, I must now change the Scene.

Coll. Numb. 11. The Sack of Rome.

Pope *Clement*, as soon as he could, after his Imprisonment, wrote over to *Wolsey*, an Account of the miserable State he was in, which he sent over by Sir *Gregory Cassal*, who saw it *all*, and so could give a full Account of it. "The Pope's only Comfort, and Hope, "was in *Wolsey*'s Credit with the King, and in the King's own Piety "towards the Church, and himself, now so sadly oppressed, that he had "no other hope, but in the Protection he expected from him. There were many other Letters written by the Cardinals, setting forth the Miseries they were in, and that in the most doleful Strains possible. All their Eyes being then towards the King, as the Person, on whose Protection, they chiefly depended. Upon this, *Wolsey* went over to *France* in a most Splendid Manner, with a prodigious and magnificent Train, reckoned to consist of a Thousand Persons, and he had the most unusual Honours done him, that the Court of *France* could invent, to flatter his Vanity. He was to conclude a Treaty with *Francis*, for setting the Pope at Liberty, and to determine the Alternative of the Marriage of the Princess *Mary*, either to the King of *France*, or

to

to the Duke of *Orleans* his Second Son, and to lay a Scheme for a General Peace. He came to *Compiegne* in the End of *September*, and from thence he wrote the First Motion that was made about the Divorce to the Pope: For the First Letter that I found relating to that Matter, begins with mentioning that which he wrote from *Compiegne*. Mr. *Le Grand* told me, he had seen that Dispatch, but he has not printed it.

1527.

Sept. 16.

Le Grand, To. 3. *Num.* 2.

The Cardinals write to the Pope for a full Deputation.

From that Place, *Wolsey*, with Four Cardinals, wrote to the Pope, "setting forth the Sense that they had of the Calamity that he was "in, and their Zeal for his Service, in which they hoped for good "Success: Yet fearing, lest the Emperor should take Occasion from "his Imprisonment, to seize on the Territories of the Church, and "to force both him to confirm it, and the Cardinals now imprisoned "with him, to ratify it, which they hoped neither he, nor they, would "do; yet if human Infirmity should so far prevail, they protested "against all such Alienations: They also declare, that if he should "Die, they would proceed to a new Election, and have no regard "to any Election, to which the imprisoned Cardinals might be forced. "In conclusion, they do earnestly pray, that the Pope would grant "them a full Deputation of his Authority; in the Use of which, "they promise all Zeal and Fidelity; and that they would invite all "the other Cardinals that were at Liberty, to come and concur with "them. This was signed by *Wolsey*, and by the Cardinals of *Bourbon*, *Salviati*, *Lorrain*, and Cardinal *Prat*. *Wolsey* wrote to the King, expressing the Concern he had for him, with relation to his Great and Secret Affair; it seems expecting a General Meeting of Cardinals that was to be called together in *France*, which he reckoned would concur to the Process that he intended to make; but apprehending that the Queen might decline his Jurisdiction, he would use all his Endeavours to bring the King of *France* to agree to the Emperor's Demands, as far as was reasonable; hoping the Emperor would abate somewhat, in consideration of the King's Mediation: But if that did not succeed, so that the Pope was still kept a Prisoner, then the Cardinals must be brought to meet at *Avignon*, and thither he intended to go, and to spare no Trouble, or Charge, in doing the King Service. When he was at *Avignon*, he should be within a Hundred Miles of *Perpignan*, and he would try to bring the Emperor, and the *French* King's Mother thither, if the King approved of it, to treat for the Pope's Deliverance, and for a General Peace. This is the Substance of the Minute of a Letter writ in the Cardinal's Hand.

Coll. Numb. 12.

Knight sent to *Rome*.

The King at this Time intended to send *Knight*, then Secretary of State, to *Rome*, in point of Form to condole with the Pope, and to prevent any Application that the Queen might make by the Emperor's Means in his great Matter: So he appointed the Cardinal to give him such Commissions and Instructions as should seem requisite, with all diligence; and he pressed the Cardinal's Return home, with great Acknowledgements of the Services he had done him. By this Letter it appears, that the Queen then understood somewhat of the King's Uneasiness in his Marriage. The King of *France* sent from *Compiegne* a great Deputation, at the Head of which, *Montmorancy*, then the Great Master, was put, to take the King's Oath, confirming

Numb. 13.

1527.
September.

the Treaties that *Wolsey* had made in his Name; one in the Commission was *Bellay*, then Bishop of *Bayonne*, afterwards of *Paris*, and Cardinal.

... wrote to ... of ... Divorce. ...m. 3. Num.

When that was done, the King's Matter that had been hitherto more secretly managed, began to break out. Mr. *Le Grand* has published a Letter that *Pace* wrote to the King, as he says in the Year 1526; but no Date is added to the Letter. The Substance of it is, "That the Letter and Book which was brought to the King the Day "before, was writ by him; but by the Advice and Help of Doctor "*Wakefield*, who approved it, and was ready to defend every thing "in it, either in a Verbal Disputation, or in Writing. The King "had told him, that some of his Learned Counsellors had written to "him, that *Deuteronomy* abrogated *Leviticus*; but that was certainly "false; for the Title of that Book in *Hebrew* was the two first Words "of it: It is a Compend and Recapitulation of the *Mosaical* Law; "and that was all that was imported by the word *Deuteronomy*. He tells the King, that after he left him, *Wakefield* prayed him to let "him know, if the King desired to know the Truth in that Matter, "whether it stood for him or against him. To whom *Pace* answered, "That the King desired nothing but what became a Noble and a "Vertuous Prince; so he would do him a most acceptable thing, if "he would set the plain Truth before him. After that, *Wakefield* said, "he would not meddle in the Matter, unless he were commanded by "the King to do it; but that when he received his Commands, he "would set forth such things both for and against him, that no other "Person in his Kingdom could do the like. The Letter is dated from *Sion*, but I have reason to believe it was written in the Year 1527; for this *Wakefield* (who seems to have been the first Person of this Nation, that was learned in the Oriental Tongues, not only in the *Hebrew*, the *Caldaick*, and the *Syriac*, but in the *Arabick*) wrote a Book for the Divorce: He was at first against it, before he knew that Prince *Arthur*'s Marriage with Queen *Katherine* was consummated: But when he understood what Grounds there were to believe that was done, he changed his Mind, and wrote a Book on the Subject: And in his own Book, he with his own Hand inserts the Copy of his Letter to King *Henry*, dated from *Sion* 1527; which it seems was written at the same time that *Pace* wrote his: For these are his Words (as the Author of *Ath. Oxon* relates, (who says he saw it) *He will defend his Cause or Question in all the Universities of Christendom:* But adds, "That if the People should know that he, who began to defend the "Queen's Cause, not knowing that she was carnally known of Prince "*Arthur*, his Brother, should now write against it, surely he should "be stoned of them to Death, or else have such a Slander and Ob-"loquy raised upon him, that he would die a thousand times rather "than suffer it.

He was prevailed on to Print his Book in *Latin*, with an *Hebrew* Title; in which he undertook to prove, that the Marrying the Brother's Wife, she being carnally known of him, was contrary to the Decrees of Holy Church, utterly unlawful, and forbidden both by the Law of Nature, and the Law of God, the Laws of the Gospel, and the Customs of the Catholick and Orthodox Church.

It

1528.

A Bull sent to Wolsey to Judge the Marriage.

It appears from the Letters writ in Answer to those that *Knight* carried to *Rome*, that the Pope granted all that was desired. This was never well understood till Mr. *Rymer* in his diligent Search, found the first Original Bull, with the Seal in Lead hanging to it: He has printed it in his 14th Volume, p. 237. and therefore I shall only give a short Abstract of it. It is directed to Cardinal *Wolsey*, and bears Date the Ides of *April*, or the 13th Day, in the Year 1528. " It " empowers him, together with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or any " other *English* Bishop, to hear, examine, pronounce and declare con" cerning the Validity of the Marriage of King *Henry* and Queen " *Katherine*, and of the Efficacy and Validity of all Apostolical Dis" pensations in that Matter, and to declare the Marriage just and " lawful, or unjust and unlawful, and to give a plenary Sentence " upon the whole Matter; with License to the Parties to Marry " again, and to admit no Appeal from them: For which End he " creates *Wolsey* his Vicegerent, to do in the Premises all that he him" self could do, with Power to declare the Issue of the first as well as " of any subsequent Marriage legitimate: All concludes with a *Non* " *obstante* to all General Councils and Apostolical Constitutions.

It was not made use of.

This rare Discovery was to us all a great Surprize, as soon as it was known: But it does not yet appear how it came about, that no use was ever made of it. I am not Lawyer enough to discover whether it was, that so full a Deputation was thought null of it self; since by this the Pope determined nothing, but left all to *Wolsey*; or whether *Wolsey* having no Mind to carry the Load of the Judgment on himself, made the King apprehend that it would bring a Disreputation on his Cause, if none but his own Subjects judged it; or whether it was that *Wolsey* would not act in Conjunction with *Warham*, or any under the Degree of a Cardinal. I leave the Reasons of their not making use of the Bull, as a Secret, as great as the Bull it self was, till it was found out by *Rymer*. Another Bull was after that desired and obtained, which bears Date the 8th of *June* (6to Idus) from *Viterbo*. This I take from the License granted under the Great Seal to the Legates to execute the Commission of that Date; but it seems they did not think they had the Pope fast enough tied by this: And therefore they obtained from him, on the 23d of *July* following, a solemn Promise, called in their Letters *Policitatio*, by which he promised in *the Word of a Pope*, that he would never, neither at any Persons Desire, nor of his own Motion, inhibit or revoke the Commission he had granted to the Legates to judge the Matter of the King's Marriage. This I did not publish in my former Work; because the Lord *Herbert* had published it: But since that History is like to be confined to our own Nation, and this may probably go further, I put it in the Collection; and the rather, because the Lord *Herbert* taking it from a Copy as I do, seems in some doubt concerning it: But probably he had not seen the Letter that *Wolsey* wrote to *Gardiner*, in which he mentions the *Pollicitation* that he had in his Hands, with several other Letters that mention it, very frequently. The Copy that I publish was taken from a Transcript, attested by a Notary, which is the Reason of the Oddness of the Subscription.

Rymer.

Coll. Numb. 14.

In

1528.

The Bishops think the Kings Scruples reasonable.

Rymer.

In the mean time *Warham* called such Bishops as were in Town to him, and proposed to them the King's Scruples; which being weighed by them, a Writing was drawn up to this purpose: That having heard the Grounds of the King's Scruples, relating to his Marriage, they all made this Answer, That the Causes which gave the King the present Agitation, and Disturbance of Conscience, were great and weighty; and that it did seem necessary to them all, for him to consult the Judgment of their Holy Father the Pope in that Matter.

1529.

Life of Wolsey.

This was signed by *Warham*, *Tonstall*, *Fisher*, and the Bishops of *Carlisle*, *Ely*, St. *Asaph*, *Lincoln* and *Bath* on the First of *July* 1529. And I incline to think, that this was the Paper of which *Cavendish*, whom I followed too implicitly in my former Work, gave a wrong Account, as brought out when the Legates were sitting on the King's Cause. There is no Reason to doubt of *Fisher*'s signing this; and *Cavendish*, who wrote upon Memory almost 30 Years after, might be mistaken in the Story; for the false Account that he gives of the Battel of *Pavy* shews how little he is to be depended on. At this time the Pope in a Letter to *Wolsey* offered to go in Person to *Spain*, or to any Place where an Interview should be agreed on, to Mediate a General Peace. This *Wolsey* wrote over to the King's Ambassadors at *Rome*, on the 19th of *December*; and in the same Letter he orders them to offer the Guard to the Pope in the Name of the Two Kings; and adds, that *Turenne* should Command that Part of it which was to have their Pay sent from *France*, and Sir *Gregory Cassal* that which the King was to pay.

Cotton Libr. *Vitell.* B. 11.

In prosecuting the History of the Divorce, I must add a great deal out of some *French* Authors. *Bellay*, the Sieur *de Langey*, has writ Memoirs of that Time with great Judgment, and very sincerely. I find also many Letters relating to those Transactions both in the *Melanges Historiques* and in *Le Grand*'s 3d Tome. These I shall follow in the Series in which Things were transacted, which will be found to give no small Confirmation, as well as large Additions to what I formerly published in my History. The first of these was much employed in Embassies, and was well informed of the Affairs of *England*, both his Brothers being at different Times employed to negotiate Affairs in that Court. *John* in particular, then Bishop of *Bayonne*, afterwards of *Paris*; and Cardinal *Le Grand*, as Lord *Herbert* had done before, has given the Relation of the Answer that the Emperor gave by Word of Mouth, and afterwards in Writing, to *Clarencieux*, when he came with a *French* King at Arms, to denounce War in the Name of the Two Kings to the Emperor.

Page 38.

27 *Jan.* 1528.

The Emperor's Answer to the King by *Clarencieux*.

Demand was made of great Debts, that the Emperor owed the King; among these, the Sum forfeited for his not Marrying the Princess *Mary* is one. To that the Emperor answered, That before he was Married, he required the King to send her to him, which was not done: And by Letters that he intercepted, he saw that the King was Treating a Marriage for her with the King of *Scotland*, long before the Emperor was Married. It was farther said to that Herald, That a Report went current, that the King designed a Divorce, and upon that to Marry another Wife. "The Emperor said, he had in "his Hands ample Dispensations for the Marriage; nor could the

1529.

"King go on in that Design, without striking at the Pope's Autho-
"rity; which would give great Scandal, and occasion much Distur-
"bance, and give the Emperor just Cause of War. This would shew
"what Faith, what Religion, what Conscience, and what Honour
"the King had before his Eyes. He had offered his Daughter to
"him in Marriage, and was now going to get her declared a *Ba-
"stard*; he ascribed all this to the ill Offices done by the Cardinal
"of *York*, who was push'd on by his Ambition and Avarice, be-
"cause he would not order his Army in *Italy* to force the Electing
"him to the Popedom; which, he said, both the King and the Car-
"dinal desir'd of him in Letters, that they wrote to him on that
"Occasion: And because he had not in that satisfied his Pride, he
"had boasted that he would so embroil the Emperor's Affairs, tho'
"*England* should be ruined by it, that he should repent his Using
"him so. This seems to be much aggravated; for it may be easily
supposed, that the King and *Wolsey* might, in the Letters that
they wrote to the Emperor at the last Conclave, desire him to order
his Troops to draw near *Rome*, to keep all quiet, till, if he was cho-
sen, he might get thither. Yet it is not probable, that they could de-
sire so barefac'd a thing, as the Emperor here fastned on them. He
in that, perhaps, was no truer, than when he said he had in his
Hands ample Dispensations for the King's Marriage; tho' it appears
these were forged. For the Date of the Breve being the same with
the Bull, both bearing Date the 26th of *December* 1503, it was
plainly false. For *Rymer* has printed One Attestation from *Rome*,
that the Year in the Breves begins on *Christmass-day*; so if it had
been a true Piece, it must have had the Date of 1504. He has
likewise publish'd an Authentick Attestation, signed by the Cardinal
Chamberlain, that in the Register of the Breves, there was none to
be found relating to the King's Dispensation for his Marriage, but
one dated the 6th of *July* 1504, and another the 22d of *February*
1505.

Le Grand, p. 64. *Jan.* 2. 1528. A Proposition to Depose the Emperor.

The Bishop of *Bayonne* made a bold Proposition to *Wolsey*: He
thought it might be a proper Method, to engage the Pope to depose
the Emperor for such enormous Felony, as he had committed against
him; which would secure that See from all such Attempts for the
future. The Cardinal, after a little Reflection on it, swore to him
that he would pursue that Thought; but, it seems, it was let
fall.

Le Grand, p. 1[illegible]. *May* 24

When *Gardiner* and *Fox* were sent to *Rome*, they passed thro'
France, with Letters from *Wolsey* to *Montmorancy*, for his Assisting
them. It seems, the People were expressing their Uneasiness upon
these Steps made in order to the Divorce, of which the Bishop of
Bayonne wrote to the Court of *France*; which was, upon his Let-
ters, so talked of at *Paris*, that *Wolsey* reprimanded him for it; tho'
in his own Excuse he writes, that the Bishop of *Bath* had said it
more openly, than he had written it.

Le Grand, p. [illegible]

On the 8th of *June*, it seems, Matters went not well at *Rome*;
for *Wolsey* complained to the Bishop of *Bayonne* of the Pope, for
not doing them Justice; who had served him so well, both before
his Advancement, and ever since. They also apprehended, that *Cam-
pegio*

1529. *pegio*, then named to come over as Legate, who was subject to the Gout, would, by that Pretence, manage Matters so as to keep them long in Suspense.

Le Grand, p. 148 June 30. At that time the Sweating-Sickness raged so, that the Court was in dread of it. It broke out in the Legate's House; some died of it: He, upon that, stole away privately, without giving Notice whither he went. The King made his Last Will, and received all the Sacraments. He confessed himself every Day, and received the Sacrament every Holy-Day. The Queen did the same; and so did *Wolsey*.

Le Grand, p. 164. In another Letter, without Date, *Bayonne* gives an Account of a Free Conference he had with *Wolsey*; who told him, "he had done many Things against the Opinion of all *England*; upon which, many took Occasion to reproach him, as being wholly *French*; so he must proceed warily: The *French* would feel their Loss, if his Credit were lessened; therefore it was necessary, that the Bishop should make the King, and his Council here, apprehend, that this Alliance was not to their Prejudice. The King had of late (as *Bayonne* had from good Hands) said some terrible Words to the Cardinal, apprehending that he was cold in his Matter. *Wolsey* said to him, that if God gave him the Grace once to see the Hatred of the Two Nations extinguished, and a firm Friendship settled between the Two Kings; and that he could get the Laws and Customs of the Nation a little changed, the Succession secured, and upon the King's Second Marriage an Heir Male born, he would immediately retire, and serve God all the rest of his Life. Here were many Things to be done before his Retirement: Yet the Bishop did believe he indeed intended, upon the first good Occasion, to retire from all Affairs; for he could not but see, that his Credit must lessen upon the King's Second Marriage. He was also making haste to furnish his Episcopal Palaces, and to finish his Colleges; and he seemed to him to prepare for a Storm. *Gardiner* was at this time advancing the King's Business all that was possible at *Rome*. I did, in my Second Volume, publish among the Records, a Letter of his that was written in *April*, after his Coming to *Rome*. The Substance of it is; "He had acquainted the Pope with the Secret Message that the Princes of *Germany* had sent the King, to see if that would work on his Fears; for he says, the Pope was a Man of such a Nature, that he is never resolved in any Thing, but as he is compelled by some violent Affection. He assures the King, the Pope will do nothing that may offend the Emperor; nor was it reasonable for him to do it, except he would remove his See to some other Place: For while he was at *Rome*, he was in the Emperor's Power. By his Words and Manner, the Pope seemed to Favour the King; but he was confident he would do nothing. He believed if the Cause were determined by the Legates, they at *Rome* would be glad of it: And if the Emperor should begin a Suit against that, they would serve him, as they now did the King, and drive off the Time by delays: So he put the King on getting *Campegio* to judge for him, which should be a short Work, and he assures him nothing was to be expected from *Rome*, but

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" Delays. They had put the King's Cause, if it should be brought to
" *Rome*, in the Hands of Two Advocates, (the same that pleaded for
" the King afterwards in the Excusatory Plea.) The Pope would hear
" no Disputation about his Power of Dispensing: But so the Pope did
" not decide upon that Ground, he would not care whether the King's
" Cause were decided upon it, or not: And he believed the Pope
" was resolved to meddle no more in the King's Matter, but to leave
" it with the Legates. He desired his Letter might not be shewed
" to either of the Legates. With that Bearer he sent over the Pope's
" Promise, in which he had got some Words to be put, that he
" thought favoured the King's Cause, as much, and more, than if
" the Decretal Commission, that was in *Campegio*'s Hands, should
" be shewed; so he thought the Pope ought to be no more moved
" in that Matter. The Words he mentions are, *cum nos justitiam ejus Causæ perpendentes, we considering the Justice of his Cause.*
These are in the Promise, or Pollicitation, which I do now publish, and they prove this to be a true Copy, since we have an Authentick Proof of the very Words that seemed the greatest Ground to doubt of its Truth.

Coll. Numb. 15.

About a Fortnight after this, *Gardiner* wrote another Letter to the King, which will be found in the Collection. A Motion was then made at *Rome* for recalling the Powers sent to the Legates; but he did not think it was made in Earnest, but only to stop the Ambassadors in their other Suits. The Pope told them that the Emperor had advertised him that the Queen would do nothing in the Matter, but as the King should command her; therefore he would look after the Cause the more earnestly. This the Pope seemed to tell them, that they should not enquire who was the Queen's Proctor. The Ambassadors were amazed to see by *Campegio*'s Letters that were shewed them, that neither he, nor *Campanus*, had made any Promise in the Pope's Name to the King, but only in general Terms: considering that they had mentioned the *Plenitude of the Pope's Power*, which they trusted he would use in that Cause. He writes he did not succeed in that which he was ordered to move, which he did indeed apprehend could not be obtained: He lays the Blame on the Pope, or some other, but it became not him to fasten that on any (perhaps this pointed at *Wolsey*); the rest relates to the Bulls, probably demanded by the Cardinal for his Colleges: This was dated the 4th of *May*; he had a Letter writ to him a Month before this, by *Anne Bullen*, in which she expresses a great Sense of the Service he was doing her: It seems by it, that at his First coming to *Rome*, he had great Hopes of Success, but these were then much abated.

King *Henry*'s Letters to *Anne Bullen*.

At this Time King *Henry* was writing every Day Letters full of Passion to that Lady. Some way or other, they fell into the Hands of those who carried them to *Rome*, where they lie in the Library of the *Vatican*. I saw them there, and knew King *Henry*'s Hand too well, not to be convinced at first sight, that they were writ by him. I did not think it fit for me to Copy them out, but I prevailed with my Worthy Friend Dr. *Fall* to do it for me. They were very ill writ, the Hand is scarce legible, and the *French* seems faulty: But since our Travellers are encouraged to look on them, I gave a Copy

1529. of them to the Printer, to be printed apart; for I could not think it proper to put them in the Collection. Objections lay in my way, even as to this; they were trifling Letters; some Insinuations are not very decent, and little Wit occurred in them; to season them in any sort; yet they carry the Characters of an Honourable Love, directed all to Marriage: And they evidently shew that there was nothing amiss, as to the main Point, in their Commerce: So since those at *Rome* make so ill an Use of them, as to pretend that they are full of Defilement; and in Derision, call them the true Original of our Reformation; all these Considerations prevailed on me to suffer them to be printed apart, for I did not think it fitting that such Stuff should be mixed with graver Matters. So I ordered them to be printed exactly from the Copy, and to take no other Care about them, but to give them as I had them. But since I mention that Lady, I must add some Passages out of a Relation made by a Son of Sir *Thomas Wyat*'s, of his Father's Concerns, marked on the Back by a Hand very like Lord *Burleigh*'s. He shews how false that Story must be, of his Father's pretending to King *Henry* that he had corrupted her. He was then Esquire of the Body, and did continue still about his Person in that Post, except when he was employed in Embassies abroad. This shews how incredible that Fiction of *Sanders* was; since if he had pretended to make any such Discovery, he must have fallen either under the King's Jealousy, or the Queen's Power; or to avoid both, he would have withdrawn himself: And probably he would have been afterwards set up a Witness to disgrace her at her Tryal. That Relation adds that she was secretly tried in the *Tower*. Some of the Lords declared that her Defence did fully clear her; none of the Women that served her, were brought to Witness the least Circumstance against her: And all the Evidence upon which she was convicted was kept so secret, that it was never known. This I know is put here out of its Place, but the Thread of other Things led me into it: I shall have occasion to mention this Paper again in Queen *Mary*'s Reign.

Ex M. V. Gul. Petyt.

Le Grand p. 169. 16 *Oct.* The King and Queen seemed to live well together.

The Bishop of *Bayonne* writes, that even after *Campegio* came into *England*, both King and Queen did eat at one Table, and lodged in one Bed. The Queen put on so good a Countenance, that to see them together, one could discern no Breach between them: He tells in that Letter, that the Earl of *Angus*, who was married to the Queen of *Scotland*, King *Henry*'s Sister, was come up, being banished out of *Scotland*, because the Queen had taken another Husband, who was a Handsomer Man than he was, (*plus beau compagnon que luy*). In his next Letter he writes that *Wolsey* said to him, that the General of the *Cordeliers*, that good Prophet, then a Cardinal, had capitulated with the Pope in the Emperor's Name, when the Pope was set at Liberty. That *Cordelier* Cardinal was then to sail to *Spain*, he wished the *French* would set out some Vessels to seize on him, and draw from him the Particulars of that Treaty: For they knew that in the Articles of that Treaty, the Reason that obstructed the King's Matter, would appear. Upon this, after some Expostulation that the King of *France* did not help them in it as he might, *Wolsey* added, that the First Project of the Divorce, was set on Foot by himself, to create a perpetual Separation between *England*, and the House of

Le Grand p. 175. 21 *Oct.*

Burgundy:

Burgunday: And he had told the King's Mother at *Compiegne*, that if she lived a Year to an End, she would see as great a Union with them, and as great a Disunion from the other, as she could desire, and bid her lay that up in her Memory.

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In his next he writes, that both the Legates had been with the King and Queen. In *Campegio's* Speech to the King, he set forth his Merits upon the Apostolick See with great Pomp. *Fox* answered him decently in the King's Name: The Queen answered them more roundly: She spoke with respect to *Campegio*, but said, "She thanked the Cardinal of *York* for the Trouble she was put to: She had "always wondered at his Pride and Vain-Glory; she abhorred his "Voluptuous Life, and Abominable Lewdness, and little regarded his "Power and Tyranny: All this rose from his Malice to her Nephew, "the Emperor, whom he hated worse than a Scorpion, because he "would not satisfy his Ambition, and make him Pope. She blamed "him, both for the War, in which the King was engaged, and for "the Trouble he put her to, by this new-found Doubt. The Cardinal blushed, and seemed confounded: He said, "he was not the "Beginner, nor the Mover of the Doubt; and that it was sore against his Will, that the Marriage was brought into Question; "but since the Pope had deputed him as a Judge to hear the Cause, "he swore upon his Profession, he would hear it indifferently.

Le Grand p. 188.

The Legates go to the King and Queen.

The Queen treats *Wolsey* very severely.

Vitellius, B. 12.

On the First of *November*, the Bishop writes that the Queen had chosen for her Council the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Bath*, *Rochester*, *Ely*, and *Exeter*, with the Dean of the Chappel: But of these, the Bishops of *London* and *Rochester*, and the Dean of the Chappel, were the only Persons, that in their Opinion, were of the Queen's side. She expected an Advocate, a Proctor, and a Councellor from *Flanders*. It was not allowed her to bring any over from *Spain*; for there was then War between *England* and *Spain*, but the *Netherlands* had a Neutrality granted them. "The "Bishop reckoned that the Marriage must be condemned; for tho' "the Pope and all the Cardinals had approved it, they could not "maintain it, if it was proved, as he was told it would be, that her "former Marriage was consummated: For in that Case, God himself "had determined the Matter.

Le Grand p. 192.

On the 8th of *November* he writes, "that *Wolsey* had asked him "if he could say nothing to invalidate the Pope's Dispensation, and "to prove the Marriage unlawful, so that the Pope could not dispense "in that Case; since nothing could unite the Two Kings so entirely, "as the carrying on the Divorce must do: He heard he was a great "Divine, so he prayed him to speak his Mind freely. The Bishop "excused himself; but being very earnestly pressed, he put his Thoughts "in Writing, referring for these to his last Letter: He sent over "a Copy of it to *Montmorancy*, and desired he would shew it to the "Bishop of *Bourges*, who would explain it to him. *Wolsey* desired "that the King's Mother would write earnestly to *Campegio*, in Favour of the King's Cause. The Bishop makes great Excuses for "giving his Opinion in the Matter; he did not sign it: And he "gave it only as a private Person, and not as an Ambassador.

Le Grand p. 197.

The Bishop of *Bayonne's* Opinion of the Pope's Dispensation.

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Le Grand, p. 209. Apprehensions of Disorders on the Queen's Account.

On the 27th of *November*, the Bishop writes that he had been with *Campegio*, and had talked of the Pope's Dispensation. *Campegio* would not bear to have the Pope's Power brought into Debate: He thought his Power had no Limits, and so was unwilling to let that be touched, but he was willing to hear it proved, that the Dispensation was ill founded. He gives in that Letter a Relation of the King's sending for the Lord Mayor of *London*, to give the Citizens an Account of the Scruples he had concerning his Marriage: And he writes, that he had said, the Bishop of *Tarbe*, was the First Person that made him entertain them; nor does the Bishop of *Bayonne* pretend to call the Truth of that in question.

Le Grand, p. 230.

The same Bishop in his Letter of the 9th of *December*, writes, " That *Anne Bolleyn* was then come to Court, and was more waited " on than the Queen had been for some Years: by this they prepared " all People for what was to follow. The People were uneasy, and " seemed dispposed to revolt. It was resolved to send all the Strangers " out of the Kingdom; and it was reckoned there were above 15000 " *Flemings* in *London*. So the driving all these away would not be " easily brought about: Care was taken to Search for Arms, and to " keep all quiet. *Wolsey* in a great Company, above an hundred Per- " sons of Quality being present, reported that the Emperor had said " he would drive the King out of his Kingdom by his own Subjects; " one only of all that Company expressed an Indignation at it: The " Advocates that the Queen expected from *Flanders* were come, but " had not yet their Audience.

Le Grand, p. 245.

In one of the 20th of *December*, the Bishop writes, " That the " King had shewed him what Presumptions there were of the Forgery " of the Breve, that they pretended was in *Spain*; and upon that he " went through the whole Matter so copiously with him, that he saw " he understood it well, and indeed needed no Advocate: He desi- " red that some Opinions of learned Men in *France* might be got, and " be signed by them, if it could be obtained.

Le Grand, p. 259. Endeavours to gain *Campegio.*

By the Letter of the 25th of *December*, it appears there was an Argument of more Weight laid before *Campegio*, for he was offered *Duresme* instead of *Salisbury*. He said to them who offered it, that the Pope was about to give him a Bishoprick of that Value in *Spain*; but the Emperor would not consent to it. The Lawyers that came from the *Netherlands*, had an Audience of the King, in which they took great Liberties: For they said to him, They wondred to see him forsake his ancient Friends, and to unite himself to his mortal Enemies. They were answered very sharply. They applied themselves to *Campegio* with respect, but neglected *Wolsey*; and after that they had lodged such Advices as were sent by them, with the Queen, they returned home.

Le Grand, p. 295. *Wolsey*'s Credit is shaken.

On the 25th of *January* the Bishop of *Bayonne* writes, " That the " Court apprehending the Pope was changing his Measures with rela- " tion to the King's Affair, had sent *Gardiner* to *Rome*, to let the " Pope know, That if he did not order *Campegio* to proceed in the " Divorce, the King would withdraw himself from his Obedience: " He perceived *Wolsey* was in great Fear; for he saw, that if the " thing was not done, the Blame would be cast wholly on him, and

" there

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" there it would end. Sir *Thomas Cheyney* had some way offended
" him, and was for that dismissed the Court; but by *Anne Boleyn*'s
" means he was brought back; and she had upon that occasion sent
" *Wolsey* a severe Message. The Bishop had in a Letter sent him
" from *Paris* a List of the College of the Cardinals, by which they
" reckoned Fifteen of them were *Imperialists*; and *Campegio* is rec-
" koned among these: Eighteen were of the contrary Party: Three
" had not declared themselves, but might be gained to either side,
" and Six were absent. This Canvasing was occasioned by the Pope's
" Sickness, and it was writ as News from *France*, that an *Englishman*
" passing through, and going to *Spain*, had reported with Joy, that
" there would be no Divorce: That *Campegio* served the Pope well;
" that this was very acceptable to all the Great Men of *England*;
" and that the Blame of all was laid on *Wolsey*, whose Credit with
" the King was sinking: That he was not at the Feast of St. *George*,
" for which the King had chid him severely, he being the Chancel-
" lor of the Order.

P. 313. The Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* his Enemies.

In a Letter of the 22d of *May* he writes, " That *Wolsey* was
" extreme uneasy. The Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and others,
" made the King believe, that he did not advance his Affair so
" much as he could: He wishes, that the King of *France* and his
" Mother would make the Duke of *Suffolk* desist; for he did not
" believe, that He, or the other Duke, could be able to manage the
" King as *Wolsey* had done. They at Court were alarmed at the last
" News from *Rome*, for the Pope seemed inclined to recal the Com-
" mission: Upon which, *Benet* was sent thither, to use either Pro-
" mises or Threatnings, as he should see Cause. They pressed the
" Pope to declare the Breve from *Spain* Null; but he refused to do
" it. He adds, that in the Breve lay one of the most important
" Points of the whole Matter: (Probably that was, that the Con-
summation of the former Marriage, was expresly affirmed in it.)
" *Wolsey* had pressed the Bishop very earnestly, to move his Master
" to concur zealously to promote the King's Cause; upon which
" he pressed on *Montmorancy*, that the King of *France* should send
" One to the Pope, to let him know, that he believed the King's
" Cause was just, and that both Kingdoms would withdraw from
" his Obedience, if Justice was denied on this Occasion. To this
" were to be added, all Sorts of Promises when it should be done;
" which *Wolsey* protested, such was his Love to the King, he would
" value much more, than if they made him Pope. The Point then
" to be insisted on, was to hinder the Recalling the Commis-
" sion.

P. 333.

By Letters of the 30th of *June*, it appears, that *Gardiner* was return'd from *Rome*, with the Proofs of the Breves being a Forgery. *Campegio* was then forced to delay the Matter no longer. The Bishop of *Bayonne* had pressed *Campegio* to it, by Authority from the Court of *France*. On the 13th of *July*, *Cassali* wrote from *Rome*, that the Pope had recalled the King's Cause, at the Emperor's Suit.

But I come now to give an Account of the Proceedings of the Two Legates; in which I must correct the Errors of all the

1529. Writers of that Time, whom I had too implicitly followed. I go upon sure Grounds; for I have before me the Original Register of their Proceedings, made up with such Exactness, that, at the End, the Register and Clerk of the Court do not only attest it with their Hands and Marks, but reckon up the Number of the Leaves, with the Interlinings that are in every Page; and every Leaf is likewise signed by the Clerk, all in Parchment. This Noble Record was lent me, by my Reverend and Learned Brother, Dr. *More*, Bishop of *Ely*, who has gather'd together a most Invaluable Treasure, both of Printed Books and Manuscripts, beyond what one can think that the Life and Labour of one Man could have compassed, and which he is as ready to Communicate, as he has been careful to Collect it.

The Proceedings of the Legates.

The Legates sat in a Room called *the Parliament Chamber*, near the Church of the *Black Friars*. Their First Session was on the 31st of *May*. The Bishop of *Lincoln* presented to them the Bull, by which the Pope empowered them to Try and Judge the Cause concerning the King and Queen's Marriage, whether it was good or not, and whether the Issue by it was legitimate or not. The Legates, after the Reading of the Bull, took it into their Hands, and saw it was a true and untouched Bull, so they took upon them to execute it: And they ordered the King and Queen to be cited to appear before them on the 18th of *June*; and appointed, that the Bishop of *Lincoln* should Cite the King, and the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* the Queen.

On the 18th the Form of the Citation was brought before them, in which the Bull was inserted at full length, and the Two Bishops certified, that they had served the Citation both on the King and Queen on the 15th; and *Sampson*, Dean of the Chapel, and Dr. *Bell* appeared, with a Proxy from the King in due Form: But the Queen appeared personally, and read an Instrument, by which She declined the Legates, as not competent Judges, and adhered to an Appeal She had made to the Pope: Upon Reading this She withdrew; and tho' She was required to return, She had no Regard to it. Upon which they pronounced her contumacious; and on the 21st of *June*, they order'd the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* to serve her with a Monition and a Peremptory Citation, certifying, that if She did not appear, they would proceed in the Cause. And on the 25th of *June*, the Bishop certified upon Oath, that he had served the Citation; but that the Queen adhered to her Protestation, so She was again judged contumacious: And as She never came more into the Court, so the King was never in it. And from this it is clear, that the Speeches that the Historians have made for them, are all plain Falsities.

The next Step made, was, that the Legates exhibited 12 Articles, setting forth the whole Progress of the Queen's First and Second Marriage, and of the Dispensations obtain'd from *Rome*, all grounded upon publick Fame; and the Queen was ordered to be cited again on the 28th of *June*. The Bishop certified upon Oath, that he had served the Queen with the Citation; but She not appearing, was again judged contumacious, and Witnesses were sworn to prove

prove the Articles. The King's Anſwer to the Articles was laid before them; in which, by his Anſwer to the 7th, it appeared, that he was Married to the Queen, by Virtue of a Papal Diſpenſation.

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On the 5th of *July*, the King's Proctors brought the Bull of Pope *Julius*, Diſpenſing with the Impediments in the Marriage, as likewiſe the Copy of the Breve, of which the Original was in *Spain*, but atteſted very ſolemnly from thence. The Legates ordered more Witneſſes to be ſworn on the 9th of *July*. In another Seſſion, Additional Articles were offered; in which it was ſet forth, that Impediments lay againſt the Marriage, as being prohibited both by the Divine and the Eccleſiaſtical Laws; ſo that it could not be maintained by the Diſpenſations, and that they were of no Force, but were Null and Void. Then they ſet forth all the Objections formerly made againſt the Bull; by which it appeared, that the Pope was ſurprized by the falſe Suggeſtions made to him, on which he had granted it; and in particular, that there was no War, nor Appearance of War, between *England* and *Spain*, at that Time. They did alſo ſet forth the Preſumptions, on which they concluded that the Breve was not a Genuine, but a Forged Piece. On the 12th of *July*, Commiſſion was given to Examine the Witneſſes. On the 14th, Additional Articles were brought in; and on the 16th of *July*, the King's Proctors were required to bring all Inſtruments whatſoever, relating to the Articles, before the Legates; and another Commiſſion was given, to Examine ſome abſent Witneſſes.

On the 19th of *July*, Publication was made of the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes: By which it appears, that *Warham* in his Examination ſaid, He referred the Matter of the Lawfulneſs of the King's Marriage, to Divines; but that he himſelf believed, that it was contrary both to the Laws of God, and to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and that otherwiſe, there was no need of a Diſpenſation from the Pope. He confeſſes, there were great Murmurings againſt the Marriage; for nothing of that Sort had ever been heard of in this Kingdom before; and that he himſelf murmured againſt it, and thought it deteſtable and unnatural; and that he had expoſtulated with the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* for his Adviſing it, but he acquieſced when the Pope's Diſpenſation was obtained. The Biſhop of *Ely* depoſed, That he doubted concerning the Conſummation of the Queen's Marriage with Prince *Arthur*; for the Queen had often, upon her Conſcience, denied it to him: Yet many Witneſſes were brought to prove the Conſummation; Some, becauſe the Prince and the Queen conſtantly lodged in the ſame Bed; and that Prince *Arthur* continued in a State of good Health, till the Beginning of *Lent*: Some inferred it, from what they themſelves had done, when they were of his Age. Some ſwore to Words that he ſpake next Morning after his Marriage, not decent enough to be repeated. Other Witneſſes were brought to prove, that there was no War between *England* and *Spain*, when the Diſpenſation was granted; but, that a Free Intercourſe had been kept up between theſe Nations for many Years. It was likewiſe proved, that the Matter ſet

1529. forth in the Preamble of the Bull, was false; and that the Breve was a Forgery. On the 21st, the Protestation the King had made, that he did not intend to Marry the Queen, was read and proved. With that, the King's Council closed their Evidence, and demanded a Final Sentence: So the 23d of *July* was assigned for Concluding the Cause.

On that Day, the King's Proctor moved, that Judgment should be given; but Cardinal *Campegio* did affirm, on the Faith of a true Prelate, that the Harvest Vacation was then begun in *Rome*; and that they were bound to follow the Practice of the Consistory; so he adjourned the Court to the 28th of *September*.

At the End of every Session, some of the Men of Quality then present are named; and at this Time, the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Bishop of *Ely*, are only named; which seems to contradict what is commonly reported of the Duke of *Suffolk*'s being there, and of what passed between him and Cardinal *Wolsey*. This Record is attested by *Clayberg* the Register, and *Watkins* the Clerk of the Court. And Four Year after that, on the 1st of *October*, *Anno* 1533, it is also attested by Dr. *Wootton*; which, he says, he does, being required to attest it by *Clayberg* and *Watkins*. How this came to be desired, or done at that Time, is that of which I can give no other Account, but that this is affixed to the Register. By this Extract that I have made of this great Record, it appears, that *Campegio* carried on this Cause with such a trifling Slowness, that if the King had not thought he was sure of him, he could never have suffered such Delays to be made; by which the Cardinal had a Colour from the Vacation, then begun in the Consistory in *Rome*, to put off the Cause, on the Day in which a present Sentence was expected. It is very Natural to think, that as the King was much surprized, so he was offended out of Measure, when he found he was treated with so much Scorn and Falsehood.

P. 136. On the 23d of *August* a sad Embroilment happened upon the Duke of *Suffolk*'s returning from *France*. *Wolsey* complained to the King that he had done him ill Offices at that Court. *Suffolk* denied it; the Cardinal said he knew it by the Bishop of *Bayonne*: Upon which *Suffolk* came and challenged him: The Bishop denied he had said it. *Suffolk* confessed indeed he had said some Things to his Disadvantage; but the Bishop prayed him that the Matter might be carried no further: Yet he offered to deny in *Wolsey*'s Presence, that which was charged on him. But he saw the Duke of *Suffolk* intended to oblige him to deny it in the King's Presence. The Bishop apprehending the ill Effects this might have, resolved to keep out of the King's way for some Time, and he hoped to avoid the being further questioned in the Matter: He found both the King and *Wolsey* desired that he might make a Journey to *Paris*, to get the Opinions of the Learned Men in the King's Cause: He would not undertake it, 'till he knew whether the King of *France* approved of it or not: He desired an Answer might be quickly sent him; adding, that if it was not agreed to by *France*, it would increase the Jealousies the King had of that Court. He saw they designed to hold a Parliament in *England*, and they hoped by that to make the Pope feel the Effects of his Injustice.

By

By the Bishop's Letter of the 18th of *September*, it appears that *Campegio* having got his Revocation, " resolved to go to Court that " he might have his Audience of Leave; where it was thought best to dismiss him civilly: In the mean while, *Wolsey*, who seemed full of " Fear, pressed the Bishop to get the Matter to be examin'd by the Divines: " And though he disguised his Fears, yet he could not quite cover " them. Some had left him whom he had raised; probably this was " *Gardiner*: For he united himself to the Duke of *Norfolk* in all " Things. The Bishop of *Bayonne* desired Leave to go over, on the " Pretence of his Father's Old Age and Weakness; but really to " know the Sense of the *French* Divines; and also desired, that his Brother, *William de Bellay*, might be sent to the Court of *England*, " during his Absence.

1529. P. 354.

" On the 4th of *October*, he writes, that he saw the Parliament " was set to ruin *Wolsey*. *Campegio* was well treated by the King, " and had good Presents at Parting; and the King desired that they " would use him well, as he passed thro' *France*; and particularly, " that they would suffer him to resign an Abbey he had there, in " Favour of his Son. He was stopt at *Dover*; for it was suspected " that he was Carrying over *Wolsey*'s Treasure.

P. 354.

On the 17th of *October*, he describes the Cardinal's Fall: " The " Bishop thought it was the greatest Example of Fortune that " could be seen: Both Heart and Voice failed him; he wept, " and prayed that the King of *France* and his Mother would pity " him, if they found that he had been true in all that he had promised to them: His Visage was quite altered; and the Disgrace " was so sudden and heavy, that even his Enemies pitied him: The " Bishop saw he would be hotly pursued, and that nothing but Intercessions from *France* could save him: He did not pretend to continue either *Legate* or *Chancellor*; he seemed ready to quit all to his " Shirt, so he might recover the King's Favour again. He was capable of no Comfort. He proposed, that the *French* King and his " Mother should write to the King, to this Purpose; That they " heard of his Disgrace, and of the Design to ruin him: That they " pray'd him not to proceed too suddenly: He had been a good " Instrument between them; if there was just Cause for it, his " Power might be lessened; but that they prayed, the King would " not carry Things to Extremity. The Bishop lays this before " *Montmorancy*, without presuming to give Advice in it; only he " thought this could do no hurt. Whatsoever was done, must seem " to be of their own Motion, and not as coming from a Desire of " the Cardinal; for that would precipitate his Ruin. It seems, he had receiv'd great Presents from the King's Mother, of which he " hoped She would say nothing, that might hurt him. It was intended, as he thought, on his Ruin, to destroy the State of the " Church, and seize on their Lands, which had been openly talk'd " at some Tables. If the King of *France* intended to interpose in " his Favour, no Time was to be lost. *Anne Boleyn*, as it was believed, had got a Promise of the King, that he would not admit him to a Private Audience, lest that might beget some Pity in him.

P. 370. The Cardinal's Disgrace.

1529.

P. 377. All his Goods seized on.

P. 379.

" On the 22d of *October*, he wrote, that all his Goods were " seized on, and that his Spirit was quite sunk. It was not known, " who should have the Great Seal; it was believed, it would no " more be put into a Priest's Hands; but he saw, *Gardiner* was like " to have a great Share in Affairs. The Cardinal's Goods that were " seized on, were valued at 500000 Crowns. *More*, who had been " Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, was made Lord Chan- " cellor. The See of *York* was to be left in his Hands; and some " of his Goods were to be sent back to him. The Bishop did ap- " prehend, that if the New Ministry did not agree, which he be- " lieved they would not do long, he might be brought back to " Court again.

I have given the Relation of this great Transaction more particularly than was perhaps necessary; but finding so clear a Thread in those Letters, I thought it not improper to follow them closely; the rather, to shew, that none of the Papers that Mr. *Le Grand* has published, do in the least contradict, but rather establish all that I had written: And so punctual a Relation being laid before me, by those who bore no good Will to me, nor to my Work, seemed an Invitation to me to enlarge further than perhaps was necessary. I will end therefore all that relates to Cardinal *Wolsey*, at once.

Wolsey's good Conduct in his Diocese.

Upon his going to *York*, he behaved himself much better than he had done in the former Parts of his Life. In a Book that was printed in the Year 1536, entitled *A Remedy for Sedition*, writ by One that was no Friend to Popery, this Character is given of the last Part of *Wolsey's* Life. " None was better beloved than he, after " he had been there a while. He gave Bishops a Good Example, " how they might win Mens Hearts. There was few Holy-Days, " but he would ride Five or Six Miles from his House; now to " this Parish-Church, now to that; and there, cause one of his Do- " ctors to make a Sermon unto the People: He sat among them, " and said Mass before all the Parish. He saw why Churches were " made, and began to restore them to their right and proper Use. " If our Bishops had done so, we should have seen, that Preach- " ing the Gospel is not the Cause of Sedition, but rather Lack " of Preaching it. He brought his Dinner with him, and bad di- " vers of the Parish to it. He enquired if there was any De- " bate, or Grudge between any of them; if there were, after Din- " ner he sent for the Parties to the Church, and made them " all one.

I had, in my Work, mentioned the Concluding Character that I found *Cavendish* gave of him, that was left out in the Printed Editions; which made me vouch the Manuscript, from which I had it: But the last Edition agreeing with that Copy, I need say no more to justify my Quotation, for it will be found in it.

It may seem strange, that when the Bishop of *Bayonne* first suggested to *Wolsey*, that if the King's Marriage was against the Law of God, the Pope's Dispensation could be of no Force; yet no Inferences were made from this. All our Writers give *Cranmer* the Honour of having started that first; and they make that the Foundation of his Advancement. I can see no other way to reconcile all this, but

that it may be supposed *Wolsey* as true to the Interests of the Papacy, was unwilling to let it be moved in Publick; and that he kept this between the Bishop of *Bayonne* and himself, without communicating it to the King. Now the Cause was called away to *Rome*, and so a new Process followed with a very slow Progress: Delays upon Delays were granted, and yet all was precipitated in Conclusion.

1529.

The King consults the Universities.

In the mean while, the King sent his Question to the Faculties of Law and Divinity, in the several Universities of *Europe*: And understanding that *Martin de Bellay*, the Elder Brother of the Bishop of *Bayonne*, distinguished by the Title of Sieur *de Langey*, had great Credit in the Universities, both in *France*, *Italy* and *Germany*; he engaged him to procure their Opinions upon the Point of the Unlawfulness of his Marriage: Who in the View of this Service, prevailed with the King, to lend the King of *France* 150000 Crowns, being to be advanced as a Part of the Two Millions, that he was to pay for the Redemption of his Sons; which was to be repaid to King *Henry* in Five Years. Besides, he assigned over to him the Forfeiture due by the Emperor, for not Marrying his Daughter: And he sent in a Present to his Godson *Henry*, afterwards King of *France*, a Jewel, with some of that which was believed to be the True Cross, that had been left in Pawn with the King, by *Philip*, *Charles*'s Father, for 50000 Crowns: So ready was the King to engage the King of *France* into his Interest, at no small Charge to himself.

Mart. de Bellage's Memoirs, p. 282.

Proceedings in Convocation.

I come next to open the Transactions in the Convocation that was summoned to meet on the 5th of *November* 1529, Two Days after the Opening of the Parliament. At their First Meeting, a Reformation of Abuses was proposed: And with that an Enquiry was made concerning Heretical Books. A Committee of Bishops was appointed with relation to Hereticks. On the 19th of *December* Secresy was enjoyned, and that was again a Second Time enjoyned under the Pain of Excommunication: Then the Prolocutor came up, and had secret Conference with the Upper-House. They remitted to the King the Loan that they had made him; and they put an End to that Work on *Christmass*-Eve, a Week after the Parliament was risen.

May 24.

Translation of the Scriptures condemned.

The Bishops were much offended at the Translations of the New Testament by *Tindall*, *Joyce*, and others; and proceeded severely against those who read them: Yet it was not easy to put a stop to the Curiosity and Zeal of the People. The King came to the Star-Chamber, and conferred with the Bishops and other learned Men on this Subject: The Bishops said these Translations were not true, and complained of the Prologues set before them. So the King commanded by a Proclamation, issued and printed in *June* 1530, that these Translations should be called in, and promised that a New One should be made. On this Occasion it is not unfit to mention what Doctor *Fulk* writes, that he heard *Miles Coverdale* say in a Sermon he preached at *Paul*'s Cross. After he had finished his Translation, some censured it: Upon which King *Henry* ordered divers Bishops to peruse it: After they had it long in their Hands, he asked their Judgment of it; they said there were many Faults in it: But he asked upon that, if there were any Heresies in it; they said they found none: Then said the King, in God's Name, let it go

 abroad

1530. abroad among my People. The Time is not marked when this was ſaid, therefore I inſert it here: For in the beginning of the following Year, the King ordered a Bible of the largeſt Volume to be had in every Church, but it does not appear to me by whom it was tranſlated.

On the 19th of *September* 1530, another Proclamation was made, againſt all who ſhould purchaſe any Thing from the Court of *Rome*, contrary to the King's Prerogative, or to hinder his intended Purpoſes. The Convocation was again brought together, about the 7th of *January*; their greateſt Buſineſs was to purchaſe their Pardon; for as the Cardinal had fallen under a Premunire, by the Act of the 16th of *Richard* the IId; ſo they were generally involved, more or leſs, in the ſame Guilt: The Sum was ſoon agreed to, with the Conſent of the Lower-Houſe, One Hundred Thouſand Pound was to be their Ranſom.

The Steps in carrying the King's being declared Head of the Church.

On the 7th of *February*, ſome of the King's Councellors and Judges came and conferred with them about ſome Words that were propoſed to be put in the Preamble of the Bill of Subſidy, which were theſe, *The King who is the Protector, and the only Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of* England. Upon this the Prolocutor and Clergy were called up to confer about it: The Lord Chief Juſtice with others, came into the Convocation, and conferred with the Archbiſhop and his Brethren: The next Day the Prolocutor deſired a further Time, and the Archbiſhop aſſigned them One a Clock: Then the Archbiſhop had ſome Diſcourſe with them concerning the King's Pardon: Some of the Judges came and communicated to them a Copy of the Exceptions in the Act of Grace: This was in the 23d Seſſion: In the 24th Seſſion, there was yet further Talk about the King's Supremacy.

The Judges came and aſked them whether they were agreed upon the Exceptions; and added, that the King would admit of no Qualifications: When theſe were gone, the Prolocutor came up and aſked yet more Time; the Archbiſhop appointed Two a Clock the ſame Day: A long Debate followed. The next Day the Archbiſhop had a ſecret Conference with the Biſhops, and *Cromwell* came and had ſome Diſcourſe with him; when he went away, the Biſhops reſolved to ſend the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Exeter* to the King; it ſeems, to ſoften him: But they came back, and reported that the King would not ſpeak with them. The Judges told them, they had no Orders to ſettle the King's Pardon, till they did agree to the Supremacy. They were prorogued till the Afternoon, and then there was ſo great a Variety of Opinions, that no Agreement was like to follow. The Lord *Rochford*, *Anne Bullen*'s Father, was ſent by the King with ſome Expedients: The Archbiſhop directed them to conſider of theſe, and that when they were come to a Reſolution upon them, that they ſhould ſend Three or Four of each Houſe to treat with the King's Council, and with the Judges: But the King would admit of no Treaty, and aſked a clear Anſwer. It was put off a Day longer, and on the 11th of *February*, the Article was thus conceived in Latin, *Eccleſiæ & Cleri Anglicani ſingularem Protectorem & unicum & Supremum Dominum, & quantum per Chriſti legem licet, etiam*

Supremum Caput, ipsius Majestatem Recognoscimus. In *English* thus, *We Recognize the King's Majesty to be our only Sovereign Lord, the singular Protector of the Church and Clergy of* England, *and as far as is to be allowed by the Law of Christ, likewise our SUPREME HEAD.*

1530.

The Limitation added to it:

The Form being thus agreed on, the Archbishop offered it to the Whole Body: All were silent; upon which he said, whosoever is silent seems to consent: To this one answered, then we are all silent. The Meeting was put off till the Afternoon; and then after a long Conference, all of the Upper-House agreed to it, none excepted: *Fisher* is expresly named as present; And in the Evening the Prolocutor came and signified to the Archbishop, that the Lower-House had also consented to it: And thus the Bill of Subsidy was prepared and offered to the King on the First of *April.* Thus this Matter was carried, by adding this Limitation, which all Parties understood, according to their different Notions.

Though these Words of Limitation had not been added, the Nature of Things required that they should have been supposed; since among Christians, all Authority must be understood to be limited by the Laws that Christ has given: But those who adhered to their former Notions, understood this *Headship* to be only a Temporal Authority, in Temporal Matters: And they thought that by the Laws of Christ, the Secular Authority ought not to meddle in Ecclesiastical Matters; whereas others of the New Learning, as it was then called, thought that the Magistrate had a full Authority, even in Ecclesiastical Matters: But that the Administration of this, was so limited to the Laws of the Gospel, that it did not warrant him to command any Thing, but what was conform to these. So that these Words were Equivocal, and differently understood by those who subscribed, and afterwards swore them.

And accepted by the King.

It seems the King thought it was of great Advantage to him, to have this Matter settled with any Limitation: For that in Time would be dropt and forgotten, as indeed it was: This, no doubt, was intended to terrify the Court of *Rome*; since it was published over all *Europe*, that it went Unanimously in the Convocation of this Province.

Tonstall was now translated to *Duresme*; and being a Man of great Probity, he could not at first approve of a Thing in which he saw a fraudulent Management, and an ill Design; so he protested against it: He acknowledged the King's Headship in Temporal Matters, but did not allow it in Spirituals: But the King who had a particular Friendship for him, wrote him a Letter, which from the printed Title to it, I too hastily thought was directed to the Convocation at *York*; but it was writ only to *Tonstall*; and it seems it so far satisfied him, that he took the Oath afterwards, without any Limitation.

The Proceedings of the Clergy against Hereticks.

I shall now go through the rest of the Abstract of that Convocation, by which it will appear what was the Spirit that prevailed among them. In the 49th Session, after all had agreed to the Preamble of the Bill of Subsidy, the Bishop of *London* laid before them a Libel against the Clergy: In the next Session, *Crome*, *Latimer*, and *Bilney*,

were

1530. were examined upon some Articles: It does not appear whether the Libel was laid to their Charge, or not; only their Examination following the other Motion so soon, gives ground to apprehend that it might be the Matter under Examination. In the 55th Session, the King's Pardon was read to them; and it seems Exceptions being taken to some Things in it, in the 58th Session, the Emendations that the King's Council had made, were read to them, in which it seems they acquiesced, for we hear no more of it.

Complaints of *Tracy's* Testament.

After that, there was a long Conference, with Relation to *Crome's* Errors: But the Matter was referred to the Prolocutor and the Clergy. The Prolocutor had in the 45th Session, complained of *Tracy's* Testament, but no Answer being made, he renewed his Complaint in the 62d Session, and desired that it might be condemned, and that *Crome* should be proceeded against; as also that *Bilney* and *Latimer* might be cited: But for some Reasons not expressed, the Archbishop thought fit to delay it. In the 64th Session, the Prolocutor repeated his Motion for condemning *Tracy's* Testament; so in the 66th Session, on the 23d of *March*, the Archbishop gave Judgment against it. *Tracy's* Son was examined about it: He said it was all written in his Father's own Hand; and that he had never given a Copy of it to any Person, except to one only. In the 69th Session, the Archbishop examined *Lambert*, (alias *Nicolson*, who was afterwards burnt) before Two Notaries; and in the 70th Session, the Sentence condemning *Tracy's* Testament was publickly read; and, after Two other Sessions, the Convocation was prorogued to *October*.

It appears from all this, that the Convocation was made up of Men violently set against our Reformation. But I turn now to another Scene. The King seeing no Hope left of succeeding in his Suit at the Court of *Rome*, resolved to try the Faculties of Divinity in the several Universities: His chief Reliance was upon *France*, and on those Three Brothers formerly mentioned: He began to suspect there was some secret Negotiation between the Court of *Rome*, and the King of *France*; yet though he opened this to the Bishop of *Bayonne*, he did on all other Occasions express an entire Confidence in that King: And the New Ministry seemed Zealous in the Interests of *France*, and studied to remove all the Jealousies that they apprehended *Wolsey* might have given of them.

P. 383.

The King's Proceedings at *Rome*.

At this Time the Bishop of *Tarbe*, then Cardinal *Grandimont*, was with the Pope, and had a particular Charge sent to him to assist the *English* Ambassadors: He wrote to the *French* King on the 27th of *March*, "that he had served *Bullen*, then Lord *Rochfort*, all he "could; that he had pressed the Pope to shew the Regard he had "to the King of *France*, as well as to the King of *England*: He "writes that the Pope had Three several Times said to him in secret, "that he wish'd that the Marriage had been already made in *England*, "either by the Legate's Dispensation, or otherwise, provided it was "not done by him, nor in diminution of his Authority, under the "Pretence of the Laws of God. He also wrote that the Emperor "had pressed the Pope to create some New Cardinals upon his Recommendation: But that the Pope complained, that when he was "a Prisoner, he had made some Cardinals who were a Disgrace to the

P. 399.

" College: The Emperor said, he was sorry for it; but it was not " by his Order. The Pope said, he knew the contrary; for he " saw the Instructions sent to the Cardinal *Cordelier*, signed by the " Emperor, in which they were named: So the Pope refused to " give the Two Caps that he desired.

1530.

There was then an *Italian*, *Joachim* Sieur *de Veaux*, at the Court of *England*, who was an Agent of *France*: He, in a Letter to the King of *France*, *March* the 15th, writes, That the King thought, that by his Means he might have the Opinion of the Faculty at *Paris*, in his Cause. On the 4th of *April* he writes, that the King expected no good from the Pope, and seemed resolved to settle his Matter at Home, with the Advice of his Council and Parliament. He looked on the Pope as Simoniacal, and as an Ignorant Man, and not fit to be the Universal Pastor; and resolved not to suffer the Court of *Rome* to have any Advantage from the Benefices in his Kingdom, but to Govern it by a Provincial Authority, and by a Patriarch; and he hoped other Kingdoms would do the same.

P. 411. Applications made to Divines and Lawyers. P. 418.

After some Interval, the Bishop of *Bayonne*'s Letters are again continued. In one of the 29th of *December*, he writes, " That " the King was marvelously well pleased with the Account his Am- " bassadors wrote to him, of what the Divines of *Paris* had done; " tho' he understands there is one *Beda*, a dangerous Person among " them. That Declaration which their Divines had made, was " such, that all other Things were forgiven, in Consideration " of it.

An Opinion given by some in *Paris*, p. 421.

The next Letter is from his Brother *William*; who writes, " That " the good Answer that came from the Doctors and Universities of " *Italy*, made the King wonder that those of *Paris* were so back- " ward. It was suspected in *England*, that the King of *France*, or " his Counsellors, had not recommended the Matter effectually to " them. He had a Letter from one *Gervais*, a Doctor there, who " had much advanced the King's Affairs, for which *Montmorancy* " had made him great Acknowledgments. He shew'd this Letter to " King *Henry*; who, upon that, carried him to his Closet where " his Books lay, and there he entertain'd him Four Hours: He told " him, he was in such Perplexity, that it was not possible for him " to live longer in it.

This *de Bellay* was to go to *Paris*, to talk with the Doctors; therefore he prayed *Montmorancy*, that he might find a Letter from the King, empowering him so to do; that so he might not seem to act without his Orders: And he promised to manage the Matter with Discretion.

Bishop of *Bayonne* sent to *Paris*.

In a Letter that the Bishop of *Bayonne* wrote from *Lusignon*, on the 13th of *April*, where he was then with the *French* King, he writes, That the Matter of the Divorce was entirely dispatch'd at *Paris*, as it had been before that done at *Orleans*, by his Brother's Means. But he adds, Some represented to the King, that he had shewed too much Diligence in Procuring it, as if he was Serving Two Masters. *Joachim* had before that, on the 15th of *February*, written to the King, that King *Henry* thanked him for his Commands to the Doctors in *Paris* in his Matter, which he laid to Heart

P. 427. P. 442.

more

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more than all other Things; and desir'd they would give their Opinions in Writing, that they might be laid before the Pope.

Cardinal *Cajetan*'s Opinion against the King.

It does not appear, that the Pope took any other Pains to be well informed in the Matter, but by consulting Cardinal *Cajetan*, who was then justly esteemed the Learnedest Man of the College. He, when he wrote Commentaries upon *Thomas*'s Summ, tho' that Father of the Schoolmen thought, that the Laws in *Leviticus*, concerning the Degrees of Marriage that are prohibited, were Moral, and of Eternal Obligation; *Cajetan*, in his Commentary, declares himself to be of another Mind, but takes a very odd Method to prove it: For instead of any Argument to evince it, he goes only on this Ground; That they cannot be Moral, since the Popes dispensed with them; whereas they cannot dispense with a Moral Law. And for that he gives an Instance of the Marriage of the King of *Portugal*; to which he adds, The present Queen of *England* had likewise consummated her Marriage, with the late Brother of the King of *England* her Husband. By which, as it appears that they took it then for granted at *Rome*, that her first Marriage with Prince *Arthur* was consummated, so he departed only from *Aquinas*'s Opinion, because the Pope's Practice of Dispensing in such Cases, could not be justified, unless he had forsaken his Master in that Particular. And here he offers neither Reason nor Authority, to maintain his Opinion, but only the Practice of the Court of *Rome*. Which is, in plain Words, to say, that what Opinion soever is contrary to the Practice of the Popes, must for that Reason be laid aside: For he offers no other Argument, but Three modern Instances, of which this of the Queen of *England* is one, of Popes Dispensing with those Laws. But now being required by the Pope to consider the present Case more particularly, he, on the 13th of *March* this Year, gave his Opinion in Writing to him. *Raynaldus* has inserted it in his Annals. In it, after he had compared the Laws in *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy* together, he concludes, "That the Marrying a Brother's Wife was simply unlawful; but that in some Circumstances it might have been good, if a much greater Good should follow on such a Marriage, than that provided for in *Deuteronomy*, of continuing the Name of a Brother dead without Children. Now he argues, that the Reason of a Provision made in a private Case, would be much stronger in a Case of a publick Nature: So that a Marriage being made to keep Peace between Two Nations, must be held Lawful, since a Dispensation was obtained for it. This was not only good in it self, but it was warranted by the Apostolical Authority. He confesses, that the Pope cannot in the least alter or derogate from the Laws of God, or of Nature. But in doubtful Cases, he may determine with Relation to the Laws of God, and of Nature. He insists chiefly upon *England*'s being deliver'd from a War by the Marriage. He acknowledges that both Councils, Popes, and Holy Doctors, have condemned such Marriages, as contrary to the Laws of God and of Nature; but they do not condemn them, when other Circumstances accompany them, when it is for the Good of both Parties, and for a common Good; and therefore he justifies Pope *Julius*'s Dispensation.

2dus 2dæ. Quæst. 159. Art. 9.

Ad An. 1530. Num. 194.

Who,

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Who, as the same *Raynaldus* tells us, did it with the View of the Advantages that *Spain* and *England* would have; but chiefly, because it was hoped, that by this Conjunction of Force, they would be able to depress the *French*.

Ad An. 1503. N. 22.

This Opinion of so Great a Man, was sent over to King *Henry*, signed by himself, bearing Date the 27th of *January* 1534; but this Date is perhaps only the Date of his Signing that Copy. It h[illegible]ot the Effect they expected from it; especially because it was d[illegible]ve in that way of Writing, that was then the most cried up against Hereticks. For he brought no Authority from any Ancienter Writer, to confirm his Opinion: So that he argued, from his private way of Commenting on Scripture, against the Streams of Tradition; which was called the Hereticks Way of Writing.

Cotton Libr. *Vitell.* B. 14.

The Pope's 1st Breve against the Divorce.

The Pope made a new Step on the 7th of *March*; for he sent a Breve to the King, setting forth a Complaint made by Queen *Katherine*, "that King *Henry* intended to proceed to a Second Marriage; "he therefore prohibited that, under the Pain of the severest Censures, threatning to put the whole Kingdom under an Interdict; "and charged the King, in the solemnest manner, to live with the "Queen as formerly. This was granted at *Bologne*, upon the Emperor's pressing Instances. This had been attempted before, but was afterwards disowned by the Pope. For when the Avocation was sent over to *England*, there was sent with it an Inhibition, to proceed further in the Matter; threatning Censures and Punishments, in Case of Disobedience. But Complaint being made of this, the Pope did by a Bull, dated the 5th of *October* 1529, declare, that the Censures threatned in the Inhibition, were added against his Mind, so he annuls them, and suspends the Cause to the 25th of *December*.

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P. 454.

In a Letter that the Cardinal *Grandmont* wrote to *Montmorancy*, he tells him, that the Emperor said he would have the Matter of the Marriage carry'd thro': If it was judged unlawful, he would not support his Aunt; but if otherwise, he would support Her. And when *Boleyn* once offer'd to answer him, he stopt him, and said, He was a Party, and ought not to speak in the Matter. The Cardinal told *Boleyn*, he had Orders from the King of *France* to sollicit that Matter as if it was his own; but *Boleyn* thought it was best to look on for some time, to see how Matters went; for if the Pope and the Emperor should fall into new Quarrels, then they might hope to be better heard.

P. 458. The Proceedings of the *Sorbonne*.

On the 12th of *June*, *Bellay* wrote to the King a long Account of his Proceedings with the Doctors of the *Sorbonne*; by which, it seems, what is formerly mentioned of their giving Opinion in the King's Favour, was only as Private Doctors, and not in a Body, as a Faculty. "The young Princes of *France* were yet detained in "*Spain*; so it was necessary to proceed with such Caution, as not "to irritate the Emperor. He had delay'd moving in it for some Days; "but the *English* Ambassadors were impatient. He complains, that "there were few Honest Men in the Faculty, but apprehending the "Inconvenience of Delaying the Matter any longer, he presented "the King's Letters to them. The Assembly was great; the Bishop

1530.


"of *Senlis*, several Abbots and Deans, the Guardians of the Four "Mendicant Orders, and many others, were present; so that of a "great while there had not been so Numerous an Assembly. The "Proposition was made on King *Henry*'s Part, with great Advan-"tage: An Express Law in the Scripture was quoted; the Four "Great Doctors of the Church, Eight Councils, and as many Fa-"culties or Universities were of his Side: So, in Respect to them, "the King desired they would determine the Matter in the Doctri-"nal way. The Emperor, on the other Hand, who was likewise the King's Ally, opposed the Divorce; the Queen of *England* being his Aunt: For he thought himself bound to interpose on her "Account. So the King being pressed by Two Allies, who both were resolved to be govern'd by the Laws of God, and of Right "Reason, laid the whole Matter before them, who were now assem-"bled in an extraordinary manner, and enjoined them to recom-"mend themselves to God, and, after a Mass of the Holy Ghost, "to consider that which was to be laid out to them, without Fear "or Favour; and after full Consideration, to determine it, as God "should inspire their Consciences. This was the Substance of *Bel-"lay*'s Speech. *Beda* spoke next: He said, They all knew how "much the King studied to please the King of *England*. Many "Strangers that were of the Faculty seemed to applaud this. *Bel-"lay* replied, There was certainly a great Friendship between the "Two Kings: The Emperor was likewise the King's Ally. But "they ought to have God only before their Eyes, and to search for "the Truth. And having said that, he withdrew.

Great Heat in their Debates.

"Those who spoke first, thought the King's Desire was reasona-"ble, and that therefore they ought to Examine the Matter: This "could not be refused, if asked on the behalf of the meanest Per-"son. Others said, the Faculty was subject to the Pope, from whom "they had their Privileges: And since this Question related to his "Power, they ought not to speak to it, till they sent to know his "Mind; or at least, till they sent to know how the King appro-"ved of it, and if he would ask the Pope's Leave, to suffer them "to debate about it. Another Party moved, that while their "Letters were dispatched to that Purpose, they should proceed "to Examine the Question, but suspend the coming to a final Re-"solution, till an Answer was brought them. They said, they "thought, that they had their Privileges from the King, as well as "from the Pope; and that it was a Reflection on the Pope, to ima-"gine he would be offended, if they should examine a Case, in "which the Conscience of a Christian was disquieted; and that even "an Order from the Pope to the contrary, ought not to restrain "them from Examining the Matter. Upon these different Opini-"ons, the Beadle began to gather their Votes; whether they ought "to proceed to Examine the Question, or not. But One of the "Doctors rose from his Place, and plucked the Scroll out of the "Beadle's Hands, and tore it in pieces: And so they all rose up in "a Tumult, crying out, that nothing ought to be done, without "writing first to the King, and to the Pope. Thus the Meeting "broke up in Confusion. The *English* Ambassadors were near enough

" to see and hear all this. They said, they knew this was laid by *Beda* 1530.
" and his Party: *Bellay* did not then think so, and prevailed with
" them not to write to *England* till he tried what might be done.
" He went to *Lizet*, the First President of the Court of Parliament;
" to whom the King in especial Manner, had recommended the Ma-
" naging of that Affair. *Lizet* sent for *Beda*, and other his Com-
" plices, and prevailed with them to meet again the next Day, and
" to proceed according to the Third Opinion; which was, to discuss
" the Question provisionally, and to Seal up their Conclusion, and
" send it to the King: So next Morning they met, and appointed to
" begin the *Monday* following, to examine the Question.

" This did not satisfy the *English* Ambassadors; they thought this
" was only an Artifice to gain Time; and indeed they had just
" ground of Suspicion from what several of the Doctors did openly
" talk. *Bellay* therefore desired the King would write to the Dean,
" that he would cut off impertinent Digressions, and bring the Mat-
" ter to as speedy a Conclusion as was possible; for some said they
" would make it last a Year. *Beda* did give it out that he knew
" that what he did was for the King's Service: Of this he made no
" Secret. *Bellay* complaining of this to *Lizet*, he sent for *Beda*, and
" spake so earnestly to him, that he swore very positively he would
" be so far from hindring the Doctors from Obeying the King's Com-
" mands, that he would employ himself, as if it were for the saving
" of his Life, to get the Matter to pass without Noise or Scandal:
" But *Bellay* saw that the President trusted him, so he did acquiesce,
" though he knew that by the Noise he had already made, he had
" broke a Promise which he had made to *Montmorency*. The Bishop of
" *Senlis* was very sensible of the Disorder of that Body: It appearing
" that the *English* Ambassadors did suspect the Court of *France* was
" dealing doubly in the Matter; the Bishop of *Senlis* was resolved
" to go to the King, and to let him see how Matters were managed
" in that Faculty, and to shew him the Necessity of reforming
" them.

The Jealousy of the Court of *France*;

At this Time the Duke of *Norfolk* wrote to *Montmorency*, that they wondred to find the Faculty was so much altered, that before this Time 56 Doctors were in their Opinion on the King's side, and there were only Seven against him: But that in the late Congregation, 36 were against it, and 22 only were for it. The King of *England* had reason upon this, to suspect some underhand Dealing; therefore he hoped they would so manage the Matter, as to clear all Suspicions.

P. 471. Upon the changing the Divines Opinions.

The next Letters of *de Bellay* did certainly give the Progress of the Deliberations of the *Sorbonne*; but we find nothing of that in *Le Grand*'s Collection. It is somewhat strange, and may be liable to Suspicion, that after so close a Series of Letters concerning that Affair, no Letter is produced from the 12th of *June* to the 15th of *August*: Thus we have no Account given us of the Deliberations of the *Sorbonne*, and yet it is not to be doubted, but that a very particular Relation was written to the Court of every Step that was made in it. The producing no Letters for these Two Months, must leave a very heavy Suspicion of unfair Dealing somewhere; for the First Letter of

P. 473.

1530. of *de Bellay's*, that is published by him, after that of the 12th of *June*, is of the 15th of *August*.

The Decision of the *Sorbonne*.

Rymer has published the Original Decision of the *Sorbonne*, on the 2d of *July* 1530, but he adds *avulso sigillo*; yet after that, he publishes an Attestation of the Notaries of the Court of *Paris* (*Curiæ Parisiensis*) of the Authenticalness of this Original Decision. The Attestation of the Notaries, dated the 6th of *July*, mentions both Seal and Subscription, free from all blemish, and liable to no Suspicion. It is probable this Precaution was thought necessary, in case the Messenger that was to carry it to *England*, had fallen into the Hands of any of the Emperor's Parties in their way to *Calais*, who, no doubt would have destroyed this Instrument: But this Notorial Attestation would have been a full Proof of it; for the Difficulties in obtaining it, might make those who had conducted the Matter, think it would be no easy Thing to procure a New Instrument from the *Sorbonne* it self. How it came that the Seal was pulled from the Instrument it self, must be left to Conjecture, perhaps it was pulled from it in Queen *Mary*'s Time.

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Lizet the President, seemed to work against it.

" *Bellay*, in his Letter of the 15th of *August*, writes, that he " had moved *Lizet* to send for *Beda*, and to let him know the " King's Intentions: *Beda* talked as a Fool, he would not say as an " ill Man: But the President was possessed with a good Opinion of him: " The King of *France*, had at the Earl of *Wiltshire*'s Desire, order- " ed an Examination to be made of his Behaviour: He had also or- " dered the President to demand of the Beadle an Authentick Copy " of an Act that *Beda* had once signed; but then wished he had not " signed it: But *Lizet* would not command the Beadle to do this, " till he had the Consent of the Faculty to give it, though he had " an Order from the King to require it. So *Bellay* having got the " King's Letter, went to the President and delivered it to him: He " promised he would execute it, and get the Authentick Copy into " his Hands: Towards the Evening he went to the President to see " what he had done: He said the Beadle told him, he could not " give it without the Consent of the Faculty: Upon which, *Bellay* " said, that might be a Rule, in case a private Person asked it; but " when the Prince demanded it, he thought it was no just Excuse. " The Act which was demanded, was approved by the Faculty, by " the Dean, and the Students, and by all concerned in it: The Bea- " dle pretended that it might be said, that he had falsified the Act: " *Bellay* answered, that was the Reason why they desired the Act: " He was present when it passed, and had minuted it: But since " *Beda* and his Complices repented that they had signed it, and that the Minute they had signed was in some Places dashed and inter- " lined, they might make new Dashings and Interliniations, there- " fore he prayed the President to command the Beadle to bring him " the Minute, that he said was conform to the Original: For " an Hour together, the President would do no more but desire the " Beadle to do it; at last he commanded him, but so mildly, that " the Beadle did not think fit to obey him; upon which *Bellay* " said to him, if he suffered himself to be so treated, he was unwor- " thy of the Character that he bore: This quickened *Lizet* so, that

he

" he commanded the Beadle, all Excuses set aside, to obey him. The 1530.
" Act was brought and read, and he promised to bring him a Copy
" of it by the next Morning: The President. thought that *Bellay* had
" spoken too boldly to him, and he would not let him have it, but
sent it directly to the King: *Lizet* had that Esteem for *Beda*, that
" he thought him a Saint, and he would not believe him capable of
" the Faults that he saw him guilty of, which were such, that *Bellay*
" wrote, that if he had been to be charged, with them, and had a
" dozen of Heads, he had deserved to lose them all. He writes that
" *Beda* was not the only bad Man of the Faculty, he had many
" Companions, who seemed to desire an Occasion to provoke the King
" to do that to them, which would make them pass for Martyrs
" among the People. He had often heard of their wicked Designs,
" under the Hypocritical Disguise of Sincerity, but could not have
" believed the Tenth Part, if he had not seen it.

P. 480. His Letter of that Whole Matter.

Next to this we have in *Le Grand's* Collection, the Letter that *Lizet* wrote to *Montmorency* of the same Date, " mentioning, that
" according to the King's Letters to him, he had procured the Copy
" of the Act, which the King of *England* desired: For though the
" Bishop of *Bayonne* asked it of him, that he might carry it to that
" King, yet that not being ordered in the King's Letters to him,
" he therefore thought it his Duty to send it directly to the King
" himself: And as touching the Examination that the King had
" ordered to be made of the Conduct of that Matter; he desired it
" may be delayed, 'till he was heard give an Account of it: For
" that Information would perhaps be a Prejudice, rather than a Ser-
" vice, to the King of *England*: In it he desires to know the King's
" Pleasure, that he might follow it as carefully, as was possible.

A Design to make a contrary Decree.

The Bishop of *Bayonne*, gives a further Account of this Matter; and writes, " That after the Assembly of the *Sorbonne* was dis-
" missed by the Dean, and that the Bishop of *Senlis*, with
" many Abbots, and Nine or Ten, either Generals, Provincials,
" Guardians, or Priors of the Chief Convents of the Kingdom, and
" others of great Rank and Credit were gone, *Beda* and his Com-
" plices did by their own private Authority meet, and study to over-
" turn that which had been settled in so great an Assembly. He
" writes that this Disease was of a long continuance, and was still
" increasing. This Company pretending they were a Capitular
Congregation, sent an Order to the Bishop of *Senlis*, who was
gone into his Diocese, and had carried the Original Act of the
" Determination with him, requiring him under the Pain of Dis-
" obedience, to send it to them: He wrote in answer to them, that
" he had Orders to deliver it to none but to the King; he was re-
" solved to Obey the King's Orders, and advised them to do the same:
Upon which, they moved to deprive him as a Rebel to the Faculty:
He was not fright'ned with this, but wrote to them, that he was
" bound to obey the Faculty as his Mother, but to Obey the King
" as his Father: Yet they resolved to proceed further after the Feasts.
" In this Letter he tells what Pains his Brother had taken to prevent
" the Scandal that such Proceedings would give, which were better
" hindred than punished: But he complains that those who had

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" Authority to restrain such Insolencies, did secretly encourage them. By which it is clear, he means *Lizet*. The Date of this Letter, is printed the 14th of *August*: But it is more probable it was the 14th of *July*, some Days after the Determination was made: For this Matter has no Relation to the Business of the former Letter, that was written by his Brother a Day after this, if it is the true Date.

It is plain from this, that there were Two Instruments: The One was the Act of the Determination, which at the Time of the Writing this Letter, was in the Bishop of *Senlis* Hands: The other was a Minute signed by them all; to which the former Letter relates, and that might have had Rasures and Glosses in it, which are not to be imagined could be in the Authentick Act: It seems the *English* Ambassadors desired both.

P. 500.

There is another Letter on the 15th of *August*, of the Bishop of *Bayonne*'s to *Montmorency*; in which, " he complains that the Faction " was going to make a Determination contrary to the Former; and " had made an Order that none of the Faculty might sign against the Marriage, but left it free for any to sign for it. But that the King had ordered that the Determination already made should re- " main entire. The Bishop had pressed the President to Obey the " King's Orders: He had promised him to do it; but *Beda* pro- " mised the contrary to his Party. *Bellay* feared the King of *Eng-* " *land* would suspect that the King did not act sincerely. He confessed " that from the Appearances of Things, he should do so himself, if " he had not seen the Concern that the King was in, upon this Oc- " casion. When he pressed *Lizet* to Obey the King's Orders, he " spoke Two or Three Hours to him in bad *Latin* (he calls it the " *Latin* of *Auvergne*) but he could not understand what he meant. " He says the Beadle pretended there was One little Fault in the Act, " upon which he might be accused of Forgery. Upon this the Bi- " shop suspected *Beda*'s Practice more than he had done, and he " had required the President to Obey the King's Orders, otherwise " he would Protest, if he did not: And he secretly told him, he " did say that, to justify him at their Hands, whom he saw he was " resolved not to offend. The President then promised him the Act " that Night; but then delayed it 'till next Morning at Five: When " he sent for it, sometimes the Gate was not opened, and the Key was lost; sometimes the President was asleep; and then it was said " that he had taken Physick, and that the Bishop must have Patience: " But he understood that he had gone out by a Back-Door, to the " Abbey of St. *Germains*; thither he followed him, and asked for " the Act: But he said he had sent it to the King. He reckons " many other Impertinencies, that gave a mean Character of " *Lizet*.

P. 507. *Angiers* divided; the University for the Divorce, and the Divines against it.

But while this Matter was transacted thus at *Paris*, though the University of *Angiers* had determined against the Marriage, yet the Faculty of Divinity there did on the 7th of *May* 1530, determine " that it was Lawful for a Christian to Marry his Brother's Widow, " he dying without Children; but having consummated the Mar- " riage, that such Marriage was not contrary to the Laws of God, " and of Nature, and therefore the Pope might upon reasonable

"Grounds dispense in that Case. This was the Judgment of the Faculty; but that University did, in a Body, on that same Day, decree the quite contrary, without any mention of this Opinion of the Divines; so, it seems, that was kept secret.

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Thus I have fully opened all that Mr. *Le Grand* has thought fit to publish concerning the Divines of *France*. By the Relation given of the Proceedings in the *Sorbonne*, it appears, that in the Opinion of the Bishop of *Bayonne*, and his Brother, that Body was then much corrupted; that a few Incendiaries influenced many there, so that it was far from Deserving the High Character that it had in the World. It is highly probable, they apprehended, that the carrying on the Divorce, might open a Door to let in that which they called Heresy into *England*; which, considering the Heat of that Time, was enough to biass them in all their Deliberations.

I turn next Homeward, to give a more particular Account of the Proceedings both in *Cambridge* and *Oxford*. I begin with the former, because it was first ended there; and I have a sure Ground to go on. A Worthy Person found among the Manuscripts of *Bennet*-College, a Manuscript of Dr. *Buckmaster*, then the Vicechancellor; in which there is a very particular Relation of that Affair. It was procured to that House in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, by Dr. *Jegon*, then Head of that House, and was by him given to that College: For there is nothing remaining in the Registers of the University relating to it, as that Learned Person has informed me.

Coll. Numb. 16. The King's Letters to the University of *Oxford*.

The Vicechancellor was then a Fellow of *Peterhouse*, of which Dr. *Edmonds* was Head, who was then a Vicar and Prebendary in the Diocese and Cathedral-Church of *Salisbury*. The whole will be found in the Collection. "It begins with a short Introductory Speech "of the Vicechancellor's, upon which he read the King's Letter to "them. It set forth, That many of the greatest Clerks in *Christendom*, both within and without the Realms, had affirmed in Writing, That the Marrying the Brother's Wife, he dying without "Children, was forbidden both by the Law of God, and by the "Natural Law: The King therefore being desirous to have their "Minds, to whom he had shewed a Benevolent Affection, did not "doubt but they would declare the Truth, in a Case of such Importance, both to Himself, and to the whole Kingdom. For this "End, he sent *Gardiner* and *Fox*, to inform them particularly of "the Circumstances of the Matter; and he expected their Answer, "under the Seal of the University. The King's Letter is dated the 16th of *February*.

Coll. Numb. 16.

"After this was read, the Vicechancellor told them, they saw "what the King desired of them. They were Men of free and "ingenuous Tempers; every one of their Consciences would dictate "to them what was most expedient. After this, follows the Form "of the Grace that was proposed and granted, that the Vicechancellor and Ten Doctors, and the Two Proctors with Seventeen "Masters of Arts, should have full Authority to determine the "Question proposed, and to answer it in the Name of the whole "University. And whatsoever Two Parts in Three of these Persons should agree in, that, without any New Order, should be re-

1530. " turned to the King, as the Answer of the University: Only the
" Question was to be disputed publickly; and the Determinati-
" on that they should make, was to be read in the Hearing of the
" University.

" On the 9th of *March*, at a Meeting of the University, the
" Vicechancellor told them, that the Persons deputed by them, had
" with great Care and Diligence examined the Question, and had
" consider'd both the Passages in the Scriptures, and the Opinions of
" the Interpreters; upon which they had a Publick Disputation,
" which was well known to them all; So now, after great Labours,
" and all possible Industry, they came to the Determination then to
" be read to them. Then follows the Determination; in which
" they add to the Question proposed to them, these Words, after
" *Brother's Wife, She being Carnally known by her former Husband*:
So, after above a Fortnight's Study or Practice, this was obtained
of them. The Vicechancellor came to *Windsor*, and on the Se-
" cond *Sunday* of *Lent*, after *Vespers*, he deliver'd it to the King.
" Of this he gave an Account to Dr. *Edmonds*, in a Letter; in
" which he tells him, He came to Court while *Latymer* was Preaching:
" The King gave him great Thanks for the Determination; and was much
" pleased with the Method in which they had managed it with such
" Quietness. The King praised *Latymer's* Sermon; and he was or-
" der'd to wait on the King the next Day. Dr. *Butts* brought 20
" Nobles from the King to him, and 5 Marks to the Junior Proctor
" that came with him; scarce enough to bear their Charges, and
far from the Price of Corruption; and gave him Leave to go
when he pleased. But after Dinner, the King came to a Gallery,
where *Gardiner*, and *Fox*, with the Vicechancellor, *Latymer*, and the Pro-
ctor were, and no more; and talked some Hours with them. He
was not pleased with *Gardiner* and *Fox*, because the other Que-
stion, *Whether the Pope had Power to dispense with such a Marri-
age?* was not likewise determined. But the Vicechancellor said, He
believed, that could not have been obtained. But the King said, He
would have that determined after *Easter*. It appears by his Letter,
that there was a great Outcry raised against *Cambridge*, for that which
they had done. The Vicechancellor was particularly censured for it; and
he had lost a Benefice, that the Patron had promised him, but had
upon this changed his Mind. Those who did not like *Latymer*, were
not pleased with his Preaching.

He heard, those of *Oxford* had appointed a select Number to de-
termine the King's Question; and that *Fox*, when he was there,
was in great Danger. But a more particular Account of the Proceedings
in that University, I take from Three of King *Henry's* Letters to
them, communicated to me by my Learned Friend, Dr. *Kennet*;
which, since they have not yet been printed, will be found in the
Collection. *Collect. Numb.* 17.

In the first Letter that the King wrote to the University, he sets
forth, " That upon certain Considerations moving his Conscience,
" he had already consulted many Learned Men, both within the
" Kingdom, and without it; but he desired to feel the Minds of
" those among them, who were Learned in Divinity, to see how

" they

1530.

"they agreed with others: Therefore he hoped, they would sincerely and truly declare their Consciences in that Matter, and not give Credit to Misreports. He requires them, as their Sovereign Lord, to declare their true and just Learning in that Cause: Therefore, in a great Variety of Expressions, mixing Threatnings with Promises, if they should not uprightly, according to Divine Learning, handle themselves, he leaves the declaring the Particulars to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, his Confessor, to whom they were to give entire Credit.

"By the Second Letter, the King tells them, he understood that a great Part of the Youth of the University, did in a Factious Manner combine together, in Opposition to the Wise and Learned Men of that Body, to have a great Number of Regents and Non-Regents to be joined in a Committee of the Doctors, Proctors, and Batchellors of Divinity, for the Determination of the King's Question: This he believed had not been often seen, that such a Number of Men of small Learning, should be joined with so Famous a Sort, to stay their Seniors in so weighty a Cause. The King took that in very ill Part, since they shewed themselves more unkind and wilful than all other Universities had done: He hoped they would bring those Young Men into better Order, otherwise they should feel what it was to provoke him so heinously.

"By his Third Letter, he complains, that they delay'd to send him their Determination. He tells them, the University of *Cambridge* had in a much shorter Time agreed upon the Manner of Sending their Answer; and had sent their Answer under their Common Seal. He would have more easily born with a Delay in making the Answer, if they had so far obey'd him, as to put the Matter in a Method. He therefore being unwilling to proceed to Extremities, had sent his Counsellor, *Fox*, to them; hoping that the Heads and Rulers would consider their Duty, in Granting his Request; which was only, that they would *search the Truth*, in a Cause that so nearly concern'd both Himself, and his People. And therefore he desired, that the Numbers of private Suffrages might not prevail against their Heads, their Rulers, and Sage Fathers; but that they would so try the Opinions of the Multitude, as the Importance of the Matter did require. Hoping that their Constitution was such, that there were Ways left to eschew such Inconveniences, when they should happen: as he trusted they would not fail to do, and so to redeem the Errors and Delays that were past. In Conclusion, the Matter was brought into the Method set forth in my History.

Here is no Threatning them, by Reason of any Determination they might give; but, on the contrary, all the Vehemence in those Letters, is only with Relation to the Method of Proceeding: And it was certainly a very irregular one, to join a great Number of Persons, who had not studied Divinity, with Men of the Profession, who could only by a Majority carry the Point against Reason and Argument.

1530. Here I shall insert some Marginal Notes, that Dr. *Creech* wrote in his own Book of my History, which is now in my Hands. He says, that in the Determination of *Oxford*, they added the Words of the Brother's Wife, (*ab eadem carnaliter cognitam*) *that the first Marriage was consummated*; tho' this was not in the Question sent to the University, by their Chancellor, Archbishop *Warham*. He says further, that they mention the King's Letters, in which it is written, that an Answer was already made by the Universities of *Paris* and *Cambridge*. This of *Paris*, tho' not in the King's Letter, might have been written to them by their Chancellor; for it has apppear'd, from the Letters published by *Le Grand*, that tho' the Decision of the *Sorbonne* was not made till *July*, yet several Months before, the Doctors of *Paris* had given their Opinions for the Divorce. He also writes, that a Letter came from their Chancellor *Warham*, to remove all the Masters of Arts out of the Convocation, as unfit to determine so weighty a Question. *Warham* also, as he says, made the Proposal of Chusing 30, to whom the Question might be referred. In another Place, he quotes the Book that was published for the Divorce; which affirms, that the Determinations of the Universities were made, without any Corruption. The Questions were not proposed to all the Universities in the same Terms: For, to some, as to the Faculty of the Canon-Law at *Paris*, and to those of *Augiers* and *Bourges*, the Consummation of the Marriage is expresly asserted in it. And in the Book, in which the Determinations of the Universities are printed, those of the Universities in *England*, are not mentioned. These are all the Strictures he wrote on this Part of my History.

Tom. XIV. The Decision made at *Bologna*,

Some more Particulars are given us by *Rymer*, concerning the Determination of the Foreign Universities. A Copy of that made at *Bologna*, was carried to the Governor: Upon which, Five Doctors swore before *Crook*, that they had not carried it to him, and that they had kept no Copy of it. This is attested by a Notary; and the Clerks and Notaries swore the same, and that they did not know who carried it. By this, it seems, *Crook* had engaged them to Secresy; and that the Matter coming some way to the Governor's Knowledge, they took these Oaths to assure him, that they had not broken their Word to him.

And at *Padua*.

The Decree in *Padua* was made *July* the 1st, and was attested by the *Podesta*, and afterwards by the Doge of *Venice*, on the 20th of *September*; who affirm, that Eleven Doctors were present; and that the Determination was made with the Unanimous Consent of the whole Body. And this is attested by Notaries.

But now the Scene must be removed to *Rome* for some Time. The Pope had order'd a Citation to be made of the King, to appear before him, to hear his Cause judged. The King would not suffer any such Citation to be intimated to him; so it was affixed at some Churches in *Flanders*, at *Tournay* and *Bruges*. The King treated this with Contempt; while the Emperor, and his Ministers, were pressing the Pope to proceed to Censures. The King of *France* interposed, to obtain Delays; in Consideration of whom,

seve-

ſeveral Delays were granted, and the Pope ſaid if King *Henry* would proceed no further in the Matter of the Supremacy, he would yet grant a further Delay: And whereas the *French* King preſſed for a Delay of Four Months, the Pope ſaid if the King of *England* would own him as his Judge, he would give not only the Time that was aſked, but a Year, or more.

1530.

Here I ſhall give an Account of a long Letter that the King wrote to the Pope; there is no Date put to it in the Copy from which I took it, but the Subſtance of it makes me conclude, it was writ about this Time. It will be found in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 18. Among *Rymer's* MSS.

The King writes fully to the Pope.

" In it he complains that no Regard was had neither to his juſt " Deſires, nor to the Interceſſion of the Moſt *Chriſtian King*: That " the Prayers of his Nobility were not only deſpiſed, but laughed " at. All this was far contrary to what he expected; and was in- " deed ſo ſtrange, that he could ſcarce think the Pope was capable of " doing ſuch Things, as he certainly knew he was doing. The Pope, " againſt what all Men thought juſt, refuſed to ſend Judges to come " to the Place where the Cauſe lay. The Holy Councils of old had " decreed, that all Cauſes ſhould be determined there where they " had their beginning: For this he quotes St. *Cyprian* among the " Antients, and St. *Bernard* among Moderns; who were of that " Mind. The Truth would be both ſooner, and more certainly " found out, if examined on the Place, than could poſſibly be at a " Diſtance. The Pope had once ſent Legates to *England*, and what " Reaſon could be given why this ſhould not be done again? But he " ſaw the Pope was ſo devoted to the Emperor, that every thing " was done as he dictated. The Queen's Allegation, that *England* " was a Place ſo ſuſpected by her, that ſhe could not expect to have " Juſtice done her in it, muſt be believed, againſt the cleareſt Evi- " dence poſſible to the contrary. The King bore with the Liberties " that many took who eſpouſed her Cauſe, more than was fitting; nor " did he threaten any, or grow leſs kind than formerly, to thoſe " who declared for the Marriage; and yet the Pope pretended he " muſt give Credit to this, and he offered no other Reaſon for his not " ſending Judges to *England*. This was to faſten a baſe Reflection upon " the King, and an Injuſtice, which he muſt look on as a great In- " dignity done him.

" He further complains, that the Pope took all poſſible Methods to " hinder Learned Men from delivering their Opinion in his Cauſe; " and tho' after long and earneſt Applications, he did give leave by " his Breves to all Perſons to give their Opinion in it; yet his own " Magiſtrates did, in his Name, threaten thoſe that were againſt the " Power of Diſpenſing with the Laws of God: This was particu- " larly done at *Bologna*. The Emperor's Miniſters every where, in " Contempt of the Permiſſion granted by the Pope, terrified all " who gave their Opinion for the King; at which the Pope conni- " ved, if he did not conſent to it. The Pope's Nuntio did in *France* " openly, and to the King himſelf, declare againſt the King's Cauſe, " as being founded neither on Juſtice nor on Reaſon: He ſtill " expected, that the Pope would have regard to the Prerogative of " his Crown, and to the Laws of *England*, which are as Ancient as

1530.

"the Pope's Laws are; and that he will not cite him to answer out "of his Kingdom, nor send any Inhibitions into it: For he will "suffer no Breach to be made on the Laws, during his Reign. He "was resolved to maintain that which was his own, as he would "not invade that which belonged to another: He did not desire "Contention, he knew the ill effects such Disputes would have: "Upon all which, he expected the Pope's Answer. This had no Effect on the Pope, so far from it, that upon a Representation made to him in Queen *Katherine*'s Name, that King *Henry* seemed resolved to proceed to a Second Marriage, the Pope sent out a Second *Breve* on the 5th of *January* 1531, declaring any such Marriage to be Null, and the Issue by it to be Illegitimate, denouncing the severest Censures possible, against all that should be any ways Assisting in it; and requiring the King to live with the Queen in all conjugal Affection, 'till the Suit was brought to a Conclusion.

The Pope's Second *Breve* against the King's marrying another Wife.

Pleadings by an *Excusator*.

Something was to be done to stop Proceedings at *Rome*; or upon this an immediate Rupture must follow. This brought on the sending an *Excusator* in the Name of the King and Kingdom, to shew that the King was not bound to appear upon the Citation; nor yet to send a Proctor to appear in his Name. *Sigismund Dondalus*, and *Michael de Conrades*, Two Eminent Advocates, were brought to *Rome*, to maintain the Plea of the *Excusator*. They sent over the Substance of their Pleadings, which was printed at *London* by *Berthelet*. The Sum of it was, *Capisuchi*, Dean of the *Rota*, had cited the King to *Rome* to Answer to the Queen's Appeal: The Chief Instructions sent by *Carn*, were to insist on the Indignity done the King, to cite him to come out of his Kingdom: But it seems that was a Point that the Advocates thought fit to leave to the Ambassadors; they thought it not safe for them to debate it, so they pleaded on other Heads.

They insisted much on that (*de loco tuto*) that no Man ought to be cited to a Place where he was not in full Safety. It could not be safe neither for the King, nor the Kingdom, that he should go so far from it. They shewed likewise, that to make a Place safe, all the intermediate Places through which one must pass to it, must be likewise safe. The Pope therefore ought to send Delegates to a safe Place, either (*in partibus*) where the Cause lay, or in the Neighbourhood of it. It was said against them, that a Cause once received in the Court of *Rome*, could never be sent out of it: But they replied, the Pope had once sent Delegates into *England* in this Cause, and upon the same Reason, he might do it again: Indeed, the Cause was never in the Court, for the King was never in it. But it was said the King might appear by a Proctor: They answered, he was not bound to send a Proxy, where he was not bound to appear in Person, but was hindred by a just Impediment: Nor was the Place safe for a Proxy. In a Matter of Conscience, such as Marriage was, he could not constitute a Proctor; for by the Forms, he was to impower him fully, and to be bound by all that he should do in his Name. It is true, in a perpetual Impediment, a Proctor must be made; but this was not perpetual: For the Pope might send Delegates.

An *Excusator* was to be admitted in the Name of the King, and Kingdom, when the Impediment was clear and lasting: They confessed if it was only Probable, a Proctor must be constituted. There was no Danger to be apprehended in the King's Dominions: The Queen's Oath was offered that she could not expect Justice in that Case. They shewed this ought not to be taken, and could not be well grounded; but was only the Effect of weak Fear: It appearing evidently, that not only the Queen her self, but that all who declared for her, were safe in *England*. They did not insist on this, that the Court ought to sit (*in partibus*) in the Place where the Cause lay: It seems they found that would not be born at *Rome*: But they insisted on a Court being to sit in the Neighbourhood. They shewed, that though the *Excusator*'s Powers were not so full, as to make him a *Proxy*; yet they were not defective in that which was necessary for excusing the King's Appearance, and for offering the just Impediments, in order to the remanding of the Matter. The Book is full of the Subtilties of the Canon Law, and of Quotations from Canonists.

1530.

Thus this Matter was pleaded, and by a Succession of many Delays, was kept on Foot in the Court of *Rome* above Three Years; chiefly by the Interposition of *Francis*: For *Langey* tells us, that the King of *France* wrote once or twice a Week to *Rome*, not to precipitate Matters. That Court on the other Hand, pressed him to prevail with King *Henry* not to give New Provocations. He wrote to *Rome* from *Arques* in the beginning of *June* 1531, and complained of citing the King to *Rome*: He said Learned Persons had assured him that this was contrary to Law, and to the Privilege of Kings, who could not be obliged to leave their Kingdom; adding, that he would take all that was done for or against King *Henry*, as done to himself.

The *French* King obtains many Delays. P. 319. *Melange Hist. Lettres de Roy* P. 1.

There is a Letter writ from the Cardinal of *Tournon* to King *Francis*, but without a Date, by which it appears, "that the Motion of an Interview between the Pope, and the King of *France*, "was then set on foot: And he assures the King, that the Pope was "resolved to satisfy him at their Meeting; that he would conduct "King *Henry*'s Affair so dextrously, that nothing should be spoiled: "He must in point of Form, give way to some Things that would "not be acceptable to him, that so he might not seem too partial to King "*Henry*; for whom out of the Love that he bore to King *Francis*, "he would do all that was in his Power, but desired that might "not be talked of.

P. 8.

On the 4th of *May* he wrote to him, that the Emperor threat'ned, that if King *Henry* went on to do that Injury to his Aunt, he would make War on him by the King of *Scotland*: But they believed he would neither Employ his Purse, nor draw his Sword in the Quarrel. *Langey* reports the Substance of King *Henry*'s Letters to *Francis*; he complained of the Pope's citing him to answer at *Rome*, or to send a *Proxy* thither. In all former Times upon such Occasions, Judges were sent to the Place where the Cause lay. Kings could not be required to go out of their Dominions: He also complained of the Papal Exactions.

Now

1530. Now there were Two Interviews set on Foot, in hopes to make up this Matter, that seemed very near a Breach. *Francis* had secretly begun a Negotiation with the Pope for the Marriage of the Duke of *Orleans*, afterwards King *Henry* the Second, and the Famous *Katherine de Medicis*: *Francis*, whose Heart was set on getting the Dutchy of *Milan* above all other Things, hoped by this means to compass it for his Second Son. He likewise pretended that by gaining the Pope entirely to his Interests, he should be able to make up all Matters between King *Henry* and Him. But to lay all this Matter the better, the Two Kings were to have an Interview first, in the Neighbourhood of *Calais*, which the Bishop of *Bayonne* who was now again in *England*, was concerting. King *Henry* pressed the doing it so, that he might come back by *All-Saints*, to hold his Parliament. The Bishop saw King *Henry* would be much pleased, if *Francis* would desire him to bring *Anne Bullen* over with him, and if he would bring on his Part the Queen of *Navarre*. The Queen of *France* was a *Spaniard*, so it was desired she might not come; he also desired that the King of *France* would bring his Sons with him, and that no *Imperialists* might be brought, nor any of the *Raillieurs* (*Gaudiseurs*) for the Nation hated that sort of People. *Bayonne* writes he had sworn not to tell from whom he had this hint of *Anne Bullen*: It was no hard Thing to engage *Francis* into any Thing that looked like Gallantry; for he had writ to her a Letter in his own Hand, which *Montmorency* had sent over. At the Interview of the Two Kings, a perpetual Friendship was vowed between them: And King *Henry* afterwards reproached *Francis*, for Kissing the Pope's Foot at *Marseilles*, which, he affirms, he promised not to do; nor to proceed to marry his Son to the Pope's Niece, 'till he gave the King of *England* full Satisfaction; and added, that he promised, that if the Pope did proceed to final Censures against *Henry*, he would likewise withdraw himself from his Obedience; and that both the Kings would join in an Appeal to a General Council.

Le Grand. P. 553.

An Interview between the Two Kings.

The King Marries *Anne Bullen*.

Soon after, that the King return'd from this Interview, He married *Anne Boleyn*; but so secretly, that none were present at it, but her Father and Mother, and her Brother, with the Duke of *Norfolk*. It went generally among our Historians, that *Cranmer* was present at the Marriage; and I reported it so in my History: But Mr. *Strype* saw a Letter of *Cranmer*'s, to *Hawkins*, then the King's Ambassador at the Emperor's Court; in which he writes, *Notwithstanding it hath been reported throughout a great Part of the Realm, that I married Her, which was plainly false; for I my self knew not thereof a Fortnight after it was done: And many other Things be reported of me, which be mere Lyes and Tales.* In the same Letter, he says it was about St. *Paul*'s Day. This confirms *Stow*'s Relation. But to write with the Impartial Freedom of an Historian: It seems, the Day of the Marriage was given out wrong on Design. The Account that *Cranmer* gives of it, cannot be called in Question. But Queen *Elizabeth* was born, not, as I put it, on the 7th, but as *Cranmer* writes in another Letter to *Hawkins*, on the 13th or 14th of *September*: So there not being full Eight Months between the Marriage and that Birth; which would have opened a Scene of Raillery to the Court of *Rome*; it seems, the Day of the Marriage was

then

then ſaid to be in *November*. And in a Matter that was ſo ſecretly managed, it was no hard thing, to oblige thoſe who were in the Secret to Silence. This ſeems to be the only way to Reconcile *Cranmer*'s Letter, to the Reports commonly given out of the Day of the Marriage.

1531.

The News of this was ſoon carried to *Rome*. Cardinal *Ghinuccius* wrote to the King, " That he had a long Converſation with the Pope, when the News was firſt brought thither. " The Pope reſolv'd to take no Notice of it; but he did not know " how he ſhould be able to reſiſt the Inſtances that the Emperor would " make. He conſider'd well the Effects that his Cenſures would " probably have. He ſaw, the Emperor intended to put Things paſt " Reconciliation; but it was not reaſonable for the Pope to paſs " Cenſures, when it did not appear how they could be executed. " He could not do any thing prejudicial to the King, unleſs he re- " ſolved to lay out a Vaſt Sum of Money; which he believed he " would not do, the Succeſs being ſo doubtful. And he concludes, " That they might depend upon it, that the Emperor could not " eaſily bring the Pope to paſs thoſe Cenſures that he deſired.

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 14.

At this Time, the Third Breve was publiſhed againſt the King, on the 15th of *November*: But, it ſeems, it was for ſome Time ſuppreſſed; for it has a Second Date added to it, of the 23d of *December* in the Year 1532: " In which, after a long Expoſtulation upon " his Taking *Anne* as his Wife, and his Putting away the Queen, while the Suit was yet depending; the Pope exhorts him, to bring back the Queen, and to put *Anne* away, within a Month after this was brought to him; otherwiſe he Excommunicates both Him, and *Anne*: But the Execution of this was ſuſpended. Soon after this, *Benet* wrote a Letter to the King, all in Cypher; but the Deciphering is interlined. He writes, " The Pope " did approve the King's Cauſe as juſt and good; and did it " in a manner openly. For that Reaſon, he did not deliver the ſe- " vere Letter, that the King wrote upon this Breve, leſt that ſhould " too much provoke him. The Emperor was then at *Bologna*, " and preſſed for the ſpeedy Calling a General Council; and among " other Reaſons, he gave the Proceeding againſt the King, for one. " The King's Ambaſſadors urged the Decree of the Council of *Nice*, " that the Biſhops of the Province ſhould ſettle all Things that be- " longed to it; ſo by this, he ſaid, the Pope might put the Matter " out of his Hands. But the Pope would not hear of that. He " writes further, That an Old and Famous Man who died lately, " had left his Opinion in Writing, for the King's Cauſe, with " his Nephew, who was in High Favour with the Pope. The Em- " peror was taking Pains to engage him in his Intereſts, and had of- " fer'd him a Biſhoprick of 6000 Ducats a Year, likely ſoon to be " void. The King's Ambaſſadors had promiſed him, on the other " Hand, a great Sum from the King: They, upon that, ask Or- " ders about it ſpeedily, leſt too long a Delay might alienate him " from the King.

There is alſo a long Letter, but without a Date, written by one ~~who~~ was born in *Rome*, but was employed to Sollicit the King's

1531. Cause. He told the Pope, and was willing to declare it to all the Cardinals in the Consistory, "That if they proceeded further in "the King's Cause, it would prove fatal to the See. They had al-"ready lost the *Hungarians*, with a great Part of *Germany*; and "would they now venture to lose *England*, and perhaps *France* "with it? The King thought his Marriage with Queen *Anne* was "Firm and Holy, and was resolv'd to prosecute his Cause in that "Court no more. The King said, He was satisfied in his own Con-"science; but yet, if the Pope would judge for his present Mar-"riage, both He and his Ministers said, it would be agreeable to "him.

Langey, p. 317. P. 338.

The Cardinals of *France* pressed the King of *France*, to use all Endeavours to bring King *Henry* with him to the Interview at *Marseilles*, or one fully empower'd to put an End to the Matter of the Divorce. *Langey* was sent to propose it to King *Henry*; but that King told him, since he saw such a Train of Dissimulation in the Pope's Proceedings, and Delays upon Delays, that had quite disgusted him. He had now obtained a Sentence in *England*, of the Nullity of his Marriage, in which he acquiesced: And upon that He was Married, tho' secretly. He was resolv'd to keep it Secret, till he saw what Effects the Interview had: If the Pope would not do Him Justice, He would deliver the Nation from that Servitude.

Rymer, *June* 22. 1531.

He had obtained the Judgment of some Universities, concerning the Citation to *Rome*. The University of *Orleans* gave their Opinion, That He was not bound to appear at *Rome*, neither in Person, nor by Proxy; and that the Citation was Null; but that there ought to be a Delegation of Judges, in the Place where the Cause lay. Many Advocates in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, gave their Opinions to the same Purpose. The Canonists in *Paris* thought, that the King could not be cited to go to *Rome*; but that Judges ought to be sent to determine the Matter, in some safe Place.

June 14. 1531. *Aug*. 19. 1531.

K. *Henry* opposes the Interview with the Pope in vain. *Rymer*, MS.

King *Henry* wrote to his Ambassadors with the King of *France*, to divert him from the Interview with the Pope, as a Thing too much to the Pope's Honour. And whereas the King of *France* wrote, that his Chief Design in it was to serve the King: He wrote upon it, That He was so sure of his Nobility and Commons, that he had no Apprehension of any Thing the Pope could do. He therefore desired him to write to the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Grandimont*, and to his Ambassadors at *Rome*, to press the admitting the Excusator's Plea; for that was a Point, in which all Princes were concerned.

King *Francis* pretended, that the Breaking off the Project of the Interview could not be done: It had now gone too far, and his Honour was engaged. He was very sorry that the Excusators Plea was rejected; yet he did not despair, but that all Things might be yet set right; which made him still more earnest for the Interview. And he was confident, if the King would come to the Meeting, all would be happily made up: But since he saw no Hope of Prevailing with the King for that, he desired that the Duke of *Norfolk* might

be sent over, with some Learned Persons, who should see the good Offices he would do. 1531.

The Duke of *Norfolk* was sent over upon this, and he found the King of *France* at *Montpelier* in the End of *August*, but told him, that upon the last Sentence that was given at *Rome*, the King looked on the Pope as his Enemy, and he would resent his Usage of him by all possible Methods. He studied to divert the Interview, otherwise he said he must return immediately. King *Francis* answered, that the Sentence was not definitive; but though he could not break the Interview, that was concerted by King *Henry*'s own Consent, he promised he would espouse the King's Affair as his own. He pressed the Duke of *Norfolk* so earnestly to go along with him, that once he seemed convinced, that it might be of good Use in the King's Cause, and a Memorial was given him of the Method of settling it: He upon this sent the Lord *Rochford* to the King, to see if he would change the Orders he had given him; and he stayed only a few Days after he had dispatched him. But he said his Orders for his Return were positive: If a Change of Orders should come, he would quickly return; if not, he would get some Learned Men to be sent, to see what might be devised at *Marseilles*.

The Duke of *Norfolk* sent to *France*.

The King of *France* wrote to his Ambassador with King *Henry*, that if the Duke of *Norfolk* could have been allowed to go with him to *Marseilles*, much might have been done; and he sent with that, a Part of the Cardinal of *Tournon*'s last Letter to him of the 17th of *August*, in which he wrote, "that he had spoke fully to the Pope, as the "King had ordered him, about the King of *England*'s Affair: The "Pope complained that King *Henry* had not only proceeded to mar-"ry contrary to the *Breve* he had received, but that he was still "publishing Laws in Contempt of his See; and that *Cranmer* had "pronounced the Sentence of Divorce as *Legate*. This gave the "Cardinals such distaste, that they would have been highly offended "with the Pope, if he had done nothing upon it: He therefore "advised the King to carry the Duke of *Norfolk* with him to *Mar-"seilles*: For if King *Henry* would but seem to repair the Steps he "had made in the *Attentates*, as they called them, and do that "which might save the Pope's Honour, he assured him such was "his Love to him, that for his sake he would do all that was de-"sired, with all his Heart. But he feared Expedients would not be "readily found, if the Duke of *Norfolk* went not to *Marseilles*.

But soon recalled.

The King of *France* sent such Messages to King *Henry* by the Duke of *Norfolk*, and such Compliments to Queen *Anne*, as highly pleased them: For his Ambassador wrote to him, that since the Duke of *Norfolk*'s coming, King *Henry* expressed his Confidence and Friendship for him in a very particular Manner: King *Henry* had asked him if he had no Order to stand Godfather in the King of *France*'s Name, in Case the Queen should be delivered of a Son: He answered he had none, but he would write to the King upon the Subject: The Duke of *Norfolk* said, he had spoke to the King of *France* about it, who agreed to it, that either the Ambassador, or some other sent Express, should do it. The Child's Name was to be *Edward* or *Henry* (but the Birth proving a Daughter, this went no further). He

The King of *France* was to have been Godfather if Queen *Anne* had brought a Son.

1531. adds in his Letter, that *Gardiner* then Bishop of *Winchester*, was sent to *Marseilles*. The King of *France* sent from *Arles* on the 17th of *September*, an Order for the Christ'ning.

The Interview at *Marseilles*.

But now the next Scene is at *Marseilles*: Where after the Ceremonies were over, the King of *France* set himself, as he writes, with great Zeal to bring the Pope to be easy in the King's Matter: He protested he minded no Business of his own, 'till he should see what could be done in the Matter of the King's Divorce. The Pope said he left the Process at *Rome*, so that nothing could be done in it. The *French* Ambassador wrote to his Master, that King *Henry* charged him with this, that he himself brought over Instructions, with Promises that *Francis* would not proceed to the Marriage of his Son, 'till the King's Matter was done: The Ambassador denied this, and offered to shew his Instructions, that it might appear that no such Article was in them. King *Henry* insisted that the *French* King had promised it both to himself, and to the Queen; and if he failed him in this, he could depend no more on his Friendship. When the Ambassador told the Duke of *Norfolk* how uneasy this would be to the King of *France*, who had the King's Concerns so much at Heart, and that all the Interest that he could gain in the Pope, would be employed in the King's Service; for if he should break with the Pope, that must throw him entirely into the Emperor's Hands: The Duke of *Norfolk* confessed all that was true: But said that the King's Head was so embroiled with this Matter, that he trusted no living Man, and that both He and the Queen suspected himself.

Mel. Hist. P. 142.

Mel. Hist. P. 174. Great Promises made by the Pope.

The Bishop of *Auxerre*, the *French* Ambassador, had wrote from *Rome*, "that the Pope would do all that they asked, and more if he "durst or could: But he was so pressed by the Emperor's People, "that though it was against God and Reason, and the Opinion, even "of some of the Imperial Cardinals, he was forced to do whatsoever "Cardinal *Dosme* demanded: In a Letter to Cardinal *Tournon*, the Bishop of *Auxerre* complains, that the King of *England* was ill used, and in a Letter to the Pope's Legate in *France*, he writes, "that "the Pope was disposed to grant King *Henry*'s Desire, yet he was "so pressed by the *Imperialists*, that he expected no good from him, "unless in the way of Dissembling: He firmly believed he would "do well if he durst: His Answer to the King of *France* was as good "as could be wished for, he hoped the Effects would agree to it: "Cardinal *Farnese*, the Antientest Cardinal (afterwards Pope *Paul* "the Third) was wholly for them: The Cardinal of *Ancona*, next "to him in Seniority, was wholly *Imperialist*: He writes that the "Ambassadors had an Audience of Three Hours of the Pope, when "they delivered the King of *France*'s Letters on the King of *Eng-* "*land*'s Behalf: The Pope said he was sorry that he must determine "the Matter; for he should have small Thanks on both Sides. The "Thing had been now Four Years in his Hands, he had yet done "nothing, if he could do as he wished, he wished as they all wished: "And he spake this in such a Manner, that they were much mistaken "if he spoke not as he Thought. The Pope asked them what made "the King of *France* to be so earnest in this Matter; they answered, "that the Two Kings were so united, that they were both more

Mel. Hist. P. 175.

"touched with the Affairs each of the other, than with their "own. 1531.

In another Letter to *Montmorancy*, he writes, "That there was "a new Delay granted for Four Months. The Pope, upon his granting it, pressed him to write to the King, to prevail with "King *Henry* to send a Proxy. He answered, He believed that "would not be done, unless Assurance was given, that the Cause "should be remitted. If the Matter had been then put to the Vote, "the Ancient and Learned Cardinals would have judged for the "King of *England*; but they were few, and the Number of the "others was great; so that the Cause would have been quite "lost.

At the same Time, the Cardinal of *Ancoma* proposed to *Bennet*, and to *Cassali*, that if a Proxy were sent to *Rome*, they should have not only Justice, but all manner of Favour: For both the Pope and the Cardinals did very positively promise, that a Commission should be made to Delegates, to hear the Witnesses in *England*, reserving only the Final Sentence to the Pope. *Cassali* was, upon this, sent to *England*; but his Negotiation had no Effect: Only he seems to have known well the Secret Method of Practising with the Cardinals. For, upon his Return, he met the King of *France* at *Compiegne*, with whom he had much Discourse about Managing the Cardinals; particularly Cardinal *de Monte* (afterwards Pope *Julius* the Third). The King of *France* had sent 40000 Crowns, to be distributed in the Court of *Rome*; upon which, he offers some very prudent Suggestions. The Letter to the King from thence, seemed so considerable, that I have put it in the Collection.

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 12. Practices upon Cardinals.

Collect. Numb. 19.

These were the Preparations on all Hands for the Meeting at *Marseilles*; where *Francis* protested that he set himself so earnestly to get Satisfaction to be given to *Henry*, that he minded no Business of his own, till he should see what could be done in that. The Pope said indeed, that he had left the Process at *Rome*; but they wrote over, that they knew this was false: Yet, by that, they saw the Pope intended to do nothing in it. *Francis* indeed complained, that there was no Proxy from the King sent to *Marseilles*: If there had been one, he said, the Business had been ended. It was also reported, that the King of *France* had said to the Duke of *Norfolk*, he would be the King's Proxy; (Here, in the Margin, it is set down, *The Duke of* Norfolk *denies he said this*;) but the King of *France* knew, that the King would never Constitute a Proxy, that being contrary to the Laws of his Kingdom. The Pope confessed that his Cause was just: All the Lawyers in *France* were of that Mind. But the Pope complained of the Injuries done the *See* by King *Henry*. *Francis* answered, The Pope begun doing Injuries: But King *Henry* moved, that setting aside what was past, without asking Reparation of either Side, Justice might be done him; and if it was not done, he would trouble himself no more about it.

Mel. Hist. P. 19.

He afterwards charged King *Francis*, "That in several Particu- "lars he had not kept his Promises to him. He believed, that "if he had pressed the Pope more, he would have yielded. It was "said,

Ibid

1531. " ſaid, King *Henry* was governed by his Council; whereas, he ſaid, " He governed Them, and not They Him. Upon this Audience, " the Duke of *Norfolk* ſeemed troubled that the King was ſo Paſ- " ſionate: He had adviſed the King, but in vain, to let the Annats " go ſtill to *Rome*. This is put in the Margin.

P. 21. In another Memorial ſet next to the former, and, as it ſeems, writ ſoon after it, it is ſaid, That the Emperor had ſent word to the Queen and her Daughter, not to come to *Spain*, till he had firſt got Right to be done them: And that the People were in a Diſpoſition, to join with any Prince that would eſpouſe their Quarrel. This is ſaid to be the General Inclination of all Sorts of People: For they apprehended a Change of Religion, and a War that would cut off their Trade with the *Netherlands*; ſo that the New Queen was little beloved.

The Convocation meets.

But now I muſt return, and ſet out the Progreſs of Matters, that provoked the Pope and Court of *Rome* ſo much. I ſhall give firſt the ſeveral Proceedings of the Convocation.

The Parliament had complained of the *Oath ex Officio*, by which the Ordinaries obliged Perſons to anſwer to ſuch Accuſations as were laid to their Charge, upon Oath: And as they anſwered, charging themſelves, they were obliged either to Abjure, or to Burn. To this they added ſome other Grievances. When they preſented them to the King, He told them he could give no Anſwer, till he heard what the Clergy would ſay to them. They alſo paſſed Acts, about ſome Points that the Clergy thought belonged to them; as Mortuaries, Plurality of Benefices, and Clergymen taking Farms.

The Firſt Motion made by the Lower-Houſe, was, concerning *Tracy*'s Teſtament; who had left his Soul to God thro' Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe Interceſſion alone he truſted, without the Help of any other Saint: Therefore he left no Part of his Goods to any that ſhould Pray for his Soul. This touching the Clergy very ſenſibly, they begun with it; and a Commiſſion was given for the Raiſing his Body.

In a following Seſſion, the Prolocutor complained of another Teſtament, made by one *Brown* of *Briſtol*, in the ſame Strain. So, to prevent the Spreading of ſuch an Example, it was ordered, that *Tracy*'s Body ſhould be dug up, and burnt. In the 84th Seſſion, the Houſe being thin, an Order was made, that all the Members ſhould attend, for ſome Conſtitutions were at that time to be treated of.

They treat concerning Reſidence.

In the 91ſt Seſſion, which was in the End of *February*, the Prolocutor came up with a Motion, that thoſe who were preſented to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices, ſhould not be obliged by their Biſhops, to give any Bond obliging them under Temporal Puniſhment to Reſidence: But to this no Anſwer was given, nor was any Rule made againſt it. There had been Complaints made, of Clerks Non-Reſidents in the former Seſſion of Parliament; and it ſeems, ſome Biſhops thought, the ſureſt way to ſtop that Clamour, was, to take Bonds for Reſidence. And tho' this Complaint ſhews the Ill Temper of the Lower-Houſe, ſince they did not offer any other better

Reme-



HUGO LATIMERUS Epus Vigorniensis
1535 depulsus 1539 Martirio Coronatus A.D. 1555.

Remedy; yet the Upper-House offering no Answer to it, seems to imply their approving of it.

1531.

In the 93d Session, *Latymer*, who had been thrice required to Subscribe some Articles, refused to do it: He was excommunicated, and appointed to be kept in Safe Custody in *Lambeth*. Session 96, it was resolved, that if *Latymer* would subscribe some of the Articles, he should be absolved. Upon that he submitted, confessed his Error, and subscribed all the Articles except Two.

In the 97th Session, on the 12th of *April*, 1532, the Archbishop proposed to them the Preparing an Answer to the Complaints that the Commons had made to the King, against the Proceedings in their Courts.

An Answer to the Complaints of the Commons.

In the 98th Session, the Preamble of that Complaint was read by *Gardiner*, with an Answer that he had prepared to it. Then the Two Clauses of the First Article, with Answers to them, were also read and agreed to, and sent down to the Lower-House. *Latymer* was also brought again before them, upon Complaint of a Letter that he had written to one *Greenwood*, in *Cambridge*.

In the 99th Session, an Answer to the Complaint of the Commons was read and agreed to, and order'd to be laid before the King; with which He was not satisfied. *Latymer* being called to answer upon Oath, he appealed to the King, and said, he would stand to his Appeal.

Peyto and *Elston*, Two Brethren of the House of the Observants in *Greenwich*, accused Dr. *Curren*, for a Sermon preached there: But the Archbishop ordered them to be kept in Custody, with the Bishop of St. *Asaph*, till they should be dismissed.

Proceedings against Hereticks.

In the 100th Session, the King sent a Message by *Gardiner*, intimating, that he remitted *Latymer* to the Archbishop: And upon his Submission, he was received to the Sacraments. This was done at the King's Desire: But some Bishops protested; because this Submission did not import a Renunciation usual in such Cases. After this, Four Sessions were employ'd, in a further Consideration of the Answer to the Complaints of the House of Commons.

In the 105th Session, the Prolocutor brought up Four Draughts, concerning the Ecclesiastical Authority, for making Laws in order to the Suppressing of Heresy; but declared, that he did not bring them up as approved by the House; he only offered them to the Bishops, as Draughts prepared by Learned Men. He desired they would read them, and chuse what was true out of them: But added, that he prayed, that if they prepared any thing on the Subject, it might be communicated to the Lower-House. Some of these are printed: I shall therefore only insert one in my Collection, because it is the shortest of them, and yet does fully set forth their Design. It was formed in the Upper-House, and agreed to in the Lower, with Two Alterations. In it they promise the King, that "for the future, such was the Trust that they put in his Wisdom, Goodness and Zeal, and his Incomparable Learning, far "exceeding the Learning of all other Princes that they had "read of, that *during his Natural Life*, they should not en-"act, promulge, or put in Execution, any Constitution to "be

Rights of an English Convocation.

Coll. Num. 20.

The Petition to the King.

1531. " be made by them, unless the King by his Royal Assent did " license them so to do. And as for the Constitutions already " made, of which the Commons complained, they would readily " submit the Consideration of these *to the King only*: And such of " these, as the King should judge prejudicial and burthensome, they " offered to moderate or annul them according to his Judgment. Sa- " ving to themselves all the Immunities and Liberties granted to the " Church, by the King and his Progenitors, with all such Provincial " Constitutions as stand with the Laws of God, and *Holy Church*, " and of the Realm, which they pray'd the King to ratify: Provi- " ding that till the King's Pleasure should be made known to them, " all Ordinaries might go on to execute their Jurisdiction as formerly. This did not pass easily; there was great debating upon it: But upon adding the Words, *during the King's natural Life*, which made it a Temporary Law; and by adding the Words, *Holy Church*, after the Laws of God, which had a great Extent, this Form was agreed to: But what Effect this had, or whether it was offered to the King, does not appear. The Alterations that were afterwards made will appear to any who compares this with the Submission; of which a particular Account will be found in my History.

The Bishop of *London*, presiding in the Absence of the Archbishop, told them, that the Duke of *Norfolk* had signified to him, that the House of Commons had granted the King a Fifteenth to be raised in Two Years; so he advised the Clergy to be as ready as the Laity had been to supply the King. The Prolocutor was sent down with this Intimation; he immediately returned back, and proposed that they should consider of an Answer to be made to the King, concerning the Ecclesiastical Authority; and that some might be sent to the King, to pray him that he would maintain the Liberties of the Church, which he and his Progenitors had confirmed to them: And they desired, that the Bishops of *London* and *Lincoln*, with some Abbots, the Dean of the King's Chapel, and *Fox* his Almoner, would intercede in Behalf of the Clergy; which they undertook to do.

The Submission made to the King, one Bishop only dissenting.

In the 106th Session, which was on the 10th of *May*, the Archbishop appointed a Committee to go and treat with the Bishop of *Rochester* at his House upon that Matter. In the 107th Session, the 13th of *May*, the Archbishop appointed the Chancellor of *Worcester* to raise *Tracy*'s Body: Then they agreed to the Answer they were to make to the King. In the 108th Session, on the 15th of *May*, the Writ for Proroguing the Convocation was brought to the Archbishop: At the same time, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquis of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Lord *Sands*, Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord *Bullen*, and Lord *Rochford*, were in a secret Conference with the Archbishop and Bishops for the Space of an Hour; when they withdrew, the Prolocutor and Clergy came up. The Archbishop asked, how they had agreed to the Schedule, which, as appears, was the Form of the Submission. The Prolocutor told him, how many were for the Affirmative, how many for the Negative, and how many were for putting off the Three Articles (of the Submission). The Archbishop said, he expected those Lords would come back to him from the King, and so sent them back to their House. These

Lords

1531.

Lords came back to the Chapter-House, and after some Discourse with the Bishops, they retired. After Dinner, the Schedule was read in *English*; and the Archbishop asked, if they agreed to it; they all answered they did agree to it, only the Bishop of *Bath* dissented. Then he sent it down by his Chancellor, to propose it to the Lower-House. After that, on the 15th of *May*, it seems, the Schedule was sent back by the Lower-House, tho' that is not mentioned in the Abstract that we have remaining. For that Day the Convocation was Prorogued, and the next Day the Archbishop delivered it to the King, as enacted and concluded by himself and others. The Convocation was Prorogued to the 5th of *November*.

And thus this great Transaction was brought about, in little more than a Month's Time: The first Motion towards it being made on the 12th of *April*, and it was concluded on the 15th of *May*. It appears by their Heat against *Tracy*'s Testament, and against *Latimer*, that they who managed the Opposition that was made to it, were Enemies to every thing that looked towards a Reformation. It seems, *Fisher* did not protest; for tho' by their sending a Committee to his House, it may be supposed he was sick at that time; yet he might have sent a Proxy, and ordered a Dissent to be entred in his Name: And that not being done, gives ground to suppose that he did not vehemently oppose this Submission, By it, all the Opposition that the Convocations would probably have given to every Step that was made afterwards in the Reformation, was so entirely restrained, that the quiet Progress of that Work was owing chiefly to the Restraint under which the Clergy put themselves by their Submission: And in this the whole Body of this Reformed Church has chearfully acquiesced, till within these few Years, that great Endeavours have been used to blacken and disgrace it.

I have seen no particular Account, how this Matter went in the Convocation at *York*, nor how Matters went there; save only that it was agreed, to give a Tenth. I have seen a Letter of *Magnus*, one of the King's Chaplains, who was required by *Cromwel* to go thither, where Dr. *Lee* was to meet him. There is no Year added in the Date of the Letter; but since he mentions the last Convocation, that had given a great Sum of Money, and owned the King to be the *Supreme*, that fixes it to this Session. He dates it from *Marybone* the 21st of *April*, as it will be seen in the Collection. "He was then in "in an ill State of Health, but promises to be at *York* soon after the "Beginning of their Convocation. He complains, that he had no "Assistance at the last Meeting; and that the Books, which the King "had promised should be sent after him, were not sent: Which "made the King's Cause to be the longer in treating, before it came "to a good Conclusion. The Prelates and Clergy there, would not "believe any Report of the Acts passed at *London*, unless they were "shewed them Authentically, either under Seal, or by the King's "Letters. He hopes both these things which had been neglected "formerly, would be now done; otherwise the Clergy in those Parts "would not proceed to any strange Acts: So he warns him that all "things may be put in Order.

The Proceedings at *York*.

Coll. Numb. 21.

What-

1531. Whatsoever it was that passed either in the one or the other Convocation, the King kept it within himself for Two Years: For, so long he was in treating Terms with *Rome*: And if that had gone on, all this must have been given up: But when the final Breach came on, which was after Two Years, it was ratified in Parliament.

Before the next Meeting, *Warham* died. He had all along concurred in the King's Proceedings, and had promoted them in Convocation; yet in the last Year of his Life, six Months before his Death, on the 9th of *February* 1531. he made a Protestation of a singular Nature, not in the House of Lords, but at *Lambeth*; and so secretly, that Mention is only made of Three Notaries and Four Witnesses present at the making of it. It is to this Effect; That *what Statutes soever had passed, or were to pass in this present Parliament, to the Prejudice of the Pope, or the Apostolick See, or that derogated from, or lessened the Ecclesiastical Authority, or the Liberties of his See of* Canterbury, *he did not consent to them; but did disown and dissent from them.* This was found in the *Longueville* Library, and was communicated to me by Dr. *Wake*, the present Bishop of *Lincoln*. I leave it with the Reader, to consider what Construction can be made upon this; whether it was, in the Decline of his Life, put on him by his Confessor about the Time of *Lent*, as a Penance for what he had done; or if he must be looked on as a deceitful Man, that while he seemed openly to concur in those things, he protested against them secretly. The Instrument will be found in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 22.

Proceedings during the Vacancy of *Canterbury*.

Upon his Death, the Prior and Convent of *Christ's-Church* of *Canterbury*, deputed the Bishop of St. *Asaph* to preside in the Convocation. On the 20th of *February*, in the 4th Session, the Bishop of *London* moved, that the Two Universities should be exempted from paying any Part of the Subsidy: The same was also desired for some Religious Orders, and it was agreed to, *Gardiner* only dissenting, as to the Exemption of the Religious Orders. It may reasonably be supposed, that his opposing this was in Compliance with the King, who began to shew an Aversion both to the Monks and Friars; seeing they were generally in the Interests of Queen *Katharine*; and *Gardiner* was the most forward in his Compliances of all the Clergy, *Boner* only excepted, tho' the old Leaven of Popery was deep in them both.

In the 11th Session, on the 26th of *March*, *Latimer* was again brought before them: And it was laid to his Charge, that he had preached, contrary to his Promise. *Gardiner* inveighed severely against him; and to him all the rest agreed. When the Prolocutor came up, the President spoke to him of the Subsidy: Then the Matter of the King's Marriage was brought before them. *Gardiner* produced some Instruments, which he desired them to read: They were the Judgments of several Universities. Some doubted, if it was safe to debate a Matter that was then depending before the Pope: But the President put an End to that Fear, by producing a Breve of the Pope's, in which all were allowed to deliver their Opinions freely in that Matter: So he exhorted them to examine the Questions to be put to them carefully, that they might be prepared to give their Opinions about them.

In

In the 12th Seſſion, the Preſident produced the Original Inſtruments of the Univerſities of *Paris*, *Orleans*, *Bologna*, *Padua*, *Bourges*, and *Tholouſe*, (*Angiers* and *Ferrara* are not named); and after much Diſputing, they were deſired to deliver their Opinions, as to the Conſummation of the Marriage. But becauſe it was a difficult Caſe, they asked more Time. They had till Four a Clock given them; then there were yet more Diſputings: In Concluſion, they agreed with the Univerſities. This was firſt put to them; tho' in the Inſtrument made upon it, it is mentioned after that which was offered to them in the next Seſſion.

1531.

The Convocation judges againſt the King's Marriage.

On the Second of *April*, 1533. *Cranmer* being now Conſecrated, and preſent, Two Queſtions were propoſed, and put to the Vote. The Firſt was, *Whether the Prohibition to Marry the Brother's Wife, the former Marriage being Conſummated, was diſpenſible by the Pope?* Or, as it is in the Minutes, *Whether it was Lawful to Marry the Wife of a Brother dying without Iſſue; but having Conſummated the Marriage? And if the Prohibition of ſuch a Marriage was grounded on a Divine Law, with which the Pope could diſpenſe, or not?* There were preſent 66 Divines, with the Proxies of 197 abſent Biſhops, Abbots, and others: All agreed to the Affirmative, except only Nineteen.

Rymer.

The Second Queſtion was, *Whether the Conſummation of Prince* Arthur's *Marriage was ſufficiently proved?* This belonged to the Canoniſts; ſo it was referred to the Biſhops and Clergy of that Profeſſion, being 44 in all, of whom One had the Proxy of Three Biſhops: All theſe, except 5 or 6, affirmed it: Of theſe, the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells* was one. Of all this, a Publick Inſtrument was made.

In the Account I formerly gave of this Matter, I offered a Conjecture concerning the Conſtitution of the Two Houſes, that Deans and Archdeacons, who ſat in their own Right, were then of the Upper-Houſe; which, I ſee, was without any good Ground. I likewiſe committed another Error, thro' Inadvertence: For I ſaid, the Opinions of 19 Univerſities were read; whereas, only Six were read. And the Nineteen, which I added to the Number of the Univerſities, was the Number of thoſe who did not agree to the Vote.

Theſe Queſtions were next ſent to the Convocation of the Province of *York*; where there were preſent 27 Divines, who had the Proxies of 24, who were abſent: And all theſe, Two only excepted, agreed to the Firſt Queſtion. There were likewiſe 44 Canoniſts preſent, with the Proxies of Five or Six: To them the Second Queſtion was put; and all theſe were for the Affirmative, Two only excepted. The whole Repreſentative of the Church of *England*, in the Convocation of the Two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, did in this manner give their Anſwer to the Two Queſtions put to them; upon which *Cranmer* wrote to the King on the 11th of *April*, complaining, that the Great Cauſe of his Mattrimony had depended long; and, upon that, he deſired his Licence to judge it: Which the King readily granted. So he gave Sentence, condemning it on the 23d of *May*: And then the King openly owned

The Archbiſhop, *Cranmer*, gives Sentence againſt it.

1531. ed his Second Marriage; for the New Queen's Big Belly could be no longer concealed.

With that the Court of *Rome* was highly offended.

This was highly resented at *Rome*, as an open Attempt upon the Pope's Authority; and these Steps, in their Stile, were called the *Attentates*: So considering the Blind Submission to the Popes, in which the World had been kept for so many Ages, it was no wonder to find the *Imperialists* call upon the Pope, almost in a tumultuary Manner, to exert his Authority to the full, when he saw it so openly affronted. And it is very probable, that if the Pope had not with that violent Passion, that *Italians* have for the advancing their Families, run into the Proposition for marrying his Niece to the Duke of *Orleans*, he would have fulminated upon this Occasion: But he finding that might be broke off, if he had proceeded to the utmost Extremities with King *Henry*, was therefore resolved to prolong the Time, and to delay the final Sentence; otherwise the Matter would have been ended much sooner than it was.

Gardiner, *Bryan*, and *Bennet*, were sent as Ambassadors to the King of *France*, to *Marseilles*. *Bonner* was also sent thither on a more desperate Service; for he was ordered to go and read the King's Appeal from the Pope, to a General Council, in the Pope's own Presence, at such Time, and in such a Manner, as the King's Ambassadors should direct. Of the Execution of this, he gave the King a very particular Account, in a Letter to him, bearing Date at *Marseilles*, the 13th of *November*, 1533. Which the Reader will find in the Collection, copied from the Original: In it he tells the King,

Cotton Libr. *Vitell.* B. 14. *Collect. Numb.* 23.

Boner intimates the King's Appeal to the Pope.

"That being commanded by his Ambassadors, to intimate to the "Pope in Person, the Provocations and Appeals that he had made to "a General Council; he carried one *Pennifton*, who it seems was a "Notary, with him, to make an Act concerning it. They came to "the Pope's Palace on the 17th of *November*, in the Morning. He "found some Difficulty in getting Access: For he was told that the "Pope was going to hold a Consistory: So that no other Business "was to interpose: Yet he got into the Pope's Chamber, where the "Pope was with the two Cardinals *de Medicis* and *Lorrain*: The "Pope being apparalled in his Stole, to go to the Consistory: The "Pope quickly observed *Boner*, for he had prayed the Datary to let "the Pope know he desired to speak with him: The Datary said it "was not a proper Time; but *Boner* was resolved to go immediately "to him; so he told the Pope of it: Who upon that dismissed the "Cardinals, and going to a Window, he called him to him; upon "that *Boner* told him the Message he had from the King to read be-"fore him; making such Apology first in the King's Name, and then "in his own, as was necessary to prepare him for it. The Pope "cringed in the *Italian* way, but said, he had not time then to hear "those Papers; but bad him come again in the Afternoon, and he "would give him a full Audience. When he came again, he was, "after some others had their Audience, called in; *Pennifton* follow-"ing him, whom the Pope had not observed in the Morning. So *Boner* "told him, that it was he who had brought over his Commission and Or-"ders; upon that the Pope called for his Datary, and for *Simonetta*

"and

"and *Capifuchi*. Till they came in, the Pope, in Discourse, asked "both for *Gardiner* and *Brian*, seeming not to know that they were "at *Marseilles*; and he lamented the Death of *Bennet*: He com-"plained of the King's using him as he did. *Boner*, on the other "Hand, complained of his unkind Usage of the King; and that "he had, contrary to his Promise, avocated the Cause, when it was "brought to the Point of giving Sentence; and had now retained "the Cause to *Rome*, whither the King could not come personally, "nor was he bound to send a Proctor: And he urged the Matter "very close upon the Pope. He also complained, that the King's "Cause being just, and esteemed so by the best Learned Men in "*Christendom*, yet the Pope kept it so long in his Hands: The Pope "answered, that had not the Queen refused the Judges as suspect, "and taken an Oath, that she expected no Justice in the King's Domini-"ons, he would not have avocated the Cause: But in that Case, not-"withstanding his Promise, he was bound to do it; and the Delay "of the Matter lay wholly at the King's Door, who did not send a "Proctor. While *Boner* was replying, the Datary came in, and the "Pope cut him short; and commanded the Datary to read the Com-"mission: Which he did: The Pope often interrupted the reading it, "with Words that expressed a high Displeasure: And when the Ap-"peal was read to the next lawful General Council to be held in a "proper Place, he expressed with some Rage, his Indignation; but "restrained himself, and said, All that came from the King was wel-"come to him: But by his Gesture and Manner, it appeared he was "much discomposed. Yet after that, he shewed how willing he was "to call a Council, but that the King seemed to put it off; he or-"dered the Datary to read it quite through; in the End mention be-"ing made of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s Sentence, he spake of "that with great Contempt. He also observed that the King in "Words expressed Respect to the Church, and to the Apostolick See, "yet he expressed none to his Person. While they were thus in Dis-"course, the King of *France* came to see the Pope, who met him at "the Door. That King seemed to know nothing of the Business, "tho' *Boner* believed he did know it: The Pope told him what they "were about; they Two continued in private Discourse about three "quarters of an Hour, and seemed very chearful: Then that King "went away, the Pope conducted him to the Door of the Anticham-"ber. When the Pope came back, he ordered the Datary to read "out all that remained: The Pope often interrupting him as he read. "When the first Instrument was read to an End, *Boner* offered the "two Appeals, that the King had made to a General Council; these "the Pope delivered to the Datary, that he might read them.

1531.

"When all was read, the Pope said he would consider with the "Cardinals what Answer was to be given them; and seemed to think "that the Writings were to remain with him: But *Boner* pressing to "have them again; he said he would consider what Answer he was "to give to that. So the Pope dismissed him, after an Audience that "lasted three Hours. The Datary told *Boner*, there was to be a "Consistory next Day; after that he might come to receive his An-"swer. On the 10th a Consistory was held; in the Afternoon, the

It was rejected by the Pope.

1531. "Pope was long taken up with the Blessing of Beads, and admitting "Persons of Quality, of both Sexes, to kiss his Foot. When that "was over, he called *Boner* in, and the Pope began to express his "Mind towards the King, that it was to do him all Justice, and to "please him all he could; and though it had not been so taken, yet "he intended to continue in the same Mind: But according to a Con-"stitution of Pope *Pius*, that condemned all such Appeals, he reje-"cted the King's Appeal to a General Council, as frivolous and un-"lawful. As for a General Council he would use all his Diligence "to have it meet, as he had formerly done: But the calling it be-"longed wholly to him: He said he would not restore the Instru-"ments; and told *Boner*, that the Datary should give him his An-"swer in Writing. *Boner* went to the Datary's Chamber, where he "found the Answer already written, but not signed by him: Next "Day he signed it; adding the *salvo* of answering it more fully and "more particularly, if it should be thought meet.

"The Pope left *Marseilles* the next Day, and went towards *Rome*. "*Boner* concludes that the *French* knew of their Design, and were "willing it should be done, two or three Days before the Pope's De-"parture; yet when it was done, they said it had spoiled all their "Matters, and the King's likewise". He says nothing of any threatning of bad Usage to himself. The King of *France* indeed when he expostulated upon the Affront done the Pope, while in his House, said, That he durst not have done that in any other Place: This makes it probable that the Pope told him how he would have used *Boner*, if he had served him with that Appeal in his own Territories. So whether this came to be known afterwards from the Court of *France*, or whether *Boner* might have spread it in *England* at his Return, to raise the Value of that Piece of Service, which he was capable of doing, cannot be determined. It is certain it was reported in *England* so, that in the Answer to *Sanders* it is set down; and from him I took it: But I will leave it with the Reader, to consider what Credit may be due to it.

Antisanderus.

At the same Time *Cranmer* hearing the Pope designed to proceed against him, did by the King's Order appeal likewise to a General Council, and sent the Instrument with a Warrant to execute it, to *Cromwell*, that it might be sent to the Bishop of *Winchester*, to get it to be intimated to the Pope, in the best Manner that could be thought of: He therefore by the King's Command, sent this to him in a Letter dated the 22d of *November*, which will be found in the Collection, but it does not appear to me what was done upon it.

Coll. Numb. 24.

Le Gr. p. 571. *Bellay sent over to the King, by King Francis.*

I shall in the next Place give an Account of the Instructions that the King of *France* sent by *Bellay*, then translated from *Bayonne* to *Paris*, whom he dispatched immediately after he came back from *Marseilles*, as the Person in the Kingdom that was the most acceptable to the King. The Substance of them is, "That *Francis* had at the "Interview studied nothing so much as to advance *Henry*'s Matters: "Yet he heard that he complained of him as having done less than "he expected, which he took much amiss. It was agreed by the "Two Kings, that a Proposition should be set on Foot for the Duke "of *Orleans* marrying the Pope's Niece; which had not been be-

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" fore thought of. The Matter was so far advanced, and the Inter-
" view so settled, that *Francis* could not afterwards put it off with
" Honour; all being done pursuant to their first Agreement at *Calais*.
" The Pope promised to make no new Step in King *Henry*'s Matter,
" if he would do the same. But King *Henry* did innovate in many
" Particulars, yet, contrary to all Men's Expectations, he had ef-
" fectually restrained the Pope from shewing his Resentments upon it:
" And he was in a fair way to have engaged the Pope against the
" Emperor, if King *Henry* would have given him any Handle for it.
" Once *Francis* hoped to have brought *Henry* to *Marseilles*; but he
" judged that was not fit for him, and promised to send the Duke of
" *Norfolk* in his Stead: For notwithstanding the Sentence passed at
" *Rome*, a Remedy was proposed, if a Person was sent with full
" Powers, as was expected. When *Gardiner* came to *Marseilles*, he
" said he had Orders to do whatsoever *Francis* should direct him,
" but indeed he brought no such Powers. The Pope was resolved to
" do all that he could advise him for *Henry*'s Satisfaction: And *Fran-
" cis* would enter upon none of his own Affairs, till that was first
" settled: He still waited for Powers from *England*, but none were
" sent. This might have provoked *Francis* to have been less zealous,
" but it did not: Instead of sending what *Francis* expected, there
" was an Appeal made from the Pope to a General Council, which so
" highly provoked the Pope, that what he had been labouring to do
" a whole Week, was pulled down in one Hour. It was also an In-
" jury to *Francis* to use the Pope ill without his Knowledge, when
" he was in his House, doing that there which they durst not have
" done any where else. This gave great Joy to the *Spaniards*, and
" though the Pope offered to put *Leghorn*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, with
" other Places of greater Importance, into *Francis*'s Hand, yet upon
" the Rupture with *Henry*, he would treat of nothing, so he con-
" cluded the Marriage, with no Advantage to himself from it; and
" yet for all this Zeal and Friendship that he had expressed to King
" *Henry*, he had no Thanks, but only Complaints. He saw he was
" disposed to suspect him in every Thing, as in particular for his treat-
" ing with the King of *Scotland*, though by so doing he had taken
" him wholly out of the Emperor's Hands. He proposes of new to
" King *Henry*, the same Means that were proposed at *Marseilles*, in
" order to the reconciling him to the Pope, with some other Moti-
" ons, which he will see are good and reasonable, and upon that all
" that passed would be easily repaired: He perceived plainly at *Mar-
" seilles*, that the King's Ambassadors had no Intentions to bring
" Matters to an Agreement; and when he told them that he saw there
" was no Intention to make up Matters, they only smiled. It touch-
" ed the King of *France* very sensibly, to see all his Friendship and
" good Offices to be so little understood and so ill requited. He was
" offered the Dutchy of *Milan*, if he would suffer the Emperor and
" the Pope to proceed against the King of *England*. But he was now
" to offer to King *Henry*, if he would reconcile himself to the Pope,
" a League between the Pope and the Two Kings Offensive and De-
" fensive. But if King *Henry* would come into no such Agreement,
" yet he was to assure him that he would still continue in a firm and

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There is some Reason to suspect that these Instructions are not fully set forth by *Le Grand*: For the best Argument to persuade the King to come to Terms of Reconciliation, was to tell him what the Pope had said to him of the Justice of his Cause. It is certain that *Francis* owned that on other Occasions; this makes it highly probable that it was set forth in these Instructions; so that I cannot help suspecting, that some Part of them is suppressed.

Cotton Libr. *Nero* B. 6. A Representation made to the Emperor.

At this Time, the King in a Letter to his Ambassador that was at the Emperor's Court, after he had ordered him to lay open the Falshood of the Reports that had been carried to the Emperor, of Queen *Catherine*'s being ill used; and to complain of her obstinate Temper, and of her insisting on her Appeal to the Pope, after the Law was passed against all such Appeals: He adds, that as he had told the Emperor's Ambassador at his Court, the Pope had to the *French* King confessed that his Cause was just and lawful; and that he had promised to him at *Marseilles*, that if the King would send a Proxy, he would give Sentence for him in his principal Cause: Which the King refused to do, looking on that as a Derogation from his Royal Dignity. The Pope it seems looked on his refusing to do this as a Contempt, and pronounced Sentence against him, notwithstanding his Appeal to a General Council, that had been personally intimated to him. This the King imputed to his Malice, and his Design to support his usurped Authority.

Memoirs *de Bell.* p. 414. He prevailed much on the King to submit.

The Bishop of *Paris* coming to *London*, had very long and earnest Conferences with the King: In Conclusion the King promised, that if the Pope would supersede his Sentence, the King would likewise supersede the separating himself entirely from his Obedience: Upon that, tho' it was in Winter, he went immediately post to *Rome*. At the same time the King sent a Letter to his Ambassadors at *Rome*: He tells them, "That after the Interview at *Marseilles*, he had heard both "by *Boner* and Sir *Gregory*, that the Pope had in a lively Manner "spoken to the Emperor in Favour of the King's Cause, and seemed "more inclined than formerly to do him Justice. He had proposed "that the King should send a Mandate, desiring his Cause might be "tried in an indifferent Place: Upon which he would send a Legate "and two Auditors to form the Process: Reserving the Judgment to "himself: Or, that the King of *France* and he would concur to procure a General Council, by concluding a Truce for three or four "Years, upon which he would call one, and leave the King's Cause "to be judged in it. The same Overtures were made to the King "by the Pope's Nuntio. He pretended that Sir *Gregory* had made "them to the Pope in the King's Name; and that the Pope had "agreed to them: Yet the King had never sent any such Orders "to

A Letter of the King's to his Ambassadors at *Rome*. *Rymer* MSS. *Coll. Numb.* 25.

"to Sir *Gregory*, but rather to the contrary. Yet since the Pope in "these Overtures shewed better Inclinations than formerly, which "indeed he was out of Hope of, he ordered Thanks to be given "him in his Name: The King asked nothing in Return for all the Service "he had done him and the See, but Justice according to the Laws of "God, and the Ordinances of the Holy Councils; which if he "would now do speedily, setting aside all Delays, he might be sure "that he and his Kingdom would be as loving to him and his See, as "they had been formerly accustomed to be: But for the Truce, "how desirous soever he was of outward Quiet, yet he could not "set himself to procure it, till he had first Peace in his own Consci-"ence, which the Pope might give him; and then he would use his "best Endeavours for a general Peace with the King of *France*; "from whom he would never separate himself. He therefore char-"ges them to press the Pope to remit the Fact, to be tried within the "Kingdom, according to the old Sanctions of General Councils. If "the Pope would grant his Desire, he would dispose all his Allies to "concur in the Service of that See. He could not consent to let "his Cause be tried out of the Realm: It was contrary both to his "Prerogative, and to the Laws of his Kingdom: And by his Coro-"nation Oath, he was bound to maintain those. So without the "Consent of his Parliament, he could not agree to it; and he was sure "they would never consent to that. He hoped the Pope would not "compel him to do Things prejudicial to the Papal Dignity, as it "was then exercised, which unless he were forced to it, by the Pope's "Conduct towards him, he had no Mind to do. The Pope had "said to Sir *Gregory*, that by their Laws, the Pope could not dis-"pence in such a Marriage, unless there was an urgent Cause pressing "it: And the clearing this Point, he thought would more certainly "advance the King's Cause, than the Opinion of Lawyers and Di-"vines, that the Pope could not dispence with it. The Emperor "had said to the Pope, that there was an extreme bloody War at "that Time, between *England* and *Spain*; for the pacifying which, "the Dispensation allowing the Marriage was granted: Whereas in "the League signed by his Father, and by *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, upon "which the Dispensation was obtained, no such Thing was pretend-"ed; the Marriage was agreed to for the Continuance and Augmen-"tation of their Amity; and upon the Account of the good Quali-"ties of the Queen: It was also plainly expressed in that League, "that her former Marriage was consummated. So the Dispensation "was granted without any urgent Cause. And therefore by the "Pope's own Concession, it could not be valid: He sent to *Rome* an "attested Transcript of that League: So if the Pope would refer "the judging in this Matter, to the Church of *England*, and ratify "the Sentence given in it, he will not only acquire the Obedience of "us and of our People, but pacify the Disputes that have been raised, "to the Quiet of all *Christendom*. He concludes, that if the Pope "seemed disposed to be benevolent to the King, they were not to "declare all this, as his final Answer, but to assure him that he would "study by all honourable Ways to concur with the Pope's towardly "Mind, if he will earnestly apply himself and persevere in such O-

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D. of *Norfolk's* Letter to *Montmorancy.*

Le Grand, p. 588.

To quicken the Court of *France* to interpose effectually with the Pope, to bring this Matter to the Conclusion that all the Papists of *England* labour'd earnestly for; the Duke of *Norfolk* wrote on the 27th of *January*, a very full Letter on the Subject to *Montmorancy*. "He was glad that the Bishop of *Paris* was sent to *Rome*, "with Instructions expressing the entire Union that was between "the Two Kings. He wished he might succeed: For if the Pope "would persist in his Obstinacy to favour the Emperor, and to op-"press the King in his most Just Cause, an Opposition to his Au-"thority would be unavoidable: And it would give Occasions to "many Questions, greatly to his Prejudice, and against his U-"surpations. It began to be believed, that the Pope had no Au-"thority out of *Rome*, any more than any other Bishop has out "of his Diocese: And that this Usurped Authority grew by the "Permission of Princes, blinded by Popes; who, contrary to the "Laws of God, and the Good of the Church, had maintained "it. To support this, many clear Texts of Scripture were brought, "with Reasons founded on them: And many Histories were al-"leged, to prove, that Popes themselves were made by the Empe-"rors; and that their Authority was only suffered, but not grant-"ed, nor confirmed by Emperors or Kings. Of all this, the Bi-"shops, and other Doctors, had made such Discoveries, that he "himself and other Noblemen, as well as the Body of the People, "were so convinced of it, that if the King would give way to it, "(which, if no Interposition saves it, probably he will do) this "present Parliament will withdraw from the Pope's Obedience; and "then every thing that depends on it, will be hated and abhorred "by the whole Nation: And other States and Kingdoms may from "thence be moved to do the same. He, out of the Friendship that "was between them, gave him this Advertisement. He apprehend-"ded some ill Effects, from the Readiness the King of *France* had "expressed to favour the Pope, even to the Prejudice of his own "Authority. For he had taken a Bull, to do Justice in his own "Kingdom; as if he had not full Authority to do that without a "Bull. The Pope, and his Successors, might make this a Prece-"dent for Usurping on the Royal Authority. He also complains, "that tho' their King had promised to the Earl of *Rochford*, that *Be-*"*da*, who had calumniated the King so much, and was his Enemy "in his just Cause, should be banished not only from *Paris*, but "out of his Kingdom; yet He was now suddenly recalled. He "wishes these Things may be considered in Time: He does not "propose that the King of *France* should turn the Pope's Enemy; "but if there came a Rupture between the King and the Pope, "that he would not so favour the Pope, as to give him more Bold-"ness in Executing his Malice against the King, or his Subjects: "And that they might not be deceived by his Promises, as if he would

" enable Francis to recover his Dominions in *Italy*, if he should be thereby engaged to lose the Friendship of the King, and his Allies.

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This came in time, to quicken the Court of *France*: For, by a Letter writ from *Rome* on the 20th of *February*, it appears, that the Pope was at that Time in great Anxiety. He was pressed hard by the *Imperialists*, on the one Hand; and he saw the Danger of Losing *England*, on the other Hand. To some about him, he expressed a great Inclination to be reconciled to the King: He sent secretly for some great Lawyers; they were positive that the King's Cause was just, and that his Second Marriage was good. But now the Matter being brought to a Crisis, I shall give it in the Words of *du Bellay*, who, no doubt, had his Information from his Brother. "King *Henry*, upon the Remonstrances that the Bishop of *Paris* made to him, condescended, that if the Pope would supersede the Sentence, till he sent Judges to hear his Matter, he would supersede the Executing that which he was resolved to do; which was, to separate himself entirely from Obedience to the See of *Rome*. And the Bishop of *Paris* offering to undertake the Journey to *Rome*, he assured him, that when he obtained that which he went to demand there, he would immediately send him sufficient Powers to confirm that which he had promised; trusting in him, by reason of the great Friendship that he had for so long a Time born him; for he had been Ambassador in his Court for Two Years.

Cotton Libr. *Vitell.* B. 14. The Pope was in great Anxiety.

Mem. *du Bellay* p. 414, 415, 416.

"It was a very severe Winter; but the Bishop thought the Trouble was small, so he might accomplish that which he went upon. So he came in good Time to *Rome*, before any Thing was done; and in an Audience in the Consistory, he gave an Account of that which he had obtained of the King of *England*, for the Good of the Church. The Proposition was judged reasonable, and a Time was assigned him for getting the King's Answer: So he dispatched a Courier to the King, with a Charge to use such Diligence, that he might return within the Time limited.

Bellay was to go to *Rome*, in hopes to make up the Breach.

"The Day that was set for the Return of the Messenger being come, and the Courier not come back, the *Imperialists* pressed in Consistory, that the Pope should give Sentence. The Bishop, on the other Hand, pressed both the Pope in particular, and all the Cardinals, that they would continue the Time only for Six Days; alledging, that some Accident might have happen'd to the Courier: The Sea might not be passable, or the Wind contrary; so that either in Going, or Coming, the Courier might be delayed: And since the King had Patience for Six Years, they might well grant him a Delay for Six Days. He made these Remonstrances in full Consistory; to which many of those who saw the clearest, and judged the best of Things, condescended: But the greater Number prevailed over the lesser Number of those, who considered well the Prejudice that was like to happen to the Church by it; and they went on with that Precipitation, that they did in One Consistory, that which could not be done in Three Consistories; and so the Sentence was fulminated.

The final Sentence given in great Haste.

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The Courier came Two Days to late.

" Two Days had not passed, when the Courier came with the
" Powers and Declarations from the King of *England*; of which
" the Bishop had assured them. This did much confound those
" who had been for the Precipitating the Matter. They met often,
" to see if they could redress that which they had spoiled; but they
" found no Remedy. The King of *England* seeing with what In-
" dignity he was used, and that they shewed as little Regard to him,
" as if he had been the meanest Person in *Christendom*, did immedi-
" ately withdraw himself, and his Kingdom, from the Obedience of
" the Church of *Rome*; and declared himself to be, under God,
" the *Head of the Church of* England."

Le Grand, p. 630, 631. Further Proofs of this Matter.

We have a further Account of this Transaction, in the Letters that Mr. *Le Grand* has published. On the 22d of *February*, *Raince*, the *French* Ambassador, wrote from *Rome* a Letter full of good Hopes: And it seems the Bishop of *Paris* wrote in the same Strain; but his Letter of the 23d of *March* is very different from that: It was on the same Day that the Consistory was held. " There were
" Two and Twenty Cardinals present, when Sentence was given;
" by which King *Henry*'s Marriage with Queen *Katherine* was decla-
" red good and valid, and the Issue by it lawful. Upon hearing the
" News of this, he went and asked the Pope about it, who told him
" it was true; but that tho' some would have had it immediately in-
" timated, he had delayed the ordering that till after *Easter*. He
" with the other *French* Ambassadors made no Answer to the Pope,
" only the Bishop of *Paris* told him, he had no other Business there;
" so he must return home again. They did not put the Pope in mind
" of the Promises and Assurances he had given them to the contrary,
" when they saw it was to no Purpose; and it was not easy to say
" such things as the Occasion required: But the Bishop intended to
" speak more plainly to the Pope, when he should take his Leave of
" him, which would be within three or four Days. He adds, that
" for some Reasons, which he would tell the *French* King, they were
" in doubt, whether that which was done, was not conform to a se-
" cret Intention of the King's, that was not made known to them.
" He apprehended, if he stayed longer there, it might give the King
" of *England* Cause of Suspicion: For he had by his last Letters to
" him given him Assurances, upon which perhaps he had dismissed
" his Parliament; for which he would be much displeased with the
" Bishop. He desires the King will give Advice of this with all Di-
" ligence to King *Henry*: And then all the World would see, that
" the King had done all that was possible for him to do, both to serve
" his Friend, and to prevent the great Mischief that might follow to
" the Church, and to all *Christendom*: For there was not any one
" thing omitted, that could have been done. The *Imperialists* were
" running about the Streets in great Bodies, crying, *Empire* and *Spain*,
" as if they had got a Victory; and had Bonefires and Discharges of
" Canon upon it. The Cardinals *Trevulce*, *Rodolphe*, and *Priane*, were
" not of that Number; others had not behaved themselves so well
" as was expected. *Raince*, one of the Ambassadors, said, He
" would give himself to the Devil, if the Pope should not
" find a way to set all right, that is now spoiled: He pressed

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"the other Ambaſſadors to go again to the Pope for that End, it "being a Maxim in the Canon Law, that Matrimonial Cauſes are "never ſo finally judged, but that they may be reviewed: They "were aſſured that the Pope was ſurprized in this, as well as he "had been in the firſt Sentence paſſed in this Matter. The Pope "had been all that Night adviſing with his Doctors, how to find a "Remedy, and was in great Pain about it; upon the Knowledge of "this they were reſolved to go to him, and ſee if any thing was to "be expected. In a Poſtſcript, he tells the King that he ought not "to think it ſtrange, if in their laſt Letters they gave other Hopes "of the Opinions of the Cardinals, than appeared now by their "Votes: They took what they wrote to him from what they ſaid, "which they heard, and not from their Thoughts, which they "could not know. By a Letter that *Pompone Trevulce* wrote from *Lyons*, to the Biſhop of *Auxerre*, it appears, that the Biſhop of *Paris* paſs'd through *Lyons*, in his Return on the 14th, Two Days before: In it he gave him the ſame Account of the final Sen-"tence, that was formerly related: The Biſhop ſaid to him it was "not the Pope's Fault, for he was for a Delay, and if they had "granted a Delay of Six Days, the King of *England* would have "returned to the Obedience of the Apoſtolick See; and left his "Cauſe to be proceeded in, according to Juſtice; but the *Imperia-*"*liſts* and their Party in the Conſiſtory, preſſed the Matter ſo, that "they would admit of no Delay: but when after a Day the Courier "came, the *Imperialiſts* themſelves were confounded: He adds one "Thing that the Biſhop told him of his Brother the Cardinal, that "he preſſed the Delay ſo earneſtly, that he was reproached for it, "and called a *Frenchman:* He avowed that he was a Servant to the "moſt Chriſtian King, and that the King of *France*, and his Prede-"ceſſors, had never done any thing but Good to the Apoſtolick "See.

Mel. Hiſt. p. 117.

Reflections on this Breach.

And now I have laid together all the Proceedings in the Matters relating to the King's Divorce, and his Breach with the Court of *Rome*. In opening all this, I have had a great deal of Light given me, by the Papers that Mr. *Le Grand* has publiſhed, and by the Book that he gave me; for which, whatever other Differences I may have with him, I return him, in this publick way, my hearty Thanks. There appears to have been a ſignal Train of Providence in the whole Progreſs of this Matter, that thus ended in a total Rupture. The Court of *Rome* being over-awed by the Emperor, engaged it ſelf far at Firſt: But when the Pope and the King of *France* were ſo entirely united as they knew they were, it ſeems they were under an Infatuation from God, to carry their Authority ſo far at a Time in which they ſaw the King of *England* had a Parliament inclined to ſupport him in his Breach with *Rome*. It was but too viſible that the King would have given all up, if the Pope would have done him but Common Juſtice. But when the Matter was brought ſo near a total Union, an entire Breach followed, in the very Time in which it was thought all was made up: Thoſe who favoured the Reformation, ſaw all their Hopes as it ſeemed blaſted; but of a ſudden all was revived again. This was an amazing Tranſ-

1531. action; and how little Honour soever, this full Discovery of all the Steps made in it, does to the Memory of King *Henry*, who retained his Inclinations to a great deal of Popery, to the End of his Life; yet it is much to the Glory of God's Providence, that made the Persons most concerned to prevent and hinder the Breach, to be the very Persons that brought it on, and in a Manner forced it.

The Sentence was given at *Rome* on the 23d of *March*, on the same Day in which the Act of the Succession to the Crown of *England* did pass here in *England*: And certainly the Parliament was ended, before it was possible to have had the News from *Rome*, of what past in the Consistory on the 23d of *March*: For it was prorogued on the 30th of *March*. So that if King *Henry*'s Word had been taken by the Pope and the Consistory, he seems to have put it out of his Power to have made it good, since it is scarce possible to think, that a Parliament that had gone so far in the Breach with *Rome*, could have been prevailed on, to undo all that they had been doing for Four Years together.

All in *England* concur to renounce the Pope's Authority.

Nothing material passed in Convocation before the 31st of *March*, and then the *Actuary* exhibited the Answer of the Lower-House to this Question, *Whether the Bishop of* Rome *has any greater Jurisdiction given him by God in the Holy Scriptures, within the Kingdom of* England, *than any other Foreign Bishop?* There were 32 for the Negative, 4 for the Affirmative, and One doubted. It was a thin House, and no doubt many absented themselves on design: But it does not appear how this past in the Upper-House, or whether it was at all debated there: For the Prelates had by their Votes in the House of Lords, given their Opinions already in the Point. The Convocation at *York* had the same *Position*, no more made a *Question*, put to them on the 5th of *May*: There the Archbishop's Presidents, were deputed by him to confirm and fortify this. After they had examined it carefully, they did all unanimously, without a contrary Vote, agree to it; upon which an Instrument was made by the Archbishop, and sent to the King, which will be found in the Collection, as it was taken out of the *Register* of *York*.

Coll. Numb. 26.

The King sent the same Question to the University of *Oxford*, and had their Answer. That Part of the King's Letter that relates to this Matter, and the University's Answer were sent me, taken from the *Archives* there, by the Learned *Mr. Bingham*, which will be found in the Collection. The King required them to examine the Question sent by him to them, concerning the Power and Primacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, and return their Answer under the Common Seal, with convenient Speed; according to the sincere Truth. Dated from *Greenwich* the 18th Day of *May*. The Answer is directed to all the Sons of their Mother Church, and is made in the Name of the Bishop of *Lincoln* their Chancellor, and the whole Convocation of all Doctors, and Masters Regents, and Non-Regents. " It sets forth, that whereas the King had received " the Complaints and Petitions of his Parliament, against some " intolerable Foreign Exactions; and some Controversies being " raised concerning the Power, and Authority of the Bishop of " *Rome*, the King that he might satisfy his People, but not break in

Coll. Numb. 27.

" upon any Thing declared in the Scriptures, (which he will be " always most ready to defend with his Blood) had sent this Que-" stion to them, (setting it down in the Terms in which it was pro-" posed to the Convocation.) They upon this, to make all the Re-" turns of Duty and Obedience to the King, had brought together " the whole Faculty of Divinity: And for many Days, they had " searched the Scriptures, and the most approved Commentators; and " had collated them diligently, and had held Publick Disputations " on the Matter: And at last they had all unanimously agreed, " that the Bishop of *Rome* has no greater Jurisdiction given him by " God, in the Holy Scriptures, in this Kingdom of *England*, " than any other Foreign Bishop. This Determination made ac-" cording to the Statutes of their University, they affirm and testify " as true, certain, and agreeing to the Holy Scriptures: Dated on " the 27th of *June* 1534. Here was a long Deliberation: It lasted above Five Weeks after the King's Letter, and was a very full and clear Determination of the Point.

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To this I shall add the fullest of all the Subscriptions, Instruments, and Oaths that was made, pursuant to these Laws and Decrees of Convocation. I have seen several others to the same Purpose: Of which *Rymer* has published many Instruments, all from Page 487 to Page 527, of *Ecclesiasticks*, *Regulars*, as well as *Seculars*, *Mendicants*, and *Carthusians*: But that from the Prior and Chapter of *Worcester* being much the fullest of them all, I shall only insert it in my Collection, and leave out all the rest, that I may not weary the Reader with a heavy Repetition of the various Forms, in which some expatiated copiously; to shew their Zeal for the King's Authority, and against the Papacy: Which was looked on then as the distinguishing Character of those who designed to set on a further Reformation; whereas those who did adhere to their former Opinions, thought it enough barely to sign the Proposition, and to take the Oath prescribed by Law.

Coll. *Numb.* 28.

An Order for the bidding of Prayers and Preaching.

There was likewise an Order published, but how soon it does not appear to me: *Strype* says in *June* 1534; it was before Queen *Anne*'s Tragical Fall, directing the bidding Prayers for the King, as the only and *Supreme Head* of this Catholick Church of *England*, then for Queen *Anne*, and then for the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter to them both, our Princess: And no further in the Presence of the King and Queen: But in all other Places they were to pray for all Archbishops and Bishops, and for the whole Clergy, and such as shall please the Preacher to name of his Devotion; then for all the Nobility, and such as the Preacher should name; then for the Souls of them that were dead, and such of them as the Preacher shall name. Every Preacher was ordered to preach once, in the greatest Audience, against the usurped Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*; and he was left after that to his Liberty: No Preachers were in the Pulpit to inveigh against, or to deprave one another: If they had Occasion to complain, they were to do it to the King, or the Bishop of the Dioces. They were not to preach for or against, Purgatory, the honouring of Saints, that Faith only justifieth, to go on Pilgrimages, or to support Miracles: These Things had occasioned great Dissen-

tions;

1531. tions; but those were then well pacified; they were to preach the Words of Christ, and not mix with them Mens Institutions, or to make God's Laws and Mens Laws of equal Authority; or to teach that any Man had Power to dispense with God's Law. It seems there was a Sentence of Excommunication with relation to the Laws and Liberties of the Church published once a Year, against all such as broke them; this was to be no more published. The Collects for the King and Queen by Name were to be said in all High Masses; they were likewise to justify to the People the King's last Marriage, and to declare how ill the King had been used by the Pope, in all that Matter, with the Proofs of the Unlawfulness of his former Marriage; and a long Deduction was made of the Process at *Rome*, and of all the Artifices used by the Pope, to get the King to subject himself to him, which I need not relate: It contains the Substance of the whole Cause, and the Order of the Process formerly set forth; I have put it in the Collection. All that is particular in it, is, that the King affirms, that a Decretal Bull was sent over, decreeing, that if the former Marriage was proved, and if it did appear, that as far as Presumptions can prove it, that it was consummated, that Marriage was to be held unlawful, and null. This Bull, after it was seen by the King, was, by the Bishop of *Rome*'s Commandment, embezzled by the Cardinals. He adds another Particular, which I find no where but here; that the Pope gave out a Sentence in the Manner of an Excommunication, and Interdiction of him and his Realm; of which Complaint being made, as being contrary to all Law and Right, the Fault was laid on a new Officer lately come to the Court; who ought to have been punished for it; and the Process was to cease; but tho' this was promised to the King's Agents, yet it went on, and was set up in *Flanders*. Perhaps the Words in the Bishop of *Paris*'s last Letter, that the Pope was surprized in the last Sentence, as he had been in the first, are to be explain'd and applied to this. He also mentions the Declarations that the Pope had made to the *French* King and his Council, of what he would gladly do for the King, allowing the Justness of his Cause; and that he durst not do it at *Rome*, for fear of the Emperor, but that he would come and do it at *Marseilles*; and there he promised to that King to give Judgment for the King; so he would send a Proxy, which he knew before, that he would not do, nor was he bound to do it.

Coll. Numb. 29.

Thus the King took Care to have his Cause to be fully set forth to all his own Subjects: His next Care was to have it rightly understood by all the Princes of *Europe*. I have found the Original Instructions that he gave to *Paget*, then one of the Clerks of the Signet, whom he sent to the King of *Poland*, and the Dukes of *Pomerania* and *Prussia*, and to the Cities of *Dantzick*, *Stetin*, and *Coningsburg*: And it is to be supposed, that others were sent to other Princes and Cities with the like Instructions, tho' they have not come in my way. I have put them in the Collection. By these

Coll. Numb. 30. Instructions given to *Paget* sent to some *Northern* Courts.

" Their old Friendship was desired to be renewed; the rather be-
" cause the King saw they were setting themselves to find out the
" Truth of God's Word, and the Justice of his Laws; and the Ex-
" tirpation of such corrupt Errors and Abuses, by which the World
has

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"has been kept Slaves under the Yoke of the Bishop of *Rome*, more "than the *Jews* were under the Ceremonies of *Moses*'s Law. The "King orders *Paget* to let them understand his great Desire to promote, "not only a Friendship with them, but the common Good of all "*Christendom*: He orders him to give them an Account of the whole "Progress of his Cause of Matrimony, with the intolerable Injuries "done him by the Bishop of *Rome*, and the State in which that "Matter then stood. He was first to shew them the Justice of the "King's Cause, then to open the Steps in which it had been carried "on. Here all the Arguments against his Marriage are stated, to "make it appear to be contrary both to the Laws of God, of Na-"ture, and of Men. In this the King did not follow his own pri-"vate Opinion, nor that of the whole Clergy of his Realm; but "that of the most Famous Universities of *Christendom*: And there-"fore, by the Consent of his whole Parliament, and by the Sentence "of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he has, for the Discharge of his "own Conscience, and the good of his People, and that he might "have a lawful Successor to rule over them, separated himself from "the Princess Dowager, and was then married to Queen *Anne*; of "whom follows a very exalted Character, setting forth the Purity of "her Life, her constant Virginity, her Maidenly and Womanly "Pudicity, her Soberness, her Chastness, her Meekness, her Wis-"dom, her Descent of Noble Parentage, her Education in all good "and lawful Shews and Manners, her Aptness to Procreation of "Children, with her other infinite good Qualities, which were more "to be esteem'd than only Progeny. If any should object to this "Second Marriage, as contrary to the Pope's Laws; he asserts, that "every Man's private Conscience is to him the Supreme Court for "Judgment: So the King was satisfied in his own Conscience; that, "being enlightned by the Spirit of God, and afterwards by the "Means formerly set forth, he was judged to be at Liberty from his "former Marriage, and free to contract a new one. The King also "took great Pains to satisfy the World, by long Travel and Study, "with inestimable Cost and Charges, tho' he had no Fruit from it all. "Upon this Head, *Paget* was to set forth the Pope's ungodly De-"meanor, in the whole Progress of the King's Cause; keeping him "off by Delays for Seven Years and more. At first the Pope, in-"stead of judging the Matter himself, sent a Commission to *England*, "to try it, with full Powers, pretending that it could not be judged "at *Rome*. He gave with these a Decretal Bull, in which he pro-"nounced Sentence, that the King might (*convolare ad Secundas* "*Nuptias*) *Marry another Wife*; yet he gave the Legate secret Di-"rections not to proceed by Vertue of the Decretal Bull, nor to "give Sentence. He wrote a Letter to the King with his own "Hand, in which he approved of the King's Cause, and promised "to the King, on the Word of the Pope, that he would not Avocate "the Cause, but leave it in its due Course; yet afterwards, contrary "to his Conscience and Knowledge, he decreed several Citations "against the King to appear at *Rome*, to the Subversion of the "Royal Dignity: or to send a Proxy, which cannot be justified by "any Colour of Reason. He cites the Councils of *Nice*, *Africk*,

and

1531. " and *Milevi*, against Appeals to remote Places. It was not reasonable to send Original Instruments, and other Documents to a distant Place; nor in a Matter of Conscience, could a Man give such a Power to a Proxy, by which he was bound to stand to that which he should agree to: It was fit that all Princes should consider what an Attempt this made upon their Dignity, for the Pope to pretend that he could oblige them to abandon their Kingdoms, and come and appear before him; by which he might Depose Kings, or Rule them according to his own Pleasure. So that all this was not only unjust, but null of it self. Dr. *Karn* being then at *Rome*, as the King's Subject, he offered a Plea Excusatory, yet this was not regarded by the Dean of the *Rota*, who in that acted as he was directed by the Pope: Pretending he had no Powers from the King, which by Law was not necessary for an Excusator. *Karn* had appealed to the Pope: To this *Capisucchi* gave an ambiguous Answer, promising to give a more determinate one afterwards, which yet he never did; but upon a Second Appeal, the Cause was brought into the Consistory, and there it was judged that *Karn* could not be heard, unless he had a Proxy from the King: And when *Karn* objected that such Proceeding was against Law; the Pope answered that he might Judge all Things according to his own Conscience: And so they resolved to proceed in the main Cause. At that Time the King's Ambassadors at *Rome* shewed the Pope the Determination of the Universities of *Paris* and *Orleans*, with the Opinions of the most Learned Men in *France* and *Italy*, condemning the Pope's Proceedings as unjust and null; the Words of their Opinion being inserted in the Instructions: Yet the Pope still went on, and sent out slanderous Breves against the King, and designed to Excommunicate him. To prevent that the King did order a Provocation and Appeal to be made from the Pope to a General Council, and caused it to be intimated to the Pope, but he would not admit it, and pretended that by a Bull of Pope *Pius*'s, that was condemned: And that he was Superior to all General Councils. He rejected it arrogantly, saying they were Hereticks and Traytors to his Person, who would Appeal from him to any General Council. It appeared evidently that the Pope for the Defence of his own Glory and Ambition, regarded not what Injuries he did to Christian Princes: So they were all obliged now to be on their Guard, against such Invasions of their Authority. For these Reasons the King was resolved to reduce that Exorbitant Power which the Pope had assumed, within due Limits: So that in his Dominions he shall Exercise no other Jurisdiction than what is granted to him by express Words of Scripture. *Paget* was to open all these Things to those Princes and States, desiring that they would adhere to the King in this Matter, 'till it should come to be treated of in a General Council: And in the mean Time to give him their best Assistance and Advice, especially in some Articles, of which a Schedule was to be given him signed with the King's Hand, which he was to communicate to them as he should find it convenient. They related to some Abuses and Customs which seemed necessary to be reformed: And

if

" if they would propose any other, *Paget* was to receive their " Mind, and to assure them, that the King, as he desired their Assistance in his Causes and Quarrels, so he would kindly admit of " whatsoever they should propose; and would endeavour to extirpate all Abuses against God's Word and Laws: And to do all that " lay in him, for the Reformation thereof, for the Maintenance of " God's Word, the Faith of Christ, and the Welfare of *Christendom*.

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But because the King did not know what the Mind of those Princes might be, nor how far they were devoted to the Pope; *Paget* was to try to find out their Inclinations, before he should deliver the King's Letters to them; and so to proceed according to his Discretion, to deliver, or not to deliver his Letters, or to shew his Instructions to them. What followed upon this, and how it was executed, does not appear.

The Judicious and Diligent *Seckendorf*, in his History of *Lutheranism*, gives an Account of a Negotiation of *Paget*'s, 2 Years before this. *Cranmer*, who was then the King's Ambassador at the Emperor's Court, met with *John Frederick*, Elector of *Saxony*, at *Noremberg*, who had secretly left the Diet of *Ratisbon*; and there he deliver'd Letters from the King, both to the Elector, to the Duke of *Lunenberg*, and to the Prince of *Anhalt*; which contained only a General Offer of Friendship. *Cranmer* came the next Day to the Elector, who had Two of his Ministers about him; and asked him many Questions concerning their Agreement with the State of Religion, the *Turkish* War, and the Church-Lands, which (as they heard) they had seized on. He said Great Things of the King, and of the Aid he had offered the Emperor against the *Turk*, in Conjunction with the *French* King. He asked where *Paget* was; whom the King had sent to the Elector. General Answers were made to all his Questions; and for *Paget*, He had been with the Elector the former Year. This passed on to the 15th of *July* 1532. Four Days after this, he came privately to *Spalatin*, one of the Elector's Secretaries; and assured him, that both the King, and the *French* King, would assist the Elector and his Allies, in the Matter of Religion. In *August* after that, *Paget* came to the Elector; who proposed many Things to him concerning Religion: But the Princes had then come to an Agreement with the Emperor; so they could enter into no Treaty at that Time. Only *John Frederick* did, in a Writing under his own Hand, offer the Scheme of that which was afterwards proposed in their Name to the King.

L. 3. §. 6. *Par.* 16 Add. Negotiations in *Germany*.

All these Negotiations were set on Foot, pursuant to a Paper of Advices offered to the King by *Cromwell*; in which there are divers Marginal Notes writ in the King's own Hand, which will be found in the Collection. " First, All the Bishops were to be sent for, " especially those nearest the Court; to examine them, Whether " they can prove, that the Pope is above the General Council, or " the Council above him? And whether, by the Law of God, He " has any Authority in *England*? Next, They are to be charged to " Preach this to the People; and to shew, That the Pope's Authority was an Usurpation, grown up by the Sufferance of Princes.

Advices offered the King.

Coll. Numb. 31.

1534. "This ought to be preached continually at *Paul*'s Cross; and the "Bishop of *London* was to suffer none to preach there, but those "who will set this forth. The same Order was to be given to all "other Bishops, and to the Rulers of the Four Orders of *Friars*, "particularly to the *Friar Observants*, and to all Abbots and Priors. "The King's Appeal was also to be set up on every Church-Door in "*England*, that so none may pretend Ignorance; as also the Act "against Appeals to *Rome*. It was also proposed, that Copies of "the King's Appeal might be sent to other Realms, particularly to "*Flanders*. A Letter was also proposed, complaining of all the In-"juries done the King by the Pope; to be written to him by all "the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. The King writes on the Mar-"gin, *Not yet done; nor can it well be done before the Parliament*. "To send Spies into *Scotland*, to see what Practices were there: "On the Margin the King's Orders; *Letters to be written to the* "*Lord* Dacres, *the Duke of* Norfolk, *and Sir* Thomas Clifford. "To send to the Kings of *Poland* and *Hungary*, the Dukes of "*Saxony* and *Bavaria*, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Three Ec-"clesiastical Electors. On the Margin the King writes, *In the King's* "*Arbitrement*. This, it seems, gave the Occasion of Sending *Pa-*"*get*. The like proposed for the *Hans* Towns: On the Margin, in "the King's Hand, *To know this of the King*. To remember the Mer-"chant-Adventurers, chiefly those of *Brabant*. On the Margin, *This* "*is already done*. Then it is proposed, that an Order be given for "Establishing the Princess Dowager's House, and the Lady *Mary*'s, "and for my Lady Princess's House: This was *Elizabeth*'s. To "this, on the Margin, it is written by the King, *The Order is* "*taken*.

Coll. Num. 32. A Letter of the King's to the Justices, to observe the Behaviour of the Clergy.

In *June*, in the Year 1535, after the Parliament had settled every Thing demanded of them, the King published a Circular Letter, which will be found in the Collection, taken from the Original. "In which, after he had set forth that both Clergy and Temporalty "had abolished the Bishop of *Rome*'s Usurpations, and had united "to the Crown the Dignity of *Supreme Head in Earth of the* "*Church of* England; which was also approved in Convocation, "and confirmed by their Oaths and Subscriptions: He adds, that "considering what Quiet would follow in the Nation, if the Bi-"shops and Clergy would sincerely, and without Dissimulation, "publish the many and great Abuses of the Pope's Usurpation; he "had sent Letters to all Bishops, charging them not only in their "own Persons, but by their Chaplains, to preach the true and sin-"cere Word of God to the People, and to give Warning to all Ec-"clesiastical Persons to do the same; and to cause the Pope's Name "to be rased out of all the Books of Divine Service. He had al-"so required the Justices of Peace, to examine whether the Bishops "and Clergy did this sincerely; or whether they did it coldly, or "feignedly; or used any Addition, or Gloss to it. Upon all this, "the King requires them, at their Assizes and Sessions, to make di-"ligent Search, whether the Bishops and Clergy do their Duty sin-"cerely. Likewise, at their Meetings, they were to set the same "forth to the People; and also declare the Treasons commited by

"the Bishop of *Rochester* and Sir *Thomas More*, who by diverse "Secret Practices, intended to breed among the People most Mischie- "vous Opinions; for which they, with some others, had suffered "as they deserved. He requires them if they found any Fault, or "Dissimulation in any Person, that they should immediately signify "it to the King and his Council: As that which was of the great- "est Moment to the Quiet of the Kingdom, threatning such Punish- "ment of those who were negligent in this, as would make them "Examples to all others: And he charges them upon their Alle- "giance to obey all this punctually.

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But it seems this had not the Effect that was expected, therefore in *April*, after this, a New Letter, or Proclamation, was writ to some of the Nobility, setting forth that he had heard that some, both *Regulars* and *Seculars*, did secretly extol the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, praying for him in the Pulpit, and making him a God, preferring his Power and Laws to God's most Holy Laws: The King therefore out of his Desire to maintain Unity and Quiet among his People, and to bring them to the Knowledge of the Truth, and to be no more blinded with Superstition and False Doctrine, required them that wheresoever they found any Person spreading such pernicious Doctrines to the Exaltation of the Bishop of *Rome*, to Cause them to be apprehended and put in Prison without Bail or Mainprise.

Coll. Numb. 33.

Among the Bishops all were not equally Honest, nor Zealous. *Lee* Archbishop of *York*, and *Gardiner*, were those in whom the Old Leaven had the deepest Root: So the King being informed that *Lee*, though he had given in his Profession, subscribed and sealed by him, yet did not his Duty in his Diocese and Province, neither in Teaching himself, nor causing others to Teach the People, conform to what was settled both in Convocation and Parliament, sent him Orders both to Preach these Things, and to Order all other Ecclesiastical Persons in his Province to do the same: Upon this he wrote a long Vindication of himself in *June* 1535, which will be found in the Collection.

The Archbishop of *York* is suspected to favour the Pope.

Coll. Numb. 34.

"He sets forth in it the Complaints that the King signified had "been made of him, with the Orders that he had received from the "King, and then sets out his own Conduct. He ackowledges he had "received at the End of the last Parliament, a Book sent from the "Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as a Book of Orders for Preaching: "(Probably that which is the 28th Paper in the Collection.) Upon "his receiving it, he went on *Sunday* next to *York*, and there he "set forth the Cause of the King's Marriage, and the rejecting the "Pope's Authority very fully: And that this might be done the "more publickly, he had caused it to be published at *York* the *Sun-* "*day* before that he would be there, and so took care to have a full "Audience. So that there was a great Multitude there. His "Text was, *I have Married a Wife, and therefore I cannot come*: "And he so declared the King's Matters, that all seemed satisfied. It is "true he did not touch the Title of the King as the *Supreme Head*, "for there was no Order given as to that, for it was thus only or- "dered to have it named in the Prayer. It is true he did not use

He justifies himself.

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"to bid Prayers, for the greater haste to utter his Matter. But upon the receipt of that Book, he commanded his Officers to make out a great Number of them, to be sent to every Preacher in his Diocese: And by all that he ever heard, every one of his Curates followed that Book, and has done their Duty in every Particular enjoined in it: He took care that all who preached in their Churches should follow the Rules prescribed in it. He also sent a Book to every House of *Fryars*. And for the Religious, when any such Person came to him, naming particularly the *Carthusians*, and the *Observants*, for Counsel, he told them what he had done himself, and advised them to do the same. On *Good-Fryday* last, he had ordered the Collect for the Pope to be left out; and also the mentioning him in other Parts of the Service: He desired the King would examine these Things, and he would find he was not so much in Fault as he imputed it to him. He had been hitherto open and plain, and had never deceived the King. He had also sent Letters to the Bishops of *Duresme* and *Carlisle*, pursuant to the Letters that he had from the King: And had charged his Archdeacons to see that all Obedience might be given to the King's Orders. He had since he received the King's last Letters, on the *Sunday* following, declared to the People every Thing comprised in them. He refers himself to *Magnus* and *Lawson*, Two of the King's Chaplains, who heard him, to make Report of what they thought of it. Whatever he promised to the King he would fulfil it; and he had done every Thing as the King commanded, and would still do it, so God were not offended by it. He besought the King not to believe any Complaints of him till he have heard his Answer. Some thought it was a high Sacrifice, when they could bring such a poor Priest as he was, under the King's Displeasure: But he trusted God would continue in him a Gracious Mind to his Priests and Chaplains, and that he would give their Enemies, who studied to provoke him against them, better Minds for the future.

Of the Sufferings of *Fisher* and *More*.

I have no Particulars to add to the Relation I gave of the Sufferings of *Fisher* and *More*. There are heavy Things laid to their Charge; but except *Fisher*'s being too much concerned in the Business of the *Nun* of *Kent*, which was without doubt managed with a Design to raise a Rebellion in the Nation; I do not find any other Thing laid to his Charge: And it does not at all appear that *More* gave any Credit or Countenance to that Matter. Yet I have seen that often affirmed. In our own Days, when Things have happned both together, though the one did not by any sort of Proof appear to be connected with the other, yet they have been represented as done in Concert: So the Conspiracy of the *Nun*, and those who managed that Imposture, was given out both at home and abroad, as having its Rise from *Fisher*, who indeed knew of it, and seemed to give Credit to it; and from *More*, though he had no share at all in it.

The King of *France* was not satisfied with this way of Proceeding: He thought it too violent, and that it did put Things past all possibility of a Reconciliation. He had answered for the King to the Pope at *Marseilles*, and he was in such a Concern for him, that the

wrong Steps he made reflected on himself. He told the King's Ambassador that he advised the Banishing of all such Offenders, rather than the putting them to Death. That King confessed there had been extreme Executions and Cruelty lately exercised in his own Kingdom: But he was now putting a stop to it, and resolved to call Home all those that had fled out of his Kingdom. He had seen a Relation of *More*'s Sufferings, by which it appeared that he exhorted his Daughter to all Duty and Respect to the King, which made the Proceedings against such a Man to be the more censured.

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The Ambassadors wrote this to the King soon after *More*'s Death. The King wrote on the 23d of *August* an Answer, from *Thornbury* to this Purpose, " If the King of *France* had answered for the King, " and had Justified his Cause, he had done what was Just and Suit- " able to their Friendship: The Conspiracies of *Fisher* and *More* to " sow Sedition, and to raise Wars, both within and without the " Kingdom, were manifestly proved to their Face: So that they " could not avoid, nor deny it. The Relation he had seen concern- " ing *More*'s Talk with his Daughter at his Death, was a forged " Story: The King took it in ill Part that King *Francis* should so " lightly give Ear and Credit to such vain Tales. This ungrateful " Behaviour shewed that the King of *France* had not that Integrity " of Heart, that the King deserved and might expect from him. " Then follows a Vindication of the Laws lately made, which in- " deed were only Old Laws revived. The Banishing of Traytors " was no ways Convenient: That was to send them in Places where " they might more safely and conveniently execute their Conspira- " cies. Upon all which the Ambassador was ordered to expostulate " plainly, but discreetly, both with the King, and with the Great " Master. There appears a Strain of Coldness in the whole Inter- " course between the Two Courts of *France* and *England*, ever from the Interview at *Marseilles* to this Time.

Rymer MSS. An Expostulation with the Court of *France*.

Pope *Clement* was now Dead, with whom the King of *France* was more closely united: And he found the King's Friendship was yet so necessary to him, that he resolved to remove all Jealousies: So to give the King a full Assurance of his Firmness to him, he sent him a Solemn Engagement to adhere to him. It is true, I have seen only a Copy of this; but it is minuted on the Back by *Cromwel*'s Hand, and is fairly writ out. There is no Date set to it, but it was during Queen *Anne*'s Life, and after Pope *Clement*'s Death, so probably it was sent over about this Time. It will be found in the Collection.

The King of *France* engages himself to adhere to and defend the King in his Second Marriage.

Collect. *Numb.* 35.

It begins thus, " That both Friendship and Piety did require that " he should employ his whole Strength and Authority to maintain " the Justice of his Dearest Friend. The King of *England*, Defender " of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and, *under God*, *Supreme Head of* " *the Church of* England, had by a Dispensation, granted by Pope " *Julius*, contracted a Marriage in Fact with *Katherine* of *Spain*, " Relict of the King's Elder Brother *Arthur*, and had one Daughter " yet living, of that Marriage: that King upon Great and Weighty " Reasons well known to King *Francis*, had withdrawn himself " from that Marriage; and had Lawfully and Rightfully Married

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" *Anne* now his Queen, of whom he hath Issue the Princess *Eliza-*
" *beth* : And a Debate had arisen concerning the Dispensation, and
" the First Marriage, and the Legitimacy of the Issue by it: In
" which, King *Francis* by many Arguments did perceive, that the
" Pope himself had not a due Regard to Equity: And that what by
" the Iniquity of the Times, what by ill Practice against all Law
" and Right, many Things were done. The King therefore con-
" sulted the Men of the greatest Integrity in his Kingdom, and the
" most Learned both in Divinity, and in the Laws of the Church,
" whom he charged to make a Report to him according to their
" Consciences, as in the Sight of God, having first conferred among
" themselves fully upon the whole Matter: He does therefore upon
" all their unanimous Opinion, clearly perceive that the Dispensa-
" tion granted by the Pope, was in it self Null, both by Reason of,
" the Surprize put on him by the Grounds pretended in it, for ob-
" taining it; but chiefly because the Pope could not dispence in
" that Case: Since such Marriages are contrary to the Laws of God
" and of Nature: For the Pope has no Authority to dispence in that
" Case; so that the Marriage between King *Henry* and Queen *Kathe-*
" *rine* was Incestuous and Null: As contrary to the Laws of God
" and Man: And by consequence the Lady *Mary*, born of that
" Marriage, was Illigitimate. And further, that the Marriage the
" King has contracted with *Anne*, now his Queen, was Holy, Law-
" ful, and Good: And that *Elizabeth*, born of that Marriage, and
" all the other Issue that might come of it, was Lawful, and ought
" so to be esteemed. He adds, that many of the Cardinals, naming
" particularly the late Cardinal of *Ancona*, and even the late Pope
" *Clement* himself, did declare their own positive Opinion to himself
" personally at *Marseilles*, and frequently to his Ambassadors, that
" the Dispensation granted by Pope *Julius*, upon which the first
" Marriage was made, was null and void: And the Pope would
" have declared this by a Final and Definitive Sentence, if Private
" Affections, and Human Regards had not stood in his way. All
" which that King did solemnly declare. He therefore looking on
" that Dispensation as null and void, and by Consequence on the
" Marriage contracted by that Authority, as Unlawful and Incestu-
" ous; and on the Lady *Mary* as incapable to succeed, being born
" in it, did judge and affirm that the Marriage with Queen *Anne*,
" and the Issue come, or to come from it, was Lawful and Valid;
" and that the just Right of succeeding to the Crown, was vested
" in the Issue of that Marriage: And that all Judgments and Censures
" either by the late Pope *Clement*, or by any other Judge, that
" were made and published, or that might hereafter be made or pub-
" lished, were and are null and void, unjust and unlawful: And
" he promised on the Word and Faith of a King, and under the
" Forfeiture of all his Goods, and of all the Goods of his Subjects, in
" the Form of a Contract of Guaranty, both for Himself and his Heirs
" Successors, that he, at all Times, and in all Places, particularly
" in all Synods, or General Councils, and before all Persons, and
" against all Men whatsoever that should oppose it, of what Rank
" or Condition soever they might be, he would both by him-

self,

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" self, and by his Subjects, maintain and defend it, and (if need
" were) justify it, by a strong Hand, and with all his Forces. Nor
" would he ever, for the future, publickly or privately, directly or
" indirectly, go against it, or so much as attempt it, nor suffer it to
" be attempted by any other, as much as in him lay.

From which he never departed.

Here was as Positive an Assurance, as could be put in Words. And tho' Princes have, in former Times, as well as in our own Days, made bold with their Promises and Treaties; and have very easily thrown them off, or broke thro' them, without any Appearance of great Remorse or Shame; Yet it must be confessed, that *Francis* did never, even in the War that he afterwards had with King *Henry*, depart from, or falsify this Engagement.

BOOK

BOOK III.

1535.

Of what happen'd during the Time comprehended in the Third Book of the History of the Reformation; from the Year 1535, *to King* Henry's *Death,* Anno 1547.

The King was much pleased with the Title of Supreme Head.

KING *Henry* seemed not a little pleased with his Title of the *Supreme Head* of the Church of *England*; of which it was enacted, in the Session of Parliament that sat after the Breach was made with *Rome*, that it should be for ever joined to the other Titles of the Crown, and be reckoned one of them. He ordered an Office for all Ecclesiastical Matters, and a Seal to be cut; which, in an Inhibition sent to the Archbishop, in order to a Royal Visitation of the whole Clergy of all *England*, is, for ought I know, first mentioned. It is dated the 18th of *September* 1535; and, at the End, these Words are added; 'Under our Seal, that we use in Ecclesiastical Matters, which we 'have ordered to be hereunto appended.

The Archbishop of *Cant.*'s Title changed.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s Title was also in Convocation ordered to be altered: Instead of the Title of Legate of the Apostolick See, he was to be designed *Metropolitan*, and *Primate*. This last was one of his Ancient Titles. In that Session, there was some Discourse concerning Heresy, and of some *English* Books; in particular, of *Tindal*'s Books. And there was a Book laid before them, with the Title of a *Primer*; of which there is no other Account given, but that from the Rubricks of it, they suspected it was a Book not fit to be published. This, it seems, produced a Petition to the King, that he would command all Heretical Books to be called in, within a Time limited; and that he would appoint the Scripture to be translated in the Vulgar Tongue; but that tho' the Laity might read it, yet they were to be required not to dispute concerning the Catholick Faith.

Cranmer and *Gardiner* oppose one another.

It is very probable, that a Breach was upon this Occasion begun between *Cranmer* and *Gardiner*. The Sharpness against Heresy was probably supported by *Gardiner*; as the Motion for the Translation of the Bible, was by *Cranmer*. But when *Cranmer*, in order to an Archiepiscopal Visitation of the whole Province, having obtained the King's Licence for it on the 28th of *April*, sent out his Inhibition, according to Form, to the Ordinaries during the Visitation; upon this, *Gardiner* complained to the King of it, for Two Reasons. He thought, the Title of *Primate* of *England*, did derogate from the King's Power. The other was, That since his Diocese had been Visit-

Visited within Five Years last past, and was now to Pay for ever Tenths to the King, it ought not to be charged with this Visitation. Of this *Cromwell* gave *Cranmer* Notice. He, on the 12th of *May*, wrote a Vindication of himself; which will be found in the Collection.

1535.

Coll. Numb. 37.

Cranmer vindicates himself.

" He believed that *Gardiner* (who wanted neither Law, Invention nor Craft, to set out his Matters to the best Advantage,) studied to value himself upon his Zeal for the King's Supremacy, " that so he might seem more concerned for that, than for himself. " *Cranmer* laid himself, and all his Titles, at the King's Feet: But " he wrote, Why did not *Gardiner* move this sooner? For he had " received his Monition on the 20th of *April*. The Pope did not " think it lessen'd his Supremacy; that he had many *Primates* under him: No more did his Title lessen the King's Supremacy. " *Gardiner* knew well, that if the Pope had thought those Subaltern Dignities had weakned his Supreme one, he would have got " all the Bishops to be put on the Level; there being many Contentions concerning Jurisdiction in the Court of *Rome*. But if " all the Bishops of the Kingdom set no higher Value on their " Stiles and Titles than he did, the King should do in those Matters what he pleased: For if he thought that his Stile was in any " Sort against the King's Authority, he would beg Leave to lay " it down. He felt in his Heart, that he had no Sort of Regard to " his Stile or Title, further than as it was for the Setting forth of " God's Word and Will; but he would not leave any just Thing at " the Pleasure of the Bishop of *Winchester*, he being no otherwise " affectionate to him than he was. In the Apostles Days, there was " a *Diotrephes*, who loved the Preeminence; and he had more Successors than all the other Apostles; from whom all Glorious Titles, and much Pomp was come into the Church. He wished, " that he, and all his Brethren, might leave all their Stiles, and call " themselves only the Apostles of *Jesus Christ*; so, that they took " not the Name vainly, but were such indeed; and did order their " Dioceses, so that not Parchment, Lead or Wax, but the Conversation of their People, might be the Seals of their Office; as St. " *Paul* said, the *Corinthians* were to him. He answers the other Part very fully; but that will be found in the Letter it self; it not being of that Importance, to deserve, that any Abstract should be made of it.

Bishops proceed against those who desir'd a Reformation.

It was soon observed, that there was a great Faction formed against any Reformation, in Doctrine or Worship; and that those who favour'd and promoted it, were ill used by the greater Part of the Bishops: Of which I shall give One Instance, and by it one may judge of the rest; for I have seen many Complaints to the same Purpose. *Barlow* was, by Queen *Anne*'s Favour, made Prior of *Haverford West*, in *Pembrokeshire*. He set himself to preach the Pure Gospel there, and found many were very desirous to hear it; but he was in danger of his Life daily by reason of it: And an Accusation being brought against him by a Black Friar there; set on by *Rawlins*, then Bishop of St. *David*'s, who both rewarded him for it, and recommended him to the Arches: For *Barlow* had appealed to the

1535. King. He owns, that by *Cromwell's* Favour, their Design against him was defeated: But he having sent a Servant home about Business, the Bishop's Officers cited him to their Courts, and ransacked his House; where they found an *English* Testament, with an Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, and of some other Parts of the New Testament. Upon this, they clamoured against him as a Heretick for it. They charged the Mayor of the Town, to put him and some others in Prison, seeking by all Means to find Witnesses against them; but none appearing, they were forced to let them go, but valued themselves upon this their Zeal against Heresy. He sets forth the Danger that all were in, who desired to live according to the Laws of God, as became faithful Subjects: For in that Multitude of Monks, Friars, and Secular Priests, that was then in those Parts, there was not one that sincerely preached the Word of God, and very few that favoured it. He complains of the Enormous Vices, Fraudulent Exactions, and Heathenish Idolatry, that was shamefully supported under the Clergy's Jurisdiction; of which he offered to make full Proof, if it should be demanded and received: But that being done, he desired Leave to remove from thence; for he could neither go home, nor stay there safely, without a special Protection. This Letter will be found in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 38.

Barlow was that Year made Bishop of St. *Asaph*, and the Year after was translated to St. *David's*; and was after that removed to *Wells*, but driven out by Queen *Mary*; and was made Bishop of *Chichester* by Queen *Elizabeth*, in which he lived Ten Years.

The Archbishop of *York* much suspected.

The secret Opposition that the Bishops gave to the Steps made towards a Reformation, obliged *Cromwell* to send many Agents, in whom he trusted, up and down the Nation, to observe all Mens Tempers and Behaviour. *Legh*, among others, being sent to *York*, did (in *January*) enjoin the Archbishop, by an Order from the King, to preach the Word of God, and to set forth the King's Prerogative. He also enjoined him, to bring up to the King all the Foundations of his See, and all Commissions granted to it. In these, he did not doubt, but they would find many Things fit to be reformed: And he advised, that every Bishop might be so ordered, that their Dioceses might be better instructed and edified. That would establish them in their Fidelity to the King, and to his Succession: But the Jurisdictions might be augmented, or diminished, as should seem convenient. This Letter, which will be found in the Collection, opens a Design that I find often mention'd, of Calling in all the Pope's Bulls, and all the Charters belonging to the several Sees, and Regulating them all. But, perhaps, the first Design being the Suppressing the Monasteries, it was not thought fit to alarm the Secular Clergy, till that was once done: Yet the Order for Sending up all Bulls, was at the same time generally executed. There is a Letter of *Tonstall's*, writ soon after this to *Cromwell*, put in the Collection, in which he mentions the King's Letters to all the Bishops, to come up immediately after the Feast of the Purification, with all the Bulls they had obtained from *Rome*, at any Time. But the King considering that *Tonstall* had gone down but late, ordered Dr. *Layton* to write to him, that he needed not come up; but advised, that he should write to the

Coll. Numb. 39.

Coll. Numb. 40.

the King that he was ready to do as other Bishops did, and to deliver up all such Bulls as the King desired of him. *Layton* wrote to him that *Cromwell*, as his Friend, had assured the King that he would do it.

1535.

In answer to this, *Tonstall* thank'd him for his Kindness on that, and on many other Occasions. "He did not understand to what "Intent these Bulls were called for, (and it seems he appresended it "was to have all the Bishops give up their Right to their Bishopricks) "yet he had sent them all up to be delivered at the King's Pleasure: "He adds, that he hoped by this Demand, the King did not intend "to make him leave his Bishoprick, and both to turn him out of his "Living, and to Ruin all his Servants, that had their Living only "by him; in which he wrote he could not be thought, either Am-"bitious, or Unreasonable: So he desired to know what the King's "Pleasure was, not doubting but that the King would use him as "well as he used the other Bishops in the Kingdom, since as he had "obtained these Bulls by him, he had renounced every Thing in them "that was contrary to his Prerogative. He had but Five Bulls, for the "rest were delivered to those to whom they were addressed: So he "commits himself to the King's Goodness, and to *Cromwell*'s Favour. Dating his Letter from *Aukland* the 29th of *January*, which must be in the Year 153$\frac{5}{6}$.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4.

Tonstall might be under more than ordinary Apprehensions of some Effect of the King's Displeasure; for as he had opposed the declaring him to be the *Supreme Head*, in the Convocation of *York*; so he had stuck firmly to the asserting the Lawfulness of the King's Marriage to Queen *Katherine*. Before the Meeting of the Parliament, in which that Matter was determined; he with the Proxy that he sent to the Bishop of *Ely*, wrote him a Letter, of which Mr. *Richard Jones* saw the Original, which he has inserted in his Voluminous Collections, that are in the *Bodleiam* Library; in which these Words are, after he had told him that he had given him full Power to Consent or Dissent from every Thing that was to be proposed: He adds,

"Yet neverthelefs, I beseech you, if any Thing Harmful or Pre-"judicial in any Point, to the Marriage between the King's Highness "and the Queen's Grace shall be proposed, wherein our Voices shall "be demanded; in your own Name say what you will, and what "God putteth in your Mind: But I desire you, and on God's Be-"half I require you, never in my Name to Consent to any such Thing "proposed, either Harmful, or Prejudicial to the Marriage aforesaid; "but expresly to Dissent unto the same: And for your Discharge "on that Behalf, ye may shew, when you think it requisite, this "my particular Declaration of my Mind, made unto you therein: "And what I have willed and required you to do in my Name in "this Point, praying your Lordship not to do otherwise in my "Name, as my singular Trust is in you, that ye will not. Dated from *Aukland* in *January*, but neither Day nor Year are mentioned.

The Session of Parliament in which the Act of the Succession passed, by which the King's Marriage with Queen *Katherine* was condemned, meeting in *January*, this Letter seems to be written

1536.

before that Session; and yet no Opposition was made to that Act in the House of Lords, either by the Bishop of *Ely*, or by the Bishop of *Bath*, whom he had made his Second Proxy as appears by the same Letter, in which he is also named: The Act passed so soon, that it was read the First Time on the 20th of *March*, and passed on the 23d in the House of Lords, without either Dissent or Protest. It is also certain, that *Tonstall* afterwards took the Oath enjoined by that Act. But how these Bishops came to be so silent upon that Occasion, being so solemnly required to do otherwise by *Tonstall*; and how he himself came to change, and to take the Oath, is that of which I can give no Account. It is certain King *Henry* had a very particular Regard for him; but yet by this Letter it appears, that he had some Fears of a Severity aimed at himself: But he was afterwards in all Things very compliant, even to the End of King *Edward*'s Reign.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop*. E. 4.

Complaints of the *Monks* and *Fryars*.

There came up from all Parts of the Kingdom, many Complaints of the ill Behaviour and bad Practices of the *Monks* and *Fryars*: Of the last chiefly, for the *Mendicant* Order being always abroad Begging, they had many more Occasions to shew themselves: And tho' the *Monks* had not those Occasions to be in all Publick Places, yet it was very visible that they were secretly disposing the People to a Revolt. So it was resolved to proceed against them all by degrees: And after the Visitations and Injunctions, which had no great Effect, they began with the smaller Houses, that were not above 200 *l.* a Year: This swept away at once all the *Mendicants*, who were the most Industrious, and by Consequence the most Dangerous.

The Archbishop of *York* clears himself.

The Archbishop of *York* was much suspected; and if many Apologies look like intimations of some Guilt, he had a great deal; for he took many Occasions to justify himself. Upon the Act for taking all the Lesser Monasteries into the King's Hands, he expressed great Zeal in serving the King, which appears in a Letter of his to *Cromwell* in *April* 1536. He gave a strict Commandment to his Archdeacons to warn all in the Monasteries within the Act, not to embezzle, or convey away any Thing belonging to the House: And if they had done any such Thing, to restore it. He ordered them to give warning to all others not to meddle with any such Goods. He had also warned the Mayor of *York* and his Brethren, and the Master of the Mint there, to receive none of the Goods or Plate of these Monasteries: Having thus expressed his Care in that Matter; he made an earnest Suit for Two Places that were of the Patronage of his See. The One was *S. Oswalds*, which was a Free Chapel; the Prior was removeable at the Archbishop's Pleasure, and he might put Secular Priests in it if he Pleased. The other was *Hexham* upon the Borders of *Scotland*, which was once an Episcopal See; and there not being a House between *Scotland* and that Lordship, if that House should go down, there would be a great Waste that would run far into the Country: Whether he obtained these Suits or not, does not appear to me: After that he adds, that he had given Order that no Preachers should be suffered that preached Novelties, and did sow Seeds of Dissention: Some after that they were forbid to preach, did go on, and preach still: He had ordered Process against them; some of

Coll. Numb. 41.

them

them said they would get the King's Licence: If that were done, he must be silent, but he hoped *Cromwell* would hinder that, and give him Notice if they had obtained the King's Licence: Some said they had the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s Licence; but none of these should be obeyed there, none but the King's Licences, and his.

1536.



Upon the many Complaints of Preachers of all sorts, King *Henry* wrote a Circular Letter to all the Bishops on the 12th of *July*, letting them know, that considering the diversity of Opinion in Matters of Religon; he had appointed the Convocation to set forth certain Articles of Religion, most Catholick: But to prevent all Distraction in the Minds of his People, he ordered that till that was published, no Sermons should be preached till *Michaelmas*; unless by the Bishop, or in his Presence, or in his Cathedral, where he is to take care to furnish such as he can Answer for: Every Bishop is therefore required to call in all his Licences for Preaching, and to publish this in the King's Name. He is also required to imprison all those who acted against this Order; and not to suffer any private Conventicles or Disputations about these Matters: To this is added a Direction for the *bidding of Prayers*; that they should pray for departed Souls, that God would grant them the Fruition of his Presence: And a strict Charge is laid on Curates, that when the Articles of Religion shall be sent them, they should read them to their People, without adding or diminishing; excepting only such to whom he shall under his Seal give Power to explain them.

Reg. Heref. Fox Fol. 6.
All Preaching is for some Time prohibited.

The blind Bishop of *Norwich*, *Nix*, was condemned in a Premunire and put out of the King's Protection, for breaking through a Custom that the Town of *Thetford* had enjoyed past all Memory, that no Inhabitant of that Town could be brought into any Ecclesiastical Court, but before the Dean of that Town: Yet that Old and Vicious Bishop cited the Mayor before him, and charged him under the Pain of Excommunication not to admit of that Custom. Upon this, Judgment was given in the Temporal Courts against the Bishop: But he was now received into the King's Protection: In the Pardon mention is made of his being convicted upon the Statute of Provisors. *Stokesly* Bishop of *London* was charged with the Breach of the same Statute, for which he took out a Pardon.

During these Years, *Cromwell* carried no higher Character, than that of Secretary of State: But all Applications were made to him in Ecclesiastical Matters; so whether this was only by Reason of his Credit with the King, or if he was then made *Vicar General*, does not appear to me. But as the King took care to keep all Things quiet at Home, so he set himself to cultivate a particular Friendship with the Princes of the Empire of the *Ausburgh* Confession; hoping by their Means to be able to give the Emperor a Powerful Diversion, if he should go about to execute the Pope's Censures. The King of *France* had been for some Time endeavouring to beget a Confidence of himself in the Minds of those Princes; pretending that he was neither for the Divine, nor the Unbounded Authority that the Popes had assumed, but only he thought it was reasonable to allow them a Primacy in the Church, and to set Limits to that. *Langey* was the Person most employ'd in the managing of this Matter. But when the

Rymer.

A Treaty with the *Lutheran* Princes.

1536. came to understand that the King of *France* had sent for *Melanchthon*, being then at *Langley*. He ordered the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Lord *Rochford* to write to *Cromwell*, commanding him to dispatch *Barnes* immediately to *Germany*; and to use such Diligence, that if it was possible, he might meet *Melanchthon* before he was gone into *France*; and to disswade his going thither, since the *French* King was then persecuting those who did not submit to the Pope's usurped Authority: He was to use all possible Arguments to divert him from going, and to perswade him all he could to come over to *England*; shewing him the Conformity of the King's Opinions with his own, and setting forth the King's Noble and Generous Temper: But if he was gone into *France*, *Barnes* was to go on to the Princes of *Germany*, and *Cromwell* was to send a Messenger with him to be sent back with an Account of the State of Matters among them. He was to engage the Princes to continue firm in the Denial of the Pope's Authority; in which their Honour was deeply concerned: And they might depend upon the King in that Matter, who had proceeded in it with the Advice of the most Part of the Great and Famous Clarks in *Christendom*, from which he would never vary, nor alter his Proceedings. *Barnes* was to carry over a Book written on that Subject, and some Sermons of the Bishops, and to put the Princes on their Guard, as to the *French* King; for he assured them, that both he and his Council were altogether *Papists*.

Barnes sent to them.

Barnes was likewise directed to send *Hains* (afterwards Dean of *Exeter*) and *Christopher Mount* (an Honest *German*, who was long employed by the Crown of *England*) to Sir *John Wallop* the King's Ambassador in *France*, on Pretence that they went as his Friends to Visit him. If *Melanchthon* was in *France*, they were to go secretly to him, to disswade his Stay long there; or his altering his Opinion in any particular. Some Copies of the Book, and the Sermons, were to be carried by them to *France*. If it is true, that the King of *France* was so set to maintain the Pope's Sepremacy, *Wallop* was to represent to him, how contrary that was to his Honour, to Subject himself to the Pope, and to persuade others to do the same; and to charge him that he would remember his Promise to maintain the King's Cause and Proceedings; and since the King did not move the Subjects of any other Prince, why should the *French* King study to draw the *Germans* from their Opinion in that Matter: Which the King thought himself much concerned in, since it was so much against the King's Interest and his own Promise. *Wallop* was to use all Means to incline him rather to be of the King's Opinion. They also ordered *Cromwell* to write to the Bishop of *Aberdeen*, that the King took it very unkindly, that his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, was suing to Marry the Duke of *Vendome*'s Daughter without his Advice: He had proposed it to him before, and then he would not hearken to it. This Negligence the King imputed to that Bishop, and to the rest of the *Scottish* Council: The Letter concludes, that *Barnes* should not be stayed for further Instructions from the Bishop of *Canterbury*. These should be sent afterwards by the Almoner (*Fox*). This Letter will be found in the Collection

Collect. Numb. 42.

This came soon enough to stop *Melanchthon*'s Journey to *France*. The Great Master, and the Admiral of *France*, did not think of any thing with Relation to *Germany*, but of a Civil League, to embroil the Emperor's Affairs. They were against meddling in Points of Religion; and so were against *Melanchthon*'s Coming to *France*. They were afraid, that the *French* Divines and He would not agree; and that might alienate the *German* Princes yet more from the Court of *France*. *Hains* and *Mount* wrote this over from *Rheims*, on the 8th of *August* 1535. It is true, *Langey* was sent to bring him, hoping to meet him at *Wirtemberg*: But He was not come thither; only the Heads of their Doctrine were sent to him. With these he came back to *France*. The King's Divines made some Emendations; which *Langey* said to *Mount*, he believed the *Germans* would submit to: And so he was sent back with a Gold Chain, and Letters to bring *Melanchthon*, and Six other Eminent *German* Divines with him. Of this, *Mount* gave the King Advice, the 7th of *September*, in that Year.

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Melancthon's going to *France* prevented.

Paper-Office.

This whole Matter came to nothing: For *Francis*'s Sister, the Queen of *Navarre*, was the Person who pressed him chiefly to it; hoping by this, once to engage him in some Point of Doctrine, which, as She hoped, might draw on a Rupture with *Rome*: But his Ministers diverted him from all Thoughts of Engaging in Doctrinal Matters; and they put him on Entring into a League with the Princes of the Empire, only with Relation to their Temporal Concerns. Nor were the *German* Princes willing to depart in a Tittle from the *Augsburg* Confession, or enter upon New Treaties about Points that were settled already among them; which might give Occasion to new Divisions among themselves. And no doubt, the King's Interposing in the Matter with such Earnestness, had great Weight with them; so he was delivered from the Alarm that this gave him. But to go on with our King's Affairs in *Germany*.

The *Fr.* King fluctuates.

Fox with *Heath* (on whom *Melanchthon* set a high Value) was sent soon after *Barnes*, to Negotiate with the *Germans*. He had many Conferences with some of their Divines, and entred into a large Treaty about several Articles of Religion, with those of *Wittemberg*, which lasted Three Months, to the Elector's great Charge, and the Uneasiness of the *Germans*.

Seck. l. 3. §. 13. par. 39.

Fox sent to *Germany*.

Melanchthon had dedicated his Commentary on the Epistles to the King; who sent him (upon it) a Present of 200 Crowns, and wrote a Letter to him, full of particular Expressions of Esteem, and Assurances that he would always assist him in those his Pious Labours; dated from *Winchester* the 1st of *October* 1535. *Fox* seemed to assure them, that the King would agree with them in all Things; and told them, that the King had already abolished the Popish Superstitions, which he called the *Babylonish* Tyranny; calling the Pope Antichrist. They of *Wittemberg* insisted on the Abuses of the Mass, and on the Marriage of the Clergy; and took notice, that the King had only taken away some smaller Abuses, while the greatest were still kept up. So that *Melanchthon* wrote on the Margin of their Paper, at this Part of it, in *Greek*, *Nothing Sound*. All this was sent over to the King; but did not at all please him. For, in an Answer

writ-

1536. written by *Cromwell*, these Words are a Part of it. " The King " knowing himself to be the Learnedest Prince in *Europe*, he thought, " it became not him to submit to them; but He expected they " should submit to him. They, on the other Hand, saw the great Advantage of his Protection and Assistance; so that they brought *Luther* to make an humble Submission to him, asking him Pardon for the Manner of his Writing against him; which I find intimated, tho' it never came in my way. They studied also to gain both upon his Vanity, offering him the Title of the *Defender*, or *Protector of their League*; and on his Interest, by Entring into a Close Confederacy with him.

It was an Opinion common enough in that Time, that the Emperor was the Sovereign of *Germany*. *Gardiner*, in several of his Letters, seems to be of that Mind: And upon that Account, he endeavoured to possess the King with a Prejudice against his Treating with them, that it was to animate Subjects, to revolt against their Prince: Whereas, by the Constitution and Laws of the Empire, the Princes had secured to themselves the Right of Coining, Fortifying, Arming, and Entring into Treaties, not only with one another, but with Foreign Princes, for their Defence. A Homage was indeed due to the Emperor; and a much greater Submission was due to the Diet of the Empire: But the Princes were Sovereigns in their own Territories, as the *Hanse* Towns were Free States. *Fox* pressed them to approve of all that the King had done in the Matter of his Divorce, and of his Second Marriage. To which they gave the Answer that I had inserted in my History, among the Transactions of the Year 1530: But the Noble *Seckendorf* shews, that it was sent in the Year 1536. In their Answer, as they excused themselves from giving their Opinion in that Matter, till they were better informed; they added, (which, it seems, was suppressed by *Fox*) " Tho' we do agree with the Ambassadors, that " the Law against Marrying the Brother's Wife ought to be kept; " yet we are in doubt, whether a Dispensation might not take " place in this Case; which the Ambassadors denied. For that Law " cannot oblige us more strictly, than it did the *Jews*: And if a " Dispensation was admitted to them, we think the Bond of Matri- " mony is stronger. *Luther* was vehemently against the Infamy put on the Issue of the Marriage. He thought, the Lady *Mary* was cruelly dealt with, when She was declared a Bastard. Upon Queen *Katherine*'s Death, they earnestly pressed the Restoring her to her former Honour. So true were they to that which was their Principle, without regarding the great Advantage they saw might come to them, from the Protection of so great a King.

His Ambassadors, at that Time, gave these Princes an Advertisement of great Importance to them, that was written over to the King by *Wiat*, then his Ambassador in *Spain*; That the Emperor had, in a passionate Discourse with him, called both the Elector and the Landgrave, his *Enemies*, and *Rebels*. The Truth was, the Elector did not entirely depend on all that *Fox* said to him. He thought the King had only a Political Design in all this Negotiation; intending to bring them into a Dependance on himself, without any sincere

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Intentions with Relation to Religion. So he being resolved to adhere firmly to the *Augsburg* Confession, and seeing no Appearance of the King's agreeing to it, he was very cold in the Prosecution of this Negotiation. But the Princes and States of that Confession, met at this time at *Smalcald*, and settled the Famous *Smalcaldick* League; of which the King's Ambassadors sent him an Authentick Copy, with a Translation of it in *English*; which the Reader will find in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 43.

" By it, *John Frederick*, Elector of *Saxony*, with his Brother " *Ernest*; *Philip*, *Ernest*, and *Francis*, Dukes of *Brunswick*; *Ulric* " Duke of *Wirtemberg*, *Philip* Langrave of *Hesse*, the Dukes of " *Pomeren*; Four Brothers, Princes of *Anhalt*; Two Brothers, " Counts of *Mansfield*; the Deputies of 21 Free Towns; which are not named in any Order, for *Hamburg* and *Lubeck* are the last save one; but, to avoid Disputes, they were named in the Order in which they came, and produced their Powers. " All these did, on " Behalf of themselves and their Heirs, seeing the Dangers of that " Time, and that many went about to disturb those, who suffered " the sincere Doctrine of the Gospel to be preached in their Terri- " tories; and who, abolishing all Abuses, settled such Ceremonies " as were agreeable to the Word of God: From which their Ene- " mies studied to divert them by Force and Violence. And since it " was the Magistrate's Duty, to suffer the sincere Word of God to " be preached to his Subjects, and to provide that they be not vio- " lently deprived of it; therefore, that they might provide for the " Defence of themselves and their People, which is permitted to " every Man, not only by the Law of Nature, but also by the written Laws, they entred into a Christian, Lawful, and Friend- " ly League: By which they bound themselves to favour all of their Body, and to warn them of any imminent Danger; and not to give their Enemies Passage thro' their Territories. This was " only for their own Defence, and not to move any War. So if " any of them should be violently assaulted for the Cause of Reli- " gion, or on any Pretence, in which the rest should judge that Re- " ligion was the true Motive; the rest of the Confederacy were " bound, with all their Force and Power, to defend him who was " so assaulted, in such a Manner, as for the Circumstances of the " Time shall be adjudged: And none of them might make any A- greement, or Truce, without the Consent of the rest. And that " it might not be understood that this was any Prejudice to the Em- " peror their Lord, or to any Part of the Empire; they declare, " that it was only intended to withstand wrongful Violence. They " also resolved to receive all into this Confederacy, who received " the *Augsburg* Confession, and desired to be joined to it. And " whereas the Confederacy made Six Years before, was to deter- " mine on the *Sunday Invocavit* of the following Year; in which " the Princes of *Wirtemberg*, *Pomeren*, and *Anhalt*, and Six of the " Cities were not comprehended; they received them into this Con- " federacy; which was to last for Ten Years after the *Sunday Invo-* " *cavit*: And if any War should be begun, but not finished with- " in these Ten Years, yet it shall be continued till the War is

1536. " brought to an End : But at the End of the Ten Years, it ſhall be " Lawful to the Confederates to prolong it further. And they gave " their Faith to one another, to obſerve this Religiouſly, and ſet " their Seals to it.

On the ſame Day, the King's Anſwer was offered to the Demands the Princes had made : Both which are in the Paper-Office ; and both will be found in the Collection. Their Demands were, "That " the King would ſet forth the true Doctrine of Chriſt, according " to the *Augsburgh* Confeſſion ; and that he would defend that " Doctrine at the next General Council ; if it be Pious, Catho- " lick, Free, and truly Chriſtian : And that neither the King, nor " the Princes and States of that Union, ſhould, without mutual " Conſent, agree to any Indiction of a General Council made by " the Biſhop of *Rome* ; but that if ſuch a Council ſhould be called, " as they had deſired in their Anſwer to *Vergerius*, the Pope's Am- " baſſador, it ſhould not be refuſed : And that if a Council ſhall " be celebrated, to which the King and theſe Princes do not agree, they ſhall (to their Power) oppoſe it : And, that they will " make Proteſtations againſt it ; that they will not obey any Con- " ſtitution made in it, nor ſuffer any Decrees made in it to be obey- " ed ; but will eſteem them Null and Void, and will make their " Biſhops and Preachers declare that to their People. That the " King will aſſociate himſelf to the League, and accept the Name " of the *Defender*, or *Protector* of it. That they will never ſuffer " the Monarchy of the Biſhop of *Rome* to take place ; nor grant " that it is expedient, that he ſhould have Preeminence before all " other Biſhops, or have any Juriſdiction in the Dominions of the " King, and of the Princes. That upon theſe Grounds, they En- " ter into a League with one another. And in Caſe of any War, " either for the Cauſe of Religion, or any other Cauſe whatſoever, " that they ſhould not aſſiſt thoſe who begin any ſuch War. " That the King ſhall lay down a Hundred Thouſand Crowns ; " which it ſhall be Lawful to the Confederates to make uſe of, as " a Moiety of that which they themſelves ſhall contribute : And " if need be, in any Cauſe of urgent Neceſſity, to contribute Two " Hundred Thouſand Crowns ; they joining as much of their own " Money to it. And if the War ſhall end ſooner, than that all " the Money is employed in it, what remains ſhall be reſtored to " the King. And they aſſured him, that they ſhould not convert " this Money to any other Uſe, but to the Defence of the Cauſe of " Religion, together with their own Money. And ſince the King's " Ambaſſadors were to remain ſome Time in *Germany*, diſpu- " ting with their Learned Men about ſome Points ; they de- " ſire, that they may know the King's Mind ; and that he " will ſignify it to the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Landgrave " of *Heſſe*. And then the Princes will ſend their Ambaſſadors, and " a Learned Man with them, to Confer with the King, about the " Articles of Doctrine, and the Ceremonies of the Church.

Coll. Numb. 44.

To theſe the King ſent Two different Anſwers one after another. " The Firſt, that will be found in the Collection, was, That the King " intended to ſet forth the True Doctrine of Chriſt, which he was " ready to defend with Life and Goods : But that he being reckon-

Collect. Numb. 45.

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" ed somewhat Learned, and having many Learned Men in his
" Kingdom, he could not think it meet to accept at any Creatures
" Hand what should be his Faith, or his Kingdoms; The only
" Ground of which was in Scripture; with which he desired they
" would not be grieved: But that they would send over some
" of their Learned Men to confer with him, and his Learned Men,
" to the Intent that they might have a perfect Union in Faith: He
" would also join with them in all General Councils, that were Ca-
" tholick, Free, and held in a Safe Place, for the Defence of the
" True Doctrine of the Gospel: And as for Ceremonies, there may
be such a Diversity in these used thro' the Whole World, that he
" thought that ought to be left to the Governors of the several Do-
" minions, who know best what is convenient for themselves: He
" agreed that neither he, nor they, should accept of the Indiction of a Ge-
" neral Council, but by all their Mutual Consent; but that if such a Free
" Council may be held in a Safe Place, it shall not be refused. The King
" did not think fit to accept the Title offered by them till first
" they should be thoroughly agreed upon the Articles of Doctrine:
" But that being once done, he would thankfully accept of it. To
" that of a Defensive League, he added One Clause, that they
" should not suffer any of their Subjects to serve those who set on
" them in any such War: He thought it not reasonable that he
" should bear any Share of the Wars already past, (which it seems
" was secretly mentioned, though not expressed in their Demands)
" but for the future, he was willing to contribute 100000 Crowns
" as they desire. Upon further considering their Demands, the
" King sent a Second and fuller Answer, which will be likewise
" found in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 46.

" It begins with very tender Expressions of the Sense the King had
" of their Benevolence to him, and of their Constancy in adhering
" to the Truth of the Gospel: He acknowledges the Goodness of
" God in giving them such Stedfastness and Strength. Their wondrous
" Vertues had so ravished the King, that he was determined to con-
" tinue in a Correspondence of Love with them on all Occasions.
Then follow some Explanations of the former Memorial, but not
very important, nor differing much from it: Only he lets them know,
" That it was not for any private Necessity of his own, that he was
" moved to join in League with them: For by the Death of a Wo-
" man, all Calumnies were extinct (this is meant of Queen *Anne*)
" so that neither the Pope nor the Emperor, nor any other Prince,
" had then any Quarrel with him: Yet that they might know his
" good Affection to them, he would contribute the Sum they desired,
" and upon the Terms they proposed: Only on his Part he demand-
" ed of them that in Case any Prince invaded his Dominions on the
" Account of Religion, that they would furnish him, at their Ex-
" pence, with 500 Horsemen compleatly armed, or 10 Ships well
" arrayed for War, to serve for Four Months: And that it should
" be at the King's Choice whether Horse, or Ships: And that they
should retain at the King's Charge such a Number of Horse and
Foot as the King should need, not exceeding the Number of 200
" Horse, and 5000 Foot: Or instead of the Foot, 12 Ships in Or-
" der, with all Things necessary: Which the King might keep in

1536. " his Service, as long as he pleased: And last of all, that the Con-
" federates will promise in all Councils, and every where else, to
" promote and defend the Opinion that Dr. *Martin* (so they named
" *Luther*) *Justus Jonas*, *Cruciger*, *Pomeran*, and *Melanchton* had of
" his Marriage. This Negotiation sunk to a great Degree upon Queen *Ann*'s Tragical Fall: And as the King thought they were no more necessary to him, so they saw his Intractable Humour, and had no hope of succeeding with him, unless they would have allowed him a Dictatorship in Matters of Religion; yet to end all this Negotiation at once,

The Elector of *Saxony*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse* wrote a Letter to the King, which will be found in the Collection, taken from the Original, occasioned by Pope *Paul* the IIId's summoning a "General Council to meet at *Mantua* on the 23d of *May*, upon "which the Emperor had sent Messengers to them, to give them "Notice of it, and to require them to come to it, either in Person, "or by their Proctors: But though they had always desired a Council for the Reforming of those Abuses, that had continued so long, "by the Negligence, or Corruption of Popes and Prelates; yet in "this Bull, the Pope clearly insinuates that he will not suffer "the restoring of True Doctrine, or the correcting of Abuses, to be "treated of, but that their Doctrine without any Examination was "to be condemned with Infamy: He also endeavoured to oblige all "by the receiving of his Bull, without taking Cognizance of the "Matter, to extirpate and destroy the Doctrine they professed: So "that if they had accepted the Bull, they had seemed to be involved "in that Design. They therefore told the Emperor's Minister, that "they looked on that Bull as Unjust and Pernicious; and they desired he would let the Emperor know that they could not accept "of it. They did not doubt but the Pope, or his Party, about the "King, would upon this Occasion pretend, that the Pope had done "his Duty, and would study to load them with ill Characters: So "they thought it necessary to justify themselves to the King, and "other Princes on this Occasion.

Coll. Numb. 47.

"They sent over with this a full Vindication of their Proceedings, "which they desired the King would read, and that he would consider not only the present Danger of the *Germans*, but the Common Concern of the Whole Church, in which it was visible that "all good Discipline was lost, and that Great and Worthy Men had "wished and desired that some received Abuses, that could not be "denied, might be amended: Therefore they recommend the Cause "of the Church, and their own Cause to his Care. This is dated the 25th of *March* 1537.

Ihave in my other Work given an Account of the Ambassadors whom they sent into *England*, of the Representations they made, and of a full Paper that they offered to the King: To all which I have nothing now to add, but that I have found a Letter of *Cranmer*'s to *Cromwell*, which I have put in the Collection, in which he complains of the backwardness of the Bishops. The Ambassadors hrd been desired to tarry one Month, that their Book might be considered; but though he moved them to treat about it, as they had done upon other Articles; they answered him they knew the King had

Coll. Numb. 48.

had taken it on himself to answer them; and that a Book to that End was already devised by him: Therefore they would not meddle with the Abuses complained of. The Bishops desired that the Archbishop would go on to treat of the Sacraments of Matrimony, Orders, Confirmation, and Extream Unction, in which they knew certainly that the *Germans* would not agree with them, except only in Matrimony. "He saw the Bishops were seeking an Occasion to break the "Concord: And that nothing would be done, unless there came a "special Command from the King. They saw they could not defend "the Abuses, and yet thy would not yield that Point: He com-"plains likewise that the Ambassadors were very ill lodged: Mul-"titudes of Rats were running in their Chambers Day and Night, "and their Kitchin was so near their Parlour, that the Smell was "Offensive to all that came to them. He wishes that a more con-"venient House might be offered them.

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It is true the King used them with a particular Civility, and spoke to them before all his Court in a most obliging Manner: And often wished that *Melanchton* might be sent over to him. *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* used them with all possible Kindness. *Cranmer* wrote often by them to the Elector, exhorting him to continue firm and zealous for the Truth and Purity of the Gospel: But under all the shews of the King's Favour, they understood that his Heart was turned from them. He wrote, when he dismissed them, to the Elector, in Terms full of Esteem for their Ambassadors: "Not doubting but "good Effects would follow on this beginning of Conferences "with them: But the Matter being of the greatest Importance, it "ought to be very maturely considered. He again desired that *Me-*"*lanchton* might be sent over to him, that he might treat with "him, promising that he would apply himself wholly to what be-"came a Christian Prince to pursue. Dated the First of *October* 1538. During this Embassy there was an Anabaptist seized by the Landgrave of *Hesse*; in whose Papers they found that he had some Followers in *England*, that he had hopes of great Success there; and was designing to go thither, but he said he was forbidden by the Spirit: Upon this they wrote an Account of all they found to the King, and gave him a Description of the Anabaptists of *Germany*. They were much spread through *Frisia* and *Westphalia*, and in the *Netherlands*; chiefly in those Places where none of their Preachers were tolerated. The not baptizing Infants was the known Character of the Party; but with this, they were for a Community of Goods: They condemned all Magistracy, and all Punishing of Crimes, which they thought was a Revenge forbidden by Christ: They condemned all Oaths, and were against all Order and Government. They seemed to be *Manicheans* in Religion: They despised the Scriptures, and pretended to particular Illuminations; and allowed both Poligamy and Divorce at a Man's Pleasure: And wheresoever their Numbers increased, they broke out into Sedition and Rebellion. They wrote all this to the King in a Letter, that by the Stile is believed to be penned by *Melanchton*, both to let him see how far they themselves were from Favouring such Corruptions, and to put the King on his Guard against them.

Seck. L. 3. *Par.* 66.

Here Ends this Negotiation; for I find no Mark of any further

1536. Commerce between them : And though this run out far beyond the Year 1535, in which it was begun, yet I thought it best to lay it all together, and so to dismiss it. The unlooked for Accidents that happ'ned in *England*, had wrought much on the King's Temper ; his own Inclinations were still byassing him to adhere to the Old Opinions and Practices ; and the Popish Party watched and improved all Advantages, of which a very signal one happ'ned soon to their great Joy.

Cott. Libr. *Otho.* C. 10.

Queen *Katherine*, or as she was called the Princess Dowager, died First. I have nothing to add concerning her, but that I fell on a Report of a Conversation that Sir *Edmond Bedingfield*, and Mr. *Tyrrel*, had with her ; in which she solemnly protested to them, that Prince *Arthur* never knew her Carnally, and insisted much on it ; and said many others were assured of it. But on the contrary, *Bedingfield* urged very fully all the Probabilities that were to the contrary: And said, that whatever she said on that Subject, it was little believed, and it seemed not credible. The Tragedy of Queen *Anne* followed soon after this: It broke out on the First of *May* 1536, but it seems it was concerted before ; for a Parliament was summoned, at least the Writs were tested the 27th of *April* before.

Meteren Hist. des Pags bas L. 1. F. 20.

There is a long Account of her Sufferings given by *Meteren*, in that Excellent History that he wrote of the Wars in the *Netherlands*, which he took from a full Relation of it, given by a *French* Gentleman, *Crispin*, who was then in *London*, and as *Meteren* relates the Matter, wrote without Partiality. He begins it thus. " There " was a Gentleman who blamed his Sister for some Lightness that " appeared in her Behaviour: She said the Queen did more then she " did ; for she admitted some of her Court to come into her Chamber " at undue Hours : And named the Lord *Rochford*, *Norris*, *Weston*, " *Brereton*, and *Smeton* the Musician : And she said to her Brother, " that *Smeton* could tell much more : All this was carried to the King.

When the Matter broke out on the First of *May*, the King who loved *Norris*, sent for him, and said, if he would confess those Things with which the Queen was charged, he should neither suffer in his Person, nor his Estate ; nor so much as be put in Prison : But if he did not confess, and were found Guilty, he should suffer the Extremity of the Law. *Norris* answered, he would much rather Die than be guilty of such Falshood : That it was all False, which he was ready to justify in a Combat against any Person whatsoever : So he was sent with the rest to the *Tower* : The Confession of *Smeton* was all that was brought against the Queen : He, as was believ'd, was prevailed on to accuse her : Yet he was condemned contrary to the Promise that had been made him : But it was pretended that his Crime was, that he had told his Suspicions to others, and not to the King : and when it was alledg'd that one Witness was not sufficient, it was answered that it was sufficient. He adds that the Queen was try'd in the *Tower* ; and that she defended her Honour, and Modesty, in such a way, as to soften the King (for she knew his Temper) by such Humble Deportment, to Favour her Daughter. She was brought to her Trial without having any Advocate allow'd her ; having none but her Maids about her. A Chair was set for her, and she looked to all her Judges with a chearful Countenance, as she made her Curtsies to them, without any Fear : She behaved

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her self as if she had been still Queen: She spoke not much in her own Defence; but the Modesty of her Countenance pleaded her Innocence, much more than the Defence that She made; so that all who saw or heard her, believed her Innocent. Both the Magistrates of *London*, and several others who were there, said, they saw no Evidence against her; only it appear'd, that they were resolv'd to be rid of her.

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She was made to lay aside all the Characters of her Dignity: Which She did willingly; but still protested her Innocence. When She heard the Sentence, that She was to be beheaded, or burnt, She was not terrified; but lifted up her Hands to God, and said; "O "Father! O Creator! Thou, who art the Way, the Truth, and "the Life; thou knowest that I have not deserved this Death. And turning her self to her Judges, (her Uncle, the Duke of *Norfolk*, being the Lord High Steward) She said, "My Lords, I will "not say that your Sentence is unjust; nor presume, that my Opi-"nion ought to be preferred to the Judgment of you all. I believe "you have Reasons, and Occasions of Suspicion and Jealousy, upon "which you have condemned me: But they must be other, than "those that have been produced here in Court; for I am entirely "innocent of all these Accusations; so that I cannot ask Pardon "of God for them. I have been always a Faithful and Loyal Wife "to the King. I have not, perhaps, at all times shewed him that "Humility and Reverence, that his Goodness to me, and the Honour "to which he raised me, did deserve. I confess, I have had Fan-"cies and Suspicions of him, which I had not Strength nor Dis-"cretion enough to manage: But God knows, and is my Witness, "that I never failed otherwise towards him: And I shall never con-"fess any other, at the Hour of my Death. Do not think that "I say this, on Design to prolong my Life: God has taught me "to know how to Die; and he will fortify my Faith. Do not "think that I am so carried in my Mind, as not to lay the Honour "of my Chastity to Heart; of which I should make small Account "now in my Extremity, if I had not maintained it my whole Life "long, as much as ever Queen did. I know, these my last Words "will signify nothing, but to justifie my Honour and my Chasti-"ty. As for my Brother, and those others, who are unjustly con-"demned, I would willingly suffer many Deaths, to deliver "them: But since I see it so pleases the King, I must willingly bear "with their Death, and shall accompany them in Death, with this "Assurance, that I shall lead an Endless Life with them in Peace. She said all this, and a great deal more: And then, with a modest Air, She rose up, and took Leave of them all. Her Brother, and the other Gentlemen, were executed first. "He exhorted those "who suffered with him, to Die without Fear; and said to those "that were about him, that he came to Die, since it was the "King's Pleasure that it should be so. He exhorted all Persons, "not to trust to Courts, States and Kings, but in God only. He "had deserved a heavier Punishment for his other Sins; but not "from the King, whom he had never offended. Yet he prayed "God to give him a long, and a good Life. With him, all the rest "suffer'd a Death, which they had no way deserved. *Mark Sneton*

1536. "only confessed, he had deserved well to die: Which gave Occasion "to many Reflections.

"When the Queen heard, how her Brother and the other Gentle-"men had suffered, and had sealed her Innocence with their own "Blood; but that *Mark* had confess'd, he deserved to die; She broke "out into some Passion, and said; Has he not then clear'd me of "that publick Shame he has brought me to? Alas! I fear, his Soul "suffers for it, and that he is now punished for his false Ac-"cusation. But for my Brother, and those others, I doubt not, but "they are now in the Presence of that Great King, before whom I "am to be To-morrow.

It seems, that Gentleman knew nothing of the Judgment, that passed at *Lambeth*, Annulling the Marriage: For it was transacted secretly. It could have no Foundation, or Colour, but from that Story mention'd in *Cavendish*'s Life of *Wolsey*, of the Lord *Percy*'s Addresses to her. He was now examined upon that: But it will appear from his Letter to *Cromwell*, that he solemnly purged both Himself and Her, from any Precontract; being examined upon Oath by the Two Archbishops: And that he received the Sacrament upon it, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, and some of the King's Council that were Learned in the Spiritual Law; assuring them by his Oath, and by the Sacrament that he had received, and intended to receive, that there was never any Contract, or Promise of Marriage, between Her and Him. This he wrote on the 13th of *May*, Four Days before the Queen's Execution; which will be found in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 49.

This shews plainly, that She was prevailed on, between Fear and Hope, to confess a Precontract, the Person not being named.

The *French* Gentleman gives the same Account of the Manner of her Death, and of her Speech, that all the other Writers of that Time do. "When She was brought to the Place of Execution, within the *Tower*, he says, her Looks were Chearful; and She never appeared more Beautiful, than at that Time. She said to those about "her, Be not sorry to see me die thus; but pardon me from your Hearts, that I have not expressed to all about me, that Mildness "that became me; and that I have not done that Good, that was in my Power to do. She prayed for those who were the Procu-"rers of her Death. Then, with the Aid of her Maids, She undres-"sed her Neck with great Courage, and so ended her Days.

This long Recital I have translated out of *Meteren*; for I do not find it taken Notice of by any of our Writers. I leave it thus, without any other Reflections upon it, but that it seems all over credible.

Thevet, a *Franciscan* Fryar, who, for 17 or 18 Years, had wandred up and down *Europe*, to prepare Materials for his Cosmography, (which he published in the Year 1563,) says, that many *English* Gentlemen assured him, that King *Henry* expressed great Repentance of his Sins, being at the Point of Death; and, among other Things, of the Injury and the Crime committed against Queen *Anne Bullen*, who was falsly accused, and convicted of that which

Cosmog. L. 16.

was laid to her Charge. It is true, *Thuanus* has very much disgraced that Writer, as a vain and ignorant Plagiary: But he having been of the Order that suffered so much for their Adhering to Queen *Katherine*, is not to be suspected of Partiality for Queen *Anne*. We must leave those Secrets to the Great Day.

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It may be easily believed, that both the Pope and the Emperor, as they were glad to be freed from the Obligation they seemed to be under to protect Queen *Katherine*, so Queen *Anne*'s Fall, gave them a great deal of ill-natured Joy. The Pope, upon the first News of her Disgrace, sent for *Cassali*, expressing a great deal of Pleasure upon the Queen's Imprisonment; and, at the same time, spoke very honourably of the King. "He hoped, upon these Emergents, all "Matters would be brought to a good Agreement; and that the "King would reconcile himself to the See, by which he would be"come the Arbiter of all *Europe*. He told *Cassali*, that he knew "how good an Instrument he was in Pope *Clement*'s Time; and "what Pains he took, both with the Pope and the Emperor, to prevent the Breach. He added, That the Naming of *Fisher* to "be a Cardinal, was so pressed on him, that he could not decline it. He desired, *Cassali* would try, how any Messenger that he "might send to the King, would be received: For, as soon as he knew that, he would send one immediately. Of all this, *Cassali* wrote an Account to the King.

At the same Time, *Pace* gave him an Account of a long Conversation he had with the Emperor on the same Subject: For he was then the King's Ambassador in that Court. "The Emperor excused "his Adhering to his Aunt, whom he could not in Honour for"sake: But at the same time, he said, he abhorred the Pope's Bull, for Deposing the King; and he was so far from any Thoughts of Executing it, that he commanded it to be suppressed in his Domi"nions: Nor did he encourage, as was suspected, the King of *Scot*"*land* to undertake to execute it. He imputed the Breach that "had been made between him and the King, to the *French* King; "who, he said, was like an Eel in a Man's Hand, ready to forsake "him, *and even to renounce God, who, he believed, had given him* "*over to a Reprobate Mind.* He was resolved now to return to his "Old Friendship with the King, and he would not hearken to Inti"mations given him by the Agent of *France*, that the King had "poisoned his Aunt. He pressed him to Legitimate the Princess "*Mary*. He might do that; without Owning the Lawfulness of "the Marriage; which was a Point, in which he would stir no "more. She was born in a Marriage in Fact, and *bona fide*; and "in many Cases, in which Marriages had been dissolved, yet the Legi"timacy of the Issue was often secured.

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 14.

Of all this *Pace* gave the King an Account; and pressed, with some Vehemence, the Legitimating the Princess. The Emperor was then going to *Rome*; so King *Henry* intended to join *Cassali* with *Pace*, in his Embassy to the Emperor. *Pace* begged that might not be done; expressing a great Aversion to him, as being a base and a perverse Man. It is plain, *Pace* pressed the King much, to think of being reconciled to the Pope. Cardinal *Ghinucci* offered

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 14.

1536. his Service again to the King with Expressions full of Zeal. *Grandvill* also entered with *Cassali* upon the same Subject: But *Cassali* wrote to the King, that he did not at all meddle in that Matter. The Emperor went to *Rome*, and *Pace* followed him thither. The King sent a Dispatch to *Pace*, which will be found in the Collection: Telling him of the Motion that the Emperor's Ambassador made to him for returning to the old Friendship with their Master: They also made him some Overtures in order to it. First, The Emperor would be a Mean to reconcile him to the Bishop of *Rome*: He also hoped that the King would contribute towards the War against the *Turk*; and that since there was an old Defensive League between them, and since it seemed that the *French* King intended to invade the Dutchy of *Milan*, he expected the King would assist him according to that League.

Paper-Office. Coll. Numb. 50.

The King answered that coldly.

To all this the King answered, "That the Interruption of their "Friendship proceeded from the Emperor, who had made him ill "Returns for the Services he had done him. For he pretends he "made him first King of *Spain*, and then Emperor: When the Em- "pire was at his Disposition, he had furnished him with Money; so "that he ought to thank the King only for all the Honour he was ad- "vanced to: But in lieu of that, he had shewed great Ingratitude to "the King, and had not only contemned his Friendship, but had set "on all the ill Usage he had met with from the Bishop of *Rome*; "which, as he understood, he owed chiefly to him: Yet such was "the King's Zeal for Concord among Christian Princes, and such "was his Nature, that he could continue his Displeasure against no "Man, when the Cause of it was once removed: So if the Emperor "would desire him to forget all that was passed, and would purge "himself of all particular Unkindness to him, he would be willing to "return to their old Friendship: But he having received the Injuries, "would not sue for a Reconciliation, nor treat upon the Foot of the "old Leagues between them, till the Reconciliation should be first "made, and that without any Conditions: When that was done, he "would answer all his reasonable Desires.

He refuses any Treaty with the Pope.

"But as for the Bishop of *Rome*, he had not proceeded on such "slight Grounds, that he could in any sort depart from what he had "done: Having founded himself on the Laws of God; of Nature, "and Honesty, with the Concurrence of his Parliament. There "was a Motion made to him from that Bishop for a Reconciliation, "which he had not yet embraced, nor would he suffer it to be com- "passed by any other Means: And therefore he would not take it in "good part, if the Emperor would insist in that Matter, for the Satis- "faction of the Bishop of *Rome*, that was his Enemy; or move him to alter that, which was already determined against his Authority. When there was a General Peace among Christian Prin- "ces, he would not be wanting to give an Aid against the *Turk*; "but till the Friendship between the Emperor and him was quite "made up, he would treat of nothing with Relation to the King of "*France*: when that was done, he would be a Mediator between "them. This was the Answer given to the Emperor's Ambassador;

"which

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" which was communicated to *Pace*, that in Case he had any Dis-
" course with the Emperor on the Subject, he should seem only to
" have a General Knowledge of the Matter, but should talk with
" him suitably to these Grounds; encouraging the Emperor to pur-
" sue what he had begun, and extolling the King's Nature and Cou-
" rage, with his Inclination to satisfy his Friends, when he was
" not too much pressed: That would hurt and stop good Purposes:
" And he Orders him to speak with *Grandvel* of it, of whom it
" seems he had a good Opinion, and that he should Represent to the
" Emperor the Advantage that would follow, on the Renewing their
" Old Friendship, but not to Clog it with Conditions; for what-
" ever the King might be afterwards brought to upon their Friend-
" ship, when made up, the King would not suffer it to be loaded
" with them: For the King had suffered the Injury: But he was
" ordered to say all this, as of himself, and *Pace* was ordered to go
" to Court and put himself in *Grandvel*'s way, that he might have
" Occasion to enter upon these Subjects with him. Thus that Mat-
ter was put in a Method; so that in a little Time, the Friendship seemed to be entirely made up.

Proceedings in Convocation.

The King would never hearken to a Reconciliation with the Pope. On the contrary, he went on in his Design of Reforming Matters in *England*. In the Convocation, in the Year 1536, *Cromwell* came and demanded a Place as the King's Vicar-General; the Archbishop assigned him the Place next above himself: On the 21st of *June*, the Archbishop laid before the House the Sentence Definitive of the Nullity of the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne*, which *Cromwell* desired they would approve: It was approv'd in the Upper-House, and sent down to the Lower, in which it was also approved. On the 23d of *June*, the Prolocutor with the Clergy, offered a Book to the Upper-House, in which they set forth a Collection of many Ill Doctrines that were publickly preached within the Province: On the 28th of *June*, the Confirmation of the Decree concerning the King's last Marriage was subscribed by both Houses. On the 11th of *July*, the Book concerning the Articles of Faith, and the Ceremonies, was brought in by the Bishop of *Hereford*, and was signed by both Houses. These were also signed by the Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishop of *Duresme*. On the 20th of *July*, the Bishop of *Hereford*, brought another Book containing the Reasons why the King ought not to appear in a Council, summoned by the Pope to meet at *Mantua*: This was likewise agreed to, and subscribed by both Houses. I have nothing New to add to the Account I have given in my History of the other Proceedings in Matters of Religion this Year; in which no Convocation sate at *York*. There are several Draughts of these Articles that are in several Places corrected by the King's own Hand: Some of the Corrections are very long and very material: Of these only it was that I meant, and not of the engrossed, and signed Articles themselves, when I said they were corrected by the King; as I have been misunderstood.

Pole made a Cardinal.

By these Steps it appearing clearly, that the King had no Thoughts of a Reconciliation with *Rome*, the Pope on his Part resolved to create him as much Trouble as he could. *Pole* had been sent over

1536. from *England* to *Paris*, while the Suit of Divorce was in dependance: He was particularly recommended by the Bishop of *Bayonne*, in one of his Letters to *Montmorency*, as a Person of great Hopes, and much favoured by the King: He came after that to *England*: For he tells himself that he was in *England*, while the Point of the *Supreme Headship* was in Debate. He says he was then absent, which shews that at that Time he was contented to be silent in his Opinion, and that he did not think fit to oppose what was doing. He was afterwards suffered to go and settle at *Padua*, where the Gravity of his Deportment, that was above his Age, and the Sweetness of his Temper, made him be very much considered. He was still supported from *England*, whether only out of his Deanry of *Exeter*, or by any farther special Bounty of the King's, is not certain. In several Letters from *Padua*, he acknowledges the King's Bounty and Favour to him, and in one he desires a farther Supply. He being commanded by the King to do it, wrote over his Opinion concerning his Marriage: The King sent it to *Cranmer* before his being sent out of *England*: For that Faithful and Diligent Searcher into the Transactions of those Times, Mr. *Strype*, has published the Letter that he wrote upon it; the Year is not added, but the Date being the 13th of *June*, it must be before he was sent out of *England*, this being writ before he was consecrated; for he subscribes *Cranmer*, and upon his Return he was consecrated long before *June*. It is Written to the Earl of *Wiltshire*: He mentions *Pole*'s Book, and commends both the Wit and Eloquence of it very highly: He thinks if it should come abroad, it would not be possible to stand against it. *Pole*'s chief Design in it, was to persuade the King to submit the Matter wholly to the Pope. In it,

He Wrote First against the Divorce.

" He set forth the Trouble that might follow upon the Diversity " of Titles to the Crown, of which the Wars upon the Titles of " *Lancaster* and *York*, had given them a sad Warning. All that, was " now healed, and therefore Care should be taken not to return to the " like Misery. He could never agree to the Divorce, which must " destroy the Princesses Title, and accuse the King of Living so long " in a Course of Incest, against the Law of God and of Nature. " This would increase the Hatred the People began to bear to Priests, " if it should appear that they had so long approved that which is " found now to be unlawful. As for the Opinions of the Univer- " sities, it was known they were often led by Affections: And that " they were brought over with great Difficulty to declare for the " King: But he sets in Opposition to them, the King's Father and " his Council, the Queen's Father and his Council, and the Pope " and his Council: It could not be expected that the Pope would " condemn the Act of his Predecessor, or consent to the Abridging " his own Power, and do that which would raise Sedition in many " Kingdoms, particularly in *Portugal*. He next shews the Empe- " ror's Power, and the Weakness of *France*, that the prohibiting our " Trade to the *Netherlands* would be very ruinous, and that the " *French* were never to be trusted: They never kept their Leagues " with us: For neither do they Love us, nor do we Love them: " And if they find their Aid necessary to *England*, they will charge " it with intolerable Conditions. This is the Substance of that Let-

ter.

ter. So that at this Time *Pole* wrote only to perswade the King by Political Considerations to submit wholly to the Pope's Judgment. The Matter rested thus for some Time: But when the Breach was made, and all was past reconciling, then *Cromwell* wrote to him by the King's Order, to declare his Opinion with relation to the King's Proceedings. Upon this Reason only he wrote his Book, as he set forth in a Paper of Instructions given to One to be shewed to the King, which will be found in the Collection. In which he writes, "That he thinks if it had not been for that, he had never meddled "in the Matter, seeing so little hope of Success; and that he had "Reason to think that what he should write, would not be acceptable. "They had sent unto him from *England* the Books Written on the "contrary Part: But he said he found many Things suppressed in "these; and all the Colours that could be invented were set upon "untrue Opinions. Besides, what had followed was grievous, both "in the Sight of God, and in the Judgment of the Rest of *Christendom*: And he apprehending yet worse Effects, both with Relation "to the King's Honour, and the Quiet of his Realm, did upon that "resolve to employ all the Wit and Learning that God had given "him, to set forth the Truth, and to shew the Consequences of those "ill Opinions. He hoped that what he Wrote on the Subject would "fully satisfy all that would Examine it. This he did, in hopes "that the King, whom God had suffered to be carried away from "those Opinions that he had the Honour formerly to maintain, "would yet by the Goodness of God, be recovered out of the Evil "Way he was then in.

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Sends one to the King with Instructions.

"There were great Instances of such Cases in Scripture, in the "Stories of *David* and *Solomon*; the last particularly, who not-"withstanding the Gift of Wisdom, that he had from God, yet fell "into Idolatry. So though the King was not fallen from the true "Doctrine of Christ, yet as *David*, when in a State of Sin, was by "a Prophet sent to him from God, brought to true Repentance, and "restored to the Favour of God, he hoped he might by the Grace "of God, be an Instrument to bring the King to a better Sense of "Things. Therefore as he set himself to study the Matter, so he "prayed earnestly to God to manifest the Truth to him: In which "he hoped God had heard his Prayer; so he looked for good Success: "And that he might make the King apprehend the Danger he was in, "both fron his own People, who hated Innovations in Religion, "and from other Princes, to whose Honour it belongs to defend the "Laws of the Church against all other Princes who impugn them; "and to make the King more Apprehensive of this, he had as in his own "Person brought out all such Reasons as might provoke People, or "Princes against him, since he was departing from the Course in "which he had begun. These Reasons, if read a-part, without "considering the Purpose he proposed, of representing to the King "the Danger to which he was exposing himself, might make one "think, from his Vehemence of Style in that Argument, that he "was the King's greatest Enemy; but the Reading the whole Book "will shew what his Intent in it all was. The Book was too long "for the King to read: He desired therefore that he would order

1536. " ſome Learned and Grave Man to read it, and to declare his Judgment
" upon it, he being bound with an Oath of Fidelity, firſt to God,
" and then to the King, to do it without Affection on either Part.
" He named particularly *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, whom he
" eſteemed both for Learning and Fidelity to the King, above any
" other he knew. After *Tonſtall* had firſt examined it, the King
" may refer the further Examination of it, to ſuch other Perſons
as he may think fit; he was likewiſe reſolved that his Book ſhould
" never come abroad, till the King had ſeen it.

" In theſe Inſtructions, he mentions that he had ſent another Book
" to the King concerning his Marriage: But in that he was diſap-
" pointed of his Intent, as the Bearer might inform him, who knew
" the whole Matter. And ſince God had detected her, who had
" been the Occaſion of all the Errors the King had been led into;
" it was the Hope of all who loved him, that he would now come
to himſelf, and take that Diſcovery as a Favourable Admonition
" of God, to conſider better the Opinion of thoſe who diſſented
" from that Marriage, as ſeeing the great Diſhonour and Danger
" like to follow on it: He wiſhed the King would look on that, as
" a Warning to return to the Unity of the Church: He was ſenſible
" nothing but the Hand of God could work a Change in the King's
" Mind; and when that ſhould be done, it would be one of the
" greateſt Miracles that the World had ſeen for ſome Ages; with
" the moſt ſignal [illegible]ters of God's Favour to him, which would
" deliver him out of the very great Dangers, that muſt follow upon
" the Meeting of a General Council: Whereas, if he ſhould Return
" to the Unity of the Church, no Prince would appear in that
" Aſſembly with more Honour, than would be paid to him, if he
ſhould return: Even his Fall would prove a Great Bleſſing to the
Church, and tend to the Reformation of the Whole, and to the
" Manifeſtation of the Honour of God. It would then appear that
God had ſuffered him to Fall, to make him Riſe with more Honour,
" to the greater Wealth, not only of his own Realm, but of the
" Whole Church beſides: With theſe Inſtructions he ſent a private
" Letter to *Tonſtall* from *Venice*, dated *Corpus Chriſti* Eve.

When his Book againſt the Divorce came firſt to *England*; he was written to in the King's Name, to come over and explain ſome Things in it: But he excuſed himſelf; he pretended the Love of Retirement, and of the Noble Company with whom he lived, in an eaſy and learned Friendſhip there. Eloquence ſeems to be that which he turned his Mind moſt to; for in every Thing he wrote, there is much more of Declamation, than of Argument.

Tonſtall being thus provoked by *Pole*, and commanded by the King, wrote a full and ſolid Anſwer to him, on the 13th of *July* 1536, which will be found in the Collection. " He acknow-
" ledged he had received his Letter, as the King has received his
" Book; in which he deſired that the Reading of it, might be firſt
" put upon him: He had read both his Letter and his long Book,
" and was truly grieved as he read it: Seeing both the Vehemence
" of his Stile, and that he miſrepreſented the whole Matter, as if the
" King was ſeparated from the Church. He wiſhed he had rather
" written

Coll. Numb. 52.

Tonſtall writes Copiouſly to him.

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" written his Opinion privately, in a Letter to the King, which
" might have been read by himself, and not have enlarged him-
" self into so great a Book, which must be communicated and seen
" of others. What Stupidity was it, to send so long a Book so great
a Way, by one who might have miscarried in it; and so the Book
" might have fallen into the Hands of those, who would have pub-
lished it to the Slander of the King and the Kingdom; but most
" of all to his own; for his Ingratitude to the King, who had
bred him up to that Learning, which was now used against him;
" in whose Defence he ought to have spent both Life and Learn-
" ing; he advised him to burn all that he had written on that Subject.
" There appeared a Strain of Bitterness in his whole Book, that was
" very unbecoming him. He then comes to the Argument, to shew
" that the King, by the Title of the *Supreme Head*, did not Separate
" himself, nor his Church, from the Unity of the whole Body.
" The King did not take upon him the Office belonging to Spi-
" ritual Men, the Cure of Souls; nor that which belongs to
" the Priesthood, to Preach the Word of God, and to Minister the
" Sacraments. He knew what belonged to his own Office as King,
" and what belonged to the Priest's Office: No Prince esteemed Spi-
" ritual Men, that were given to Learning and Virtue, more than he
" did. His only Design was, to see the Laws of God sincerely
" preached, and Christ's Faith (without Blot) observed in his King-
" dom; and to reduce his Church out of the Captivity of Foreign
" Powers, (formerly usurped) into the State in which all the
" Churches of God were at the Beginning; and to put away all the
" Usurpations, that the Bishops of *Rome* had, by undue Means, still
" increased, to their own Gain, but to the Impoverishing of the
" Kingdom. By this he only reduced Things to the State that is
" most conformable to the Ancient Decrees of the Church, which
" the Bishops of *Rome* solemnly promise to observe at their Creation;
" naming the Eight General Councils; and yet any one, who consi-
" ders to what a State the Bishop of *Rome* had brought this Church,
" would soon see the Diversity between the one and the other. At
" *Venice* he might see these in *Greek*, and they were already publish-
" ed in *Latin*: By which it appears, that the Bishop of *Rome* had
" then no such Monarchy, as they have usurped of late.

" If the Places of Scripture which he quoted did prove it, then
" the Council of *Nice* did err, which decreed the contrary; as the
" Canons of the Apostles did appoint, that the Ordinations of Priests
" and Bishops, should be made in the Diocese, or at most in the
" Province, where the Parties dwelt. These Canons *Damascen* reck-
" oned Holy Scriptures. Nor can it be thought, that the Four Ge-
" neral Councils would have acted as they did, if they had under-
" stood those Passages of Scripture as he did: For above a Thou-
" sand Years after Christ, the Customs were very contrary to those
" now used by the Bishop of *Rome*: When the Blood of Christ and of
" the Martyrs were yet fresh, the Scriptures were then best under-
" stood, and the Customs then used in the Church must be better,
" than those that thro' Ambition and Covetousness had crept in since:
" Light and Darkness may be as well reconciled, as the worldly Au-

" thority

1536. "thority in Temporal Things now usurped can be proved from "St. *Peter*'s Primacy, in preaching the Word of God. He refers "him to Cardinal *Cusa*'s Second Book, in which he will find this well "opened.

"The King going to reform his Realm, and to reduce Things to "the State in which they were some Ages ago, did not change, but "establish those Laws, which the Pope professes to observe. If "other Princes did not follow him in this, that ought not to hinder "him from doing his Duty: Of which he did not doubt to be able "to convince him, if he had but one Day's Discourse with him, "unless he were totally addicted to the contrary Opinion. *Pole* "wrote in his Letter, that he thought the King's Subjects were of-"fended at the Abolishing the Pope's Usurpations: But *Tonstall* as-"sured him, that in this he was deceived: For they all perceived "the Profit that the Kingdom had by it; since the Money that was "before carried over to *Rome*, was now kept within the Kingdom. "That was become a very heavy Burden, and was daily increasing: "So that if the King would go about to restore that abolished Au-"thority, he would find it more difficult to bring it about, than any "Thing he had ever yet attempted in his Parliament. *Pole* had in "his Letter blamed *Tonstall*, for Fainting in his Heart, and not Dy-"ing for the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*. He assures him, "that from the Time that he understood the Progress of Christ's "Church from the Beginning, and had read Ecclesiastical History, "he never thought to shed one Drop of Blood in that Cause. None "of those who had Advantage by that Authority, would have lost "One Penny of it, to have saved his Life: He would do what in "him lay, to cool that Indignation, which his Book had raised in "the King. He desired him, not to fancy (from what he saw in "*Italy*, or in other Places) that it was so from the Beginning. The "Councils would shew him, how that Dignity was given to the Bi-"shops of *Rome*. The Emperors called those Councils; and the "Dignity that was given him, was, because he was Bishop of the "Chief City of the Empire, and not for the Sake of *Peter* and "*Paul*. The Second Place was given to the Patriarchs of *Constan-*"*tinople*; because it was called *New Rome*, and so was preferred to "*Antioch*, where St. *Peter* was Bishop, and where the Name *Christi-*"*an* first began; and it was set before *Alexandria*, and likewise be-"fore *Jerusalem*, where Christ himself preached, and the whole "College of the Apostles after him, and where *James* (the Bro-"ther of our Lord) was the First Bishop. That Church was called "the Mother of all the Churches. It was also set before *Ephesus*, "where St. *John* wrote his Gospel, and died. To all these, *Constan-*"*tinople* was preferred: And yet this was fully settled in the Coun-"cil of *Calcedon*, where 630 Bishops met. If he read the *Greek* "Fathers, *Basil*, *Nazianzen*, *Chrysostome*, and *Damascen*, he would "find no Mention of the Monarchy of the Bishop of *Rome*. He "desired him to search further into this Matter, and he would find, "that the Old Fathers knew nothing of the Pope's late Pretensions "and Usurpations. He wished therefore, that he would examine "these Matters more carefully, which had been searched to the Bot-

" tom in *England*. The Learned Men here thought, they were " happily delivered from that Captivity, to which he endeavours to " bring them back. He tells him, how much all his Family and " Kindred would be troubled, to see him so much engaged against " his King and his Country; whom he might comfort, if he would " follow the Establishment of the whole Church of God from the " Beginning, and leave the Supporting of those Usurpations. He " refers him to *Gregory* the Great, who wrote against the Bishop of " *Constantinople*, pretending to the like Monarchy. St. *Cyprian* " writes, that all the Apostles were of Equal Dignity and Authori- " ty; which is also affirmed by the Third Council of *Ephesus*. He " begged him, not to trust too much to himself, but to search fur- " ther, and not to fancy he had found out the Matter already. He " prayed him to burn all his Papers; and then he hoped, he should " prevail with the King, to keep that which he had sent him, se- " cret. He concludes all, with some very kind Expressions.

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This I have abstracted the more fully, for the Honour of *Tonstal's* Memory; who was a Generous and Good-natured, as well as a very Learned Man. *Pole*, who was then a Cardinal, wrote no Answer to this, that I could find; but he wrote a long Letter, either to *Tonstall*, or to *Cromwell*, in *May* 1537, which will be found in the Collection.

Coll. Numb 53.

Cardinal *Pole's* Vindication of himself.

" He begins it with Protestations of his Affection to the King, " tho' the King had taken such Methods to destroy him, as the like " had not been known in *Christendom*, against any who bore the " Person that he did at that Time; yet he still maintained a deep " Affection to him. He knew well all that the King had designed " against him; which, if he bore the King a small Degree of Love, " would be enough to extinguish it. He saw, what he did for the " best, was taken in the worst Part. He did not think it possible, " that the King should conceive such Indignation against him, as to " break thro' all Laws, to have him in his Hands, and to disturb " the whole Commerce of Nations, rather than not have his Person " in his Power. But he still adhered to his former Principles, and " maintained his former Temper towards the King.

" Upon his Arrival in *France*, he was ashamed to hear, that he " coming thither in the Quality of an Ambassador and Legate, one " Prince should desire of another to betray him, and deliver him " into the King's Ambassador's Hands. He himself was so little di- " sturbed at it, when he first heard of it, that he said upon it, (to " those who were about him) that he never felt himself in full " Possession of being a *Cardinal*, till then; since he was now perse- " cuted by him, whose Good he most earnestly desired. Whatever " Religion Men are of, if they would observe the Law of Nati- " ons, the Law of Nature alone would shew how abominable it " was to grant such a Request; and it was no less to desire it. So " that if he had the least Spark of an Alienation from the King, " in him, such Proceedings would blow it up into a Fire. He " might, upon this, be justly tempted to give over all Commerce " with the King, and to procure (by all honest ways) the Means " to repay this Malignity, by doing him the utmost Damage he

1536. " could devise: But he did not, for that, abstain from trying to do " all he could for the King's Honour and Wealth. He acknow- " ledges, that the Bishop of *Verona* was sent by him to the Court " of *France*, to intimate, that the Pope (for the Common Good of " *Christendom*) had committed some Affairs to him, to treat with " the King. That Bishop passed thro' *Abbeville*, when the Bishop of " *Winchester* and Mr. *Brian* were there: So he could not but won- " der at the King's acting towards him; the whole Design of his " Legation being for the King's Honour. Upon which, that Bishop " desired to confer with the King's Ambassadors, that he might de- " clare to them the whole Truth of the Matter, which was made " known to them. They, it is true, had no Communication with " him; but they sent their Secretary, after the Bishop had declared " the Effect of his Legation, as far as it related to the King, to " him.

" It seemed visible to all, that the King (in what he had done " against him) was abused by false Reports, and by the false Con- " jectures of some; so it was hoped, that the Matter being once " cleared, the King would have changed his Mind. All this he " understood from the Bishop of *Verona*, at his Return; and he " readily believed it. That Bishop had been the King's true Ser- " vant, and had shewed (when he was in a Capacity to serve him) " the sincere Love that he bore him. He had been also *Pole's* parti- " cular Acquaintance, ever since he came out of *England*. He " would have been ready, if the King had consented to it, to have " gone and given the King full Satisfaction in all Things. For, the " chief Reason of his being sent into *France*, was, the Pope's in- " tending to gain the King, knowing the Friendship that was be- " tween him and the *French* King: So the Bishop of *Verona* was " thought the fittest Person to be first employed, who had great " Merits on both Kings, for the Services he did them when he " was in Office: And being esteemed the best Bishop in *Italy*, it " was designed that he should accompany *Pole*, as well as he was " sent before, to prepare Matters for his Coming; which he, out of " his Zeal to do God and the King Service, undertook very willing- " ly; and resolved to try how he could get Access to the King's " Person: So now having fully explained himself, he hoped it " would not be thought possible, that he had those Designs, of " which the King's Proceeding against him, shewed he suspected " him, (which was, that he came on purpose to animate the People " to Rebel.)

" Upon his first Coming to *Rome*, he acquainted the King with " the Design, for which he was called thither: And he had ac- " quainted him with the Cause of his Legation. These were not " the Methods of those who intended to rebel. He had then pro- " cured a Suspension, in Sending forth the Censures, which at that " time might have caused the King more Trouble: And he sent " his Servant purposely, with the Offer of his Assistance, anima- " ting the chief of his Kindred to be constant in the King's Ser- " vice. If any had been at *Rome*, in the King's Pay, to do him

" Service, they could not have done more than he did; so that some " began to reflect on him, because he would not consent to diverse " Things that would have been uneasy to him: And particularly because " he had the Censures in his Hand, which were instantly called for " by those who had Authority to command: Yet they never came " into their Sight, nor Hands: And to that Hour he had suppressed " them. He would go no further in justifying himself, if what he " had already done, and what the Bishop of *Verona* had said, did not " do it; he would take no more Pains to clear himself: He rather " thought he had been Faulty, in his Negligence in these Matters. " But there was nothing now left to him, but to pray for the " King.

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This Letter is dated from *Cambray*: For upon the King's Message to the *French* King, to demand him to be delivered into his Hands, *Francis* could in no Sort hearken to that, but he sent to him not to come to his Court, but to go with all convenient Hast out of his Dominions: So he retired to *Cambray*, as being then a peculiar Sovereignty. The King had a Spy, one *Throckmorton*, secretly about *Pole*, who gave him an Account of all his Motions: But by what appears in his Letters, he was faithfuller to *Pole*, than to the King. He wrote over that hisBook was not then printed, tho' he had been much pressed to print it by those at *Rome*; but he thought that would hinder the Design he went on: He believed indeed that upon his returning thither, he would print it. He tells him that he had procured the Suspensions of the Pope's Censures, to try if it was possible to bring about a Reconciliation between the Pope and the King: And he adds, that many wonder'd to see the King so set against him, and that he did not rather endeavour to gain him. He intended to have stay'd some time in *Flanders*, but the Regent sent him Word, that it could not be suffered: He went from thence and stay'd at *Leige*, where he was on the 20th of *August*; for the last of *Throckmorton*'s Letters is dated from thence: He writes that the Pope had called him back, having named him to be his Legate to the Council that he had summoned to meet the first of *November*; though it did not meet for some Years after this.

The King was reconciled to the Emperor.

The King's Indignation upon his Advancement, and for his Book, carried him to a great many Excesses, and to many Acts of Injustice and Cruelty: Which are not the least among the great Blemishes of that Reign. *Wyat* was then the King's Ambassador at the Emperor's Court; and by his Letters to the King, it seems an entire Confidence was then settled with the Emperor. The King pressed him much not to suffer the Pope to call a Council, but to call one by his own Authority, as the *Roman* Emperors had called the first General Councils: And he proposed *Cambray* as a proper Place for one; but he saw he was not like to succeed in that, so he only insisted on a Promise that the Emperor had made, that nothing should be done in the Council, whensoever it should meet, against him or his Kingdom.

1536. The King was at this Time under much Uneasiness, for he sent both *Bonner* and *Hains* over to the Emperor's Court in Conjunction: The one seems to have been chosen to talk with those who were still Papistical; and the other had great Credit with the Protestants. Our Merchants in the Emperor's Dominions were threatned by the Inquisition, for owning the King as *Supreme Head* of this Church: Upon this *Wyat* complained to the Emperor. But tho' that Prince vindicated the Inquisitors, he promised to give such Order, that they should not be disquieted on that Account: And when *Pole* applied himself to the Emperor, for leave to affix the Pope's Bull against the King in his Dominions, he would not consent to it.

Dr. *London*'s violent Proceedings in suppressing the Monasteries.

I cannot add much to what I wrote formerly, with Relation to the Suppression of the Monasteries. There are many Letters setting forth their Vices and Lewdness, and their Robberies, and other ill Practices; and now that the Design against them was apparent, many run beyond Sea with their Plate and Jewels: But I must not conceal that the Visitors give a great Character of the Abbess and Nuns of *Pollesworth* in *Warwickshire*. Dr. *London*, that was afterwards not only a Persecutor of Protestants, but a Suborner of false Witnesses against them, was now zealous even to Officiousness in suppressing the Monasteries. In the first Commission that the Visitors had, there was no Order for the removing *Shrines*, yet he in his Zeal exceeding his Commission, had done it; upon which, *Leighton*, *Legh*, and others, desired that a Commission for that end might be sent after them, of the same Date with their other Commissions. He also studied to frighten the Abbess of *Godstow* into a Resignation. She was particularly in *Cromwell*'s Favour; so she wrote a plain honest Letter to him, complaining of "*London*'s Violence, of his Artifices to bring "them to surrender their House, and of the great Charge he put "them to: She writes that she did not hear that any of the King's "Subjects had been so handled: She insists on her Care to maintain "the Honour of God, and all Truth and Obedience to the King; "therefore she was positively resolved not to surrender her House, "but would be ready to do it whensoever the King's Command or his "should come to her, and not till then". The great Character I gave of that Abbess and of her House in my former Work, made me resolve to put this Letter in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 54.

Cheats in Images discovered.

The Discovery of the Cheats in Images, and Counterfeits in Relicks, contributed not a little to their Disgrace. Among these, that of *Boxley* in *Kent* was one of the most enormous. Among the Papers that were sent me from *Zurick*, there is a Letter written by the Minister of *Maidstone* to *Bullinger* that describes such an Image, if it is not the same, so particularly, that I have put it in the Collection. He calls it the Dagon of *Ashdod*, or the *Babylonish Bell*. It was a Crucifix that sometimes moved the Head, the Eyes, and did bend the whole Body to express the receiving of Prayers; and other Gestures were at other Times made to signify the rejecting them; great Offerings were made to so wonderful an Image. One *Partridge* suspected the Fraud, and removing the Image, he saw the whole Imposture evidently. There were several Springs within it, by which all these Motions were made. This was brought to *Maidstone*, and exposed to all the People

Coll. Numb. 55.

there: From thence it was carried to *London*, and was shewed to the King and all his Court, and in their Sight all the Motions were performed. The King's Council ordered a Sermon to be preached at *Paul's*, by the Bishop of *Rochester*, where this Imposture was fully discovered, and after Sermon it was burned.

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Upon the Birth of Prince *Edward* Matters had a better Face: Here was an undoubted Heir born to the Crown; it is true the Death of his Mother did abate much of the Joy, that such a Birth would have given otherwise: For as she was of all the King's Wives much the best beloved by him, so she was a Person of that humble and sweet Temper, that she was universally beloved on that Account; she had no Occasion given her to appear much in Business, so she had no share of the Hatred raised by the King's Proceedings, cast on her. I fell into a Mistake from a Letter of Queen *Elizabeth's*, directed to a big-bellied Queen, which I thought belonged to her; but I am now convinced of my Error, for it was no doubt written to Queen *Katherine*, when, after King *Henry's* Death, she was with Child by the Lord *Seimour*. Upon Queen *Jane's* Death, *Tonstall* being then at *York* wrote a Consolotary Letter to the King, which will be found in the Collection. It runs upon the common Topicks of Affliction, with many good Applications of Passages of Scripture, and seems chiefly meant to calm and cheer up the Kings Spirit. But the Truth is, King *Henry* had so many gross Faults about him, that it had been more for *Tonstall's* Honour, and better suited to his Character, if he had given Hints to awaken the King's Conscience, and to call upon him to examine his Ways, while he had that Load upon his Mind: Either *Tonstall* did not think him so faulty as certainly he was, or he was very faulty himself, in being so wanting to his Duty, upon so great an Occasion.

Tonstall wrote a Consolotary Letter to the King when Q. *Jane* died. *Coll. Numb.* 56.

But I go on to more publick Concerns. The King had by the Lord *Cromwell* sent Injunctions to his Clergy in the Year 1536, as he did afterwards in the Year 1538, which I have printed in my former Work. There was also a circular Letter written to the Bishops; that to the Bishop of *Hereford* is dated on the 20th of *July* 1536, requiring them to execute an Order abrogating some Holy-Days: The Numbers of them were so excessively great, and by the People's Devotion, or rather Superstition, were like to increase more and more, which occasion'd much Sloth and Idleness, and great Loss to the Publick in Time of Harvest. It sets forth that the King, with the Advice of the Convocation, had settled Rules in this Matter. The Feast of the Dedication of Churches was to be held every Year, on the first *Sunday* in *October*; but the Feast of the Patron of the Church was to be no more observed. All the Feasts from the first of *July* to the 29th of *September*, and all Feasts in Term-time, were not to be observed any more as Holy-Days, except the Feasts of the Apostles, of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, and of St. *George*, and those Days in which the Judges did not use to sit; but the Four Quarter Days were still to be offering Days. These are all the publick Injunctions set out about this Time. But after the first of these, I find the Bishops sent likewise Injunctions to their Clergy round their Dioceses, of which a Copy printed at that time was given me by my worthy Friend Mr. *Tate* Minister

Reg. Heref. Fox fo. 9.

Orders about Holy-Days.

of

1536.

Injunctions given by the Archbishop of *York*

Coll. Numb. 57.

of *Burnham*. The first was by *Lee*, Archbishop of *York*, which will be found in the Collection.

" He begins with the abolishing of the Bishop of *Rome*'s Autho-
" rity, and the declaring the King to be *supreme Head* of the Church
" of *England*, as well Spiritual as Temporal. He requires his Cler-
" gy to provide a New Testament in *English* or *Latin* within Forty
" Days, and to read daily in it Two Chapters before Noon, and
" Two in the Afternoon: And to study to understand it: He re-
" quires them also to study the Book to be set forth by the King, of
" the Institution of a Christian Man. They were to procure it as
soon as it should be published, that they might read Two Chap-
" ters a Day in it, and be able to explain it to their People. All
" Curates and Heads of Religious Houses were required to repeat the
" *Lord's Prayer* and the *Ave Maria* in *English*, and at other Parts of
" the Service, the *Creed* and the *Ten Commandments* also in *English*,
" and to make the People repeat these after them: And none were to be
" admitted to the Sacrament at *Easter* that could not repeat them.
" All Parishes were required within Forty Days to provide a great
" Bible in *English*, to be chained to some open Place in the Church;
" that so all Persons might resort to it, and read it for their Instru-
" ction. Priests were forbidden to haunt Taverns or Ale-Houses,
" except on necessary Occasions. The Clergy that did belong to any
" one Church were required to eat together, if they might, and not
" to play at prohibited Games, as Cards and Dice. They must dis-
" courage none from reading the Scriptures, exhorting them to do it
" in the Spirit of Meekness, to be edified by it: They were required
" to read to their People the Gospel and Epistle in *English*. Rules
" are set for the frequent Use of Sermons, proportioned to the Va-
" lue of their Livings: Generally Four Sermons were to be preach-
" ed every Year, one in a Quarter. None were to preach but such
as had Licence from the King or the Archbishop: nor were they
" to worship any Image, or kneel or offer any Lights or Gifts to it:
" But they might have Lights in the Rood-Loft, and before the Sacra-
" ment, and at the Sepulchre at *Easter*. They were to teach the
People that Images are only as Books to stir them up to follow
the Saints; and tho' they see God the Father represented as an
" Old Man, they were not to think that he has a Body, or is like a
" Man. All Images to which any resort is used, are to be taken away.
" They are to teach the People that God is not pleased with the
" Works done for the Traditions of Men, when Works commanded
" by God are left undone; That we are only saved by the Mercy of
" God, and the Merits of Christ; That our good Works have their
" Virtue only from thence. They were to teach the Midwives the
" Form of Baptism: They were to teach the People to make no pri-
vate Contracts of Marriage, nor to force their Children to marry
" against their Wills; and to open to their People often the Two great
Commandments of Christ, *To love God and our Neighbour*, and to
" live in Love with all People, avoiding Dissention.

The rest relate to the Matters set out in the King's Injuncti-
ons.

1536.

Injunctions by the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield.

There were about the same Time Injunctions given by *Sampson* Bishop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, for his Diocese, which will be found in the Collection. He begins with a Charge to his Clergy, " To instruct the People concerning the King's being the *Supreme Head* " of the Church of *England*, by the Word of God; and that the " Authority used by the Bishop of *Rome*, was an Usurpation: Then " he charges them to procure by the next *Whitsontide* a whole Bible " in *Latin*, and also one in *English*; and to lay it in the Church, that " every Man may read in it. Then with relation to the reading the " Scriptures, and the having Sermons every Quarter, he gives the " same Charge that *Lee* gave. As to their Sermons he charges them " that they be preached purely, sincerely, and according to the true " Scriptures of God. He next requires them in the King's Name, and as " his Minister, to teach the People to say the Lord's Prayer, and the " *Ave*, and the Creed in *English*: And that four Times in every " Quarter they declare the Seven deadly Sins, and the Ten Commandments. And because some out of Neglect of their Curates, " and to hide their lewd Livings, used in *Lent* to go to Confession to " Friars, or other religious Houses; He orders that no Testimonial " from them shall be sufficient to admit one to the Sacrament, called " by him *God's Board*; till they confess to their own Curates, unless upon some urgent Considerations of Conscience, that he or " his Deputies should grant a special Licence for it: That on Holy-Days, and in Time of Divine Service, none should go to Ale-Houses or Taverns, nor be received in them: And that the Clergy should go in such decent Apparel, that it might be known that " they were of the Clergy.

Collect. Numb. 58.

The last of the Injunctions in that Book was given by *Shaxton*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, for his Diocese, which will be found in the Collection; they are said to be given out from the Authority given him by God and the King.

Collect. Numb. 59.

And by the Bishop of Salisbury.

" He begins with Provision about Non-Residents and their Curates, " in particular, That no *French* or *Irish* Priest that could not perfectly speak the *English* Tongue should serve as Curates. They " were at high Masse to read the Gospel and Epistle in the *English* " Tongue, and to set out the Kings Supremacy and the Usurpations " of the Bishop of *Rome*: The same Rules are given about Sermons " as in the former, with this Addition, that no Friar nor any Person in a Religious Habit be suffered to perform any Service in the " Church: As for reading the New Testament, the Clergy are only " required to read one Chapter every day, and that every Person having a Cure of Souls, should be able to repeat without Book, the " Gospels of Saint *Matthew* and Saint *John*, with the Epistles to " the *Romans*, *Corinthians*, and *Galatians*, and the Acts of the Apostles, and the Canonical Epistles: so that every Fortnight they " should learn one Chapter without Book and keep it still in their " Memory: and that the 28th Chapter of *Deuteronomy* should be " read every Quarter instead of the general Sentence. He gave the " same Orders that the others gave about Images, Pilgrimages, and " other Superstitious Observances, and for teaching the People the " Elements of Religion in *English*; only he does not join the *Ave-Maria*

1536. "*Maria* with the *Lord's Prayer* as the others did: he requires the "Curates to exhort the People to beware of swearing and blasphe-"ming the name of God, or of Christ's precious body and blood, "and of many other Sins then commonly practised; he dispensed "with all Lights before Images, and requires that every Church "should be furnished with a Bible: he complains of the practise of "putting false Relicks on the People, naming stinking Boots, mucky "Combs, ragged Rockets, rotten Girdles, Locks of Hair, Gobbets "of Wood, as Parcells of the Holy Cross, of which he had per-"fect Knowledge; besides the shameful Abuse of such as were per-haps true Relicks: he prays and commands them by the Authority "he had under God and the King, to bring all these to him, with "the Writings relating to them, that he might examine them, pro-mising to restore such as were found to be true Relicks, with an "Instruction how they ought to be used: he also orders, that the "*Ave* and Pardon Bell, that was wont to be Tolled three times a "Day should be no more Tolled.

These are all the Injunctions set out by Bishops, that have fallen into my Hands. Here I must acknowledge a very great Omission made in the Copy that I printed in the Collection added to my History, of a very important Paragraph, in the Second Injunction given by *Cromwell*, which will be found in the Collection, together with an Omission of a few Lines in Bishop *Boner*'s Injunctions that were passed over by a very common Fault of Transcribers, who seeing the Words that they wrote last in the Original before them, do not enough examine, whether the same Words did not belong to a new Portion, and so write on without examining whether there are no Words or Lines between the one and the other: for *Churches and Chapels* being in two different Places, my Copier wrote on from the Second Place, and so omitted some Lines between the one and the other. I am very ready to correct what I find amiss, I rather wonder that there is no more occasion for such Reprehensions. I know I am not to expect either Favour or common Civility from some Hands. I do not enter into Faults of a worse Nature made by others, but am very ready to confess my own when I see them.

Collect. Numb. 60.

I find nothing to add with Relation to the Dissolution both of the smaller and the greater Monasteries; nor of the several Risings that were in different Parts of the Kingdom; only, I find a Letter of *Gresham* then Lord Mayor of *London*, I suppose he was the Father of him who was the famed Benefactor to the City; but by the Letter which will be found in the Collection, his Father was the occasion of procuring them a much greater Benefaction. He begun his Letter with a high Commendation of the King, who as he writes, "Seemed to be the chosen Vessel of God, by whom the true Word "of God was to be set forth, and who was to reform all Enormi-"ties. This encouraged him, being then the Mayor of the City of "*London*, to inform him, for the Comfort of the Sick, Aged, and "Impotent Persons, that there were Three Hospitals near or within "the City, that of Saint *George*, Saint *Bartholomew*, and Saint "*Thomas*, and the New Abbey on *Tower-Hill*, Founded and En-"dowed with great Possessions, only for the helping the Poor and "Impotent,

Gresham's Letter to the King for putting the great Hospitals in the Hands of the City. *Collect. Numb.* 61.



" Impotent, who were not able to help themselves; and not for the
" Maintenance of Canons, Priests, and Monks, to live in Pleasure,
" not regarding the Poor who were lying in every Street, offending
" all that past by them: he therefore prayed the King, for the Re-
" lief of Christ's true Images, to give Order that the Mayor of *Lon-*
" *don* and the Aldermen, may from thenceforth have the Disposition
" and Rule both of the Lands belonging to those Hospitals, and of
" the Governours and Ministers which shall be in any of them. And
" then the King would perceive that whereas now there was a small
" Number of Canons, Priests, and Monks in them for their own
" Profit only; that then a great Number of Poor and Indigent Per-
" sons should be maintained in them, and also freely healed of their
" Infirmities: And there should be Physicians, Surgeons, and Apo-
" thecaries with Salaries to attend upon them: And those who were
" not able to Labour should be relieved; and Sturdy Beggars not
" willing to Labour, should be punished: In doing this, the King
" would be more Charitable to the Poor, than his Progenitor *Edgar*
" the Founder of so many Monasteries; or *Henry* the IIId, the Re-
" newer of *Westminster*; or *Edward* the IIId, the Founder of the
" New Abbey; or than *Henry* the Vth, the Founder of *Sion* and
" *Shene*, and he would carry the Name of the Protector and Defen-
" der of the Poor.

How soon after this, these Hospitals were put under the Govern-ment of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, will be found in the History of the City. But I thought this Letter was worth remembring, since probably it gave the rise to the putting those Endowments in such Hands, in which to the Wonder of all the World, we see such a Noble Order and Management, and such an overflowing of Charity, that not only all their Revenues are with the exactest Management possible applied wholly to the Use for which they were designed; but that the particular Bounties of those whom God has blessed in the City, that are Annually given to them, do far exceed their stated Revenues: Of which there are Yearly Accounts published in *Easter* Week; and which no doubt do bring down great Blessings on the City, and on all its Concerns.

The King grows severe against the Reformers.

The State of Matters began to turn about this Time. The King seemed to think that his Subjects owed an entire Resignation of their Reasons and Consciences to him, and as he was highly offended with those who still adhered to the Papal Authority; so he could not bear the haste that some were making to a further Reformation, before or beyond his Allowance. So in the End of the Year 1538, he set out a Proclamation on the 16th of *November*.

In it he prohibits the Importing of all Foreign Books, or the Printing of any at Home without Licence, and the Printing any Parts of Scripture, till they were examined by the King and his Council, or by the Bishop of the Diocese: He condemns all the Books of the *Anabaptists* and *Sacramentaries*; and appoints those to be punished who vented them: He requires that none may argue against the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, under the Pain of Death, and of the Loss of their Goods; and orders all to be punished who did disuse any Rites or Ceremonies not then abolished; yet he orders

1538.



them to be observed without Superstition only as Remembrances, and not to repose in them a trust of Salvation by observing them. He requires that all married Priests should no more Minister the Sacrament, but be deprived, with further Punishment or Imprisonment at the King's Pleasure. What follows after this, will be found in the Collection; for the Whole did not seem so important as to be all set down, it being very long. "The King considering the several "Superstitions and Abuses, which had crept into the Hearts of ma-"ny of his unlearned Subjects, and the Strife and Contention which "did grow among them, had often commanded his Bishops and "Clergy to preach plainly and sincerely, and to set forth the true "Meaning of the Sacramentals and Ceremonies, that they might be "quietly used for such Purposes as they were at first intended: But "he was informed that this had not been executed according to his "Expectation; therefore he requires all his Archbishops and Bishops "that in their own Persons they will preach with more diligence, "and set forth to the People the Word of God, sincerely and purely; "declaring the difference between the Things commanded by God, "and these Rites and Ceremonies commanded only by a lower Autho-"rity, that they may come to the true Knowledge of a lively Faith "in God, and Obedience to the King, with Love and Charity to "their Neighbours. They were to require all their Clergy to do "the same, and to exhort the People to read and hear with simpli-"city; and without Arrogance, avoiding all Strife and Contention, "under the Pain of being punished at the King's Pleasure.

Coll. Numb. 62.

He sets out a long Proclamtion.

To this he adds, "That it appearing clearly that *Thomas Becket*, "sometime Archbishop of *Canterbury*, did stubbornly withstand "the Laws established against the Enormities of the Clergy, by King "*Henry* the IId, and had fled out of the Realm into *France*, and to the Bishop of *Rome* to procure the Abrogating of these Laws: From which there arose great Troubles in the Kingdom. His Death, which they untruly called his *Martyrdom*, happ'ned upon a Rescue made by him, upon which he gave opprobrious Words to the Gentlemen who councelled him to leave his Stubbornness, and not to stir up the People who were risen for that Rescue: He called one "of them Bawd, and pulled *Tracy* by the Bosom almost down to the Pavement of the Church: Upon this Fray one of the Company struck him, and in the Throng he was slain. He was Cano-"nized by the Bishop of *Rome*, because he had been a Champion to "maintain his usurped Authority, and a Defender of the Iniquity "of the Clergy. The King with the Advice of his Council, did "find there was nothing of Sanctity in the Life, or Exterior Con-"versation of *Becket*, but that he rather ought to be esteemed a "Rebel and a Traytor; therefore he Commands that he shall be "no more esteemed, nor called a *Saint*, that his Images shall be "every where put down; and that the Days used for his Festival shall be no more observed, nor any Part of that Service be read, but that it should be razed out of all Books. Adding, that the "other Festivals already abrogated, shall be no more solemnized, "and that his Subjects shall be no more blindly abused to commit "Idolatry, as they had been in Time past. I will leave it to our

An Account set forth by the King of *Thomas Becket*.

" Historians to compare the Account here given of *Becket*'s Death, " with the Legends, and to examine which of them is the " truest.

1538.

Soon after this, the King understanding that very malicious Reports were spread about the Country, poysoning Peoples Minds, with relation to every Thing that the King did; saying they would be made pay for every Thing they should Eat; and that the Register of Births and Weddings was ordered for this End, that the King might know the Numbers of his People, and make Levies; and send, or rather Sell, them to Foreign Service: He sent in *December* following, a Circular Letter to all the Justices of *England*, which will be found in the Collection; in which, after he had set forth his good Intentions for the Wealth and Happiness of his People; He added, " That " he hoped that all the Maintainers of the Bishop of *Rome*'s Authori- " ty, should have been searched for, and brought to Justice: And " that all the Inventors and Spreaders of false Reports to put the " People in Fear, and so to stir them up to Sedition, should have " been apprehended and punished; and that Vagabonds and Beggars " should have been corrected according to the Letters he had former- " ly written to them. The King understood that sundry of them " had done their Duty so well, that there had been no Disquiet 'till " of late; that some malicious Persons had by Lies and false Rumours " studied to seduce the People; and that among these, some Vicars " and Curates were the Chief: Who endeavoured to bring the Peo- " ple again into Darkness; and they did so confusedly read the " Word of God and the King's Injunctions, that none could under- " stand the true Meaning of them: They studied to wrest the King's " Intentions in them to a false Sense: For whereas the King had " ordered Registers to be kept for shewing Lineal Descents, and the " Rights of Inheritance; and to distinguish Legitimate Issue from " Bastardy; or whether a Person was born a Subject or not; they " went about saying that the King intended to make new Examina- " tions of Christ'nings, Weddings, and Buryings, and to take away " the Liberties of the Kingdom: For preserving which, they pre- " tended *Thomas Becket* died: Whereas his Opposition was only to " the punishing of the Offences of the Clergy, that they should not " be *justified* by the Courts and Laws of the Land, but only at the " Bishops Pleasure: And here the same Account is given of *Becket*, " that was in the former Proclamation. *Becket* contended with the " Archbishop of *York*, and pretended that when he was out of the " Realm, the King could not be Crowned by any other Bishop, " but that it must be stayed till he returned. These detestable Li- " berties were all that he stood for, and not for the Common-Wealth " of the Realm. To these Lies they added many other Seditious " Devices, by which the People were stirred up to Sedition and " Insurrection, to their utter Ruin and Destruction, if God had not " both enabled him by Force to subdue them, and afterwards move " him mercifully to pardon them. The King therefore required " them in their several Precincts, to find out such Vicars and Curats " as did not truly declare the Injunctions, and did confusedly mum- " ble the Word of God, pretending that they were compelled to

A Circular Letter to the Justices of Peace.

Coll. Numb. 63.

1539.

" read them; but telling their People to do as they did, and live " as their Fathers had done, for the Old Fashion was the best. " They were also required to search out all the Spreaders of Sedi- " ous Tales; and to apprehend and keep them in Prison till the " Justices came about to try them; or till the King's Pleasure was " known: The Justices of the Peace are very earnestly pressed to " do their Duty diligently, and to take care likewise that the In- " junctions and Laws against the *Anabaptists* and *Sacramentaries* be " duly executed: Dated from *Hampton-Court* in *December*, in the 30th Year of his Reign.

New Significations put on the Old Rites.

Among the Letters sent me from *Zurick*, I find one written to *Bullinger* on the 8th of *March* in the Year 1539, by *Butler*, *Elliot*, *Partridge* and *Traheron*, who had studied for some time under him, and were then entertained either by the King, or by *Cromwell*. They write, " That many of the Popish Ceremonies were " still tolerated; but that New Significations were put on them: " Such as, That the *Holy Water* did put us in mind of the Blood " of Christ, that cleansed us from all Defilement: The *Pax* was " carried about, to represent our Reconciliation to God thro' Christ. " Things that were visible, were thought fit to be preserved, to " prevent Commotions. This Correction quieted some: But tho' " these Rites were ordered to be kept up, till the King should think " fit to alter them, yet some preached freely against them, even be- " fore the King.

Many Executions in *England*.

" They write of the Executions of the Marquis of *Exeter*, the " Lord *Montague*, and Sir *Edward Nevil*, who (they add) was a " very brave, but a very vicious Man. Sir *Nic. Cary*, who had " been before a Zealous Papist, when he came to suffer, exhorted " all People to read the Scriptures carefully. He acknowledged, " that the Judgments of God came justly upon him, for the Hatred " that he formerly bore to the Gospel. The King was threatned " with a War, in which the Emperor, the *French*, and the *Scots* " would attack him on all Hands; but he seemed to despise it, and " said, He should not sleep the less quietly for all these Alarms. " The Day after these Tidings were brought him, he said to his " Counsellors, that he found himself moved in his Conscience, to " promote the Word of God more than ever. Other News came " at the same time, which might perhaps raise his Zeal, that Three " *English* Merchants were burnt in *Spain*; and that an Indul- " gence was proclaimed to every Man, that should kill an *English* " Heretick. *Cranmer* was then very busy, instructing the People, " and Preparing *English* Prayers, to be used instead of the *Litany*. I can go no further on these Subjects; but must refer to my History for the Prosecution of these Matters.

Tom. XIV. from p. 717, to p. 735. and from p. 748, to p. 758.

The Project of Endowing the Church of *Canterbury*.

The Foundation of the New Bishopricks was now settled. *Rymer* has given us the Charters, by which they were founded and endowed. The New Modelling of some Cathedrals, was next taken Care of. I have found the Project that *Cromwell* sent to *Cranmer*, for the Church of *Canterbury*. It was to consist of a Provost, 12 Prebendaries, 6 Preachers, 3 Readers, one of Humanity and of *Greek*, another of Divinity and of *Hebrew*, and another of Humanity and

Divi-

Divinity in *Latin*, a Reader of Civil Law, another of Physick; 20 Students in Divinity, 10 to be kept at *Oxford*, and as many at *Cambridge*: 60 Scholars were to be taught Grammar and Logick, with *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*: For these, a Schoolmaster and an Usher were to have Salaries. Besides these, there were 8 Petty-Canons, 12 Singing-Men, 10 Choristers, a Master of the Children, a Gospeller, an Epistler, and 2 Sacristans: 2 Butlers, 2 Cooks, a Caterer, 2 Porters; 12 Poor Men, a Steward, and an Auditor: In all 162 Persons, with the Salaries for every one of these; together with an Allowance, for an Annual Distribution of 100 *l.* for the Poor, and as much for Reparations; and 40 *l.* for Mending the High-Ways: In all, amounting to about 1900 Pound a Year. This I have put in the Collection, together with the Letter that *Cranmer* wrote to *Cromwell*, after he had consider'd of it: Tho' perhaps this will sharpen some Men's Spirits, that are of late much set to decry him, as much as any of his other Opinions may have done: But a true Historian, that intends to glean all that he could find relating to those Transactions, must neither alter, nor suppress Things, but set them out as he finds them.

1539.

Disapprov'd by *Cranmer* Coll. Numb. 64. Coll. Numb 65.

" He proposes the Altering the Prebendaries to somewhat more " useful: For, by all the Experience that he had, the Prebendaries " had spent their Time in much Idleness, and their Substance in su- " perfluous Living; so he thought it was not a State to be main- " tained. Commonly they were neither Learned, nor given to " teach others, but only good Vianders: They look to be the " Chief, and to bear the whole Rule; and by their ill Example, " the younger Sort grew idle and corrupt. The State of Prebenda- " ries hath been so excessively abused, that when Learned Men have " been advanced to that Post, they desisted from their Studies, and " from all Godly Exercises of Preaching and Teaching: Therefore, " he wished, the very Name of a Prebendary might be struck out of " the King's Foundations. The first Beginning of them was good, " so was that of Religious Men; but both were gone off from " their first Estate; so, since the one is put down, it were no great " matter, if both should perish together. For, to say the Truth, it " is an Estate which St. *Paul* did not find in the Church of Christ; " and he thought, it would stand better with the Maintainance of the " Christian Religion, that there were in their stead 20 Divines, at 10 *l.* " a-piece, and as many Students of the Tongues, and of *French*, at " 10 Marks a-piece. And indeed, if there was not such a Number " there resident, he did not see for what use there were so many " Lectures to be read; for the Prebendaries could not attend, for " the making of good Cheer; and the Children in Grammar, were " to be otherwise employed. He, in particular, recommends Doctor " *Crome* to be Dean.

But I leave this invidious Subject, to turn now to a very Melancholly Strain. The King had thrown off all Commerce with the *Lutherans* in *Germany*; and seemed now to think himself secure in the Emperor's Friendship: Yet he did not break with *France*; tho' on many Occasions he complained, both of the Ingratitude and Inconstancy of that King. The Dutchy of *Milan* seemed to be the

The Design of the Six Articles.

Object

1539. Object of all his Designs; and he was always turned, as the Prospect of that seemed to come in View, or to go out of Sight. All the King's Old Ministers still kept up his Zeal for his admired Book *Of the Sacraments*, most particularly for that Article of Transubstantiation; so that the Popish Party prevailed with him, to resolve on Setting up the Six Articles, which (they said) would quiet all Men's Minds; when they saw him maintain that, and the other Articles, with Learning and Zeal. It is certain, he had read a great deal, and heard and talk'd a great deal more of those Subjects; so that he seems to have made himself a Master of the whole Body of Divinity. I have seen many Chapters of the *Necessary Erudition of a Christian*, much altered by him, and in many Places so interlined with his Hand, that it is not without some difficulty that they can be read; for he wrote very ill.

Upon the Carrying the Six Articles, the Popish Party were much exalted. This appears by the End of a Letter written to the Ambassadors abroad; which will be found in the Collection. It sets forth, "How the King had shewed himself in that Parliament so "Wise, Learned, and Catholick, that no Prince ever did the like: "so it was no more doubted, but the Act would pass. The Bishops "of *Canterbury*, *Ely*, *Salisbury*, *Worcester*, *Rochester*, and St. *David*'s, defended the contrary Side: Yet, in the End, the King "confounded them. The Bishops of *York*, *Duresme*, *Winchester*, *London*, *Chichester*, *Norwich*, and *Carlisle*, shewed themselves "Honest and Learned Men: He writes as one of the Peers, for he "adds, we of the Temporalty have been all of one Opinion. The "Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Privy Seal had been of their side. "*Cranmer*, and all the Bishops came over, only he adds that *Shaxton* "continued a lewd Fool: For this Victory, he writes that all *England* had reason to bless God.

Coll. Numb. 66.

The King marries *Anne* of *Cleve*.

Cromwell, though he complied with the King's Humour, yet he studied to gain upon him, and to fix him in an Alliance, that should certainly separate him from the Emperor, and engage him again into a closer Correspondence with *France*, on design to support the Princes of *Germany* against the Emperor, whose uneasiness under the Laws and Liberties of the Empire began to be suspected: And all the *Popish* Party depended wholly on him. I did in my Second Volume publish a Commission to *Cromwell*, thinking it was that which constituted him the King's Vicegerent, which I upon reading the Beginning of it, took to be so, but that was one of the Effects of the haste in which I wrote that Work: It does indeed in the Preamble set forth, "That the King was then in some sort to exercise that "Supreme Authority he had over the Church of *England*, under "Christ; since they who pretended that that Authority ought to be "lodged with them, did pursue their own private Gains, more than "the Publick Good; and had brought Matters, by the Negligence "of their Officers, and their own ill Example, to such a State, that "it might be feared, that Christ would not now own his own "Spouse. Therefore, since the Supreme Authority over all Persons, without any Difference, was given him from Heaven, he "was

Vol. II. Coll. Rec. Book 2. N. 29. p. 303. Commission to *Cromwell*, to Constitute some under him.

1539.

" was bound (as much as he could) to cleanse the Church from all
" Briars, and to sow the Seeds of Virtue in it. Those who before
" exercised this Authority, thinking themselves above all Censure,
" had (by their own bad Examples) laid Stumbling-blocks before
" the People. He therefore, designing a General Reformation of his
" Kingdom and Church, resolved to begin with the Fountains; for
" they being cleansed, the Streams would run clear: But since he
" could not be personally present every where, he had deputed *Thomas Cromwell*, his Principal Secretary and Master of the Rolls, to
" be in all Ecclesiastical Causes his Vicegerent and Vicar-General;
" with a Power to name others, to be authorized under the Great
" Seal. But he being so employ'd in the Publick Affairs of the
" Kingdom, that he could not personally discharge that Trust;
" therefore he deputed *A, B, C, D,* to execute that Trust. The
" King being pleased with this Deputation, did likewise empower
" them to Visit all Churches, both Metropolitical, Cathedral, and
" Collegiate Churches, Hospitals and Monasteries, and all other
" Places, exempt or not exempt, to correct and punish what was
" amiss in them, by Censures of Suspension and Deprivation, to
" give them Statutes and Injunctions in the King's Name, and to hold
" Synods, Chapters or Convocations, summoning all Persons con-
" cerned to appear before them, and presiding in them, giving them
" such Rules as they shall judge convenient: Calling such Causes as
" they shall think fit from the Ecclesiastical Courts, to be judged by
" them; and to force Obedience, both by Ecclesiastical Censures,
" and Fines, and other Temporal Punishments: With several other Clauses, of a very extended and comprehensive Nature. How far this was put in Practice, does not fully appear to me. It certainly struck so deep into the whole Ecclesiastical Constitution, that it could not be easily born. But the Clergy had lost their Reputation and Credit; so that every Invasion that was made on them, and on their Courts, seemed to be at this Time acceptable to the Nation; one Extreme very naturally producing another: For all did acquiesce tamely, in Submitting to a Power that was now in High Exaltation, and that treated those that stood in its way, not only with the utmost Indignation, but with the most rigorous Severity.

But to return to *Cromwell*. He, in Concurrence with the Court of *France*, carried Matters so, that the Marriage with *Anne* of *Cleve* was made up: This occasioned one of the most Injustifiable Steps in all that Reign. Among the Papers that were sent me from *Zurick*, there is a long and particular Account of many Passages in this Matter, with some other Important Transactions of this Year, writ by one *Richard Hille*, who writes very sensibly, and very piously; and he being zealous for a further Reformation, went out of *England* as a Man concerned in Trade, which he pursued only as a just Excuse to get out of the way: But before he went over, he wrote a long Account to *Bullinger* of the Affairs in *England*: He tells him, " That before *Whitsunday* Three Persons were burned in *Southwark*, because they
" had not received the Sacrament at *Easter*, and had denied Transub-
" stantiation. There was after that one *Collins*, a crazed Man, like-
" wise burned, all by *Gardiners* Procurement. A little before *Midsummer*

He is in Love with *Katherine Howard*.

1539. *summer* it began to be whispered about, that the King intended a Divorce with *Anne*, who had been married to him above Five Months. It was observed that the King was much taken with a Young Person, a Niece of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s, (whom he afterwards married) *Gardiner* took care to bring them together to his Palace, where they dined once, and had some Meetings and Entertainments there. This went on some Time before there was any talk of the Divorce: It was indeed believed that there was an ill Commerce between them.

Cromwell's Fall.

Cromwell was newly made Earl of *Essex*: *Bourchier*, in whom that Line was extinct, who had been a severe Persecutor, falling from his Horse, and breaking his Neck, died without being able to speak one Word. The King gave *Cromwell*, not only his Title, but all that fell to the Crown, by his dying without Heirs: Yet he enjoyed not this long; for in the beginning of *June* he was sent to the *Tower*: He did not know the secret Cause of his Fall; it was generally believed it was because he did not flatter the King enough; and that he was against the Divorce; as thinking it would neither be for the King's Honour, nor the Good of the Kingdom. Some suspected that his late Advancement, and great Grants, the King had given him, was an Artifice to make People conclude, when they saw him disgraced, after such high Favour, that certainly some very black Thing was discovered: And it was also thought, that the King restored to his Son, (who was so weak, that he was thought almost a Fool,) much of his Fathers Estate and Goods, as he made him a Baron in *December*, after his Father's Death) on design to make the Father more silent, for fear of provoking the King to take from him what he had then given him. Here I stop the prosecuting the Rest of the Letter, till I have added somewhat more concerning *Cromwell*.

He had many Offices in his Person; for besides that he was Lord Vicegerent in Ecclesiastical Matters, and Lord Privy Seal, he was Lord Chamberlain, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. *Rymer* has published the Grants that the King made of those Offices, in which it is said, that they were void upon his Attainder; but which was more, he was the Chief Minister, and had the King's Confidence for Ten Years together, almost as entirely as Cardinal *Woolsey* had it formerly. *Mount* had been sent to *Germany* to press a closer League Defensive against the Pope, and any Council that he might summon: When the Princes did object the Act of the Six Articles, and the Severities upon it: He confessed to one of the Electors Ministers, that the King was not sincere in the Point of Religion: He had therefore proposed a double Marriage of the King with *Anne* of *Cleve*, and of the Duke of *Cleve* with the Lady *Mary*: For he said, the King was much governed by his Wives. The Elector of *Saxony*, who had married the other Sister of *Cleve*, had conceived so bad an Opinion of the King, that he expressed no heartiness, neither in the Marriage, nor in any Alliance with *England*: But he yielded to the Importunities of others, who thought the Prospect of the Advantage from such an Alliance was great.

Rymer. T. 14.

A New Treaty with the *German* Princes.

There are great Remains that shew how exact a Minister *Cromwell* was; there are laid together many Remembrances of Things, that he

Cott. Libr. Titus B. 1.

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he was to lay before the King: They are too short, to give any great Light into Affairs; yet I will mention some of them. In one, he mentions the Abbots of *Glassenbury* and *Reading*, who were then Prisoners, and were examined. The Witnesses, with the Council, were ordered to be sent to *Berkshire* and *Somersetshire*. Mention is made of their Complices, who were to be tried, and to suffer with them. To this I must add, that in one of the *Zurick* Letters, it is written to *Bullinger*, that Three of the Richest Abbots in *England*, had suffered, for a Conspiracy into which they had entred, for Restoring the Pope's Authority in *England*.

1539. Some of Cromwell's Memorandums.

The Learned Dr. *Tanner* has sent me the Copy of a Letter, that Three Visitors wrote to *Cromwell* from *Glassenbury*, concerning that Abbot, on the 22d of *September*; but they do not add the Year. It will be found in the Collection, signed by *Richard Pollard*, *Thomas Moyle*, and *Richard Layton*. " They give him an Account of their " Examining the Abbot upon certain Articles. He did not seem to " answer them clearly; so they desired him, to call to his Memory " the Things which he then seemed to have forgot. They searched " his Study, and found in it a written Book against the King's Di- " vorce. They found also Pardons, Copies of Bulls, and a print- " ed Life of *Thomas Becket*; but found no Letter that was mate- " rial. They examined him a Second Time upon the Articles that " *Cromwell* had given them; and sent up his Answer, signed by " him, to Court: In which they write, That his Cankered and " Traiterous Heart, against the King and his Succession, did appear; " so, with very fair Words, they sent him to the *Tower*. They " found he was but a weak Man, and sickly. Having sent him " away, they examined the State of that Monastery: They found " in it above 300 *l.* in Cash; but had not the Certainty of the rest " of their Plate; only they found a fair Gold Chalice, with other " Plate, hid by the Abbot, that had not been seen by the former " Visitors; of which, they think, the Abbot intended to have made " his own Advantage. They write, That the House was the No- " blest they had ever seen of that Sort: They thought it fit for " the King, and for none else. This I set down the more particularly, to demonstrate the Falsity of the extravagant Account that *Sanders* gives of that Matter, as if it had been, without Notice given, that the Abbot was seized on, tried and executed, all of a sudden. But to return to *Cromwell*.

Collect. Numb. 67.

In another Note, he mentions the Determinations made by *Day*, *Heath* and *Thirleby*, of the Ten Commandments, of Justification, and of Purgatory. Another is about *Fisher* and *More*. The Judges Opinion was asked, concerning *More* and the *Nun*. Another is, Whether the Bishop of *Rochester*, and the Monk, who wrote the Letter as from Heaven, should be sent for? In another, that *Bocking* printed the Nun's Book, and took away 500 Copies, but left 200 with the Printer. In another, He proposed to send *Barnes* for *Melancthon*. In another, He asks, who shall be Prolocutor in the Convocation. In another, He proposes the making Lady *Mary* a Considerable Match for some Foreign Prince, the Duke of *Orleans*, or some other. This is all that I could gather, out of a vast Num-

1539. ber of those Notes, which he took of Matters, to move the King in.

The Matters at first charged on him, from which he clears himself.

Upon *Cromwell*'s Imprisonment, the Comptroller was sent to him, and he order'd him to write to the King, what he thought meet to be written concerning his present Condition: and, it seems, with some Intimations of Hope. Upon that, *Cromwell* wrote a long Letter to the King, which will be found in the Collection. "He begins it with great Thanks to the King, for what the Comptroller "had said to him. He was accused of Treason; but he protests "he never once thought to do that which should displease him, "much less to commit so High an Offence. The King knew his "Accusers: He prayed God to forgive them. He had ever loved "the King, and all his Proceedings: He prays God to confound "him, if he had ever a Thought to the contrary. He had labour-"ed much, to make the King a Great and a Happy Prince; and ac-"knowledges his great Obligations to the King. So he writes, that "if he had been capable to be a Traitor, the greatest Punishment "was too little for him. He never spoke with the Chancellor of "the Augmentations (*Baker*) and *Throckmorton* together, but once: "But he is sure, he never spoke of any such Matter," (as, it seems, was informed against him.) "The King knew what a Man "*Throckmorton* was, with Relation to all his Proceedings: And "what an Enemy *Baker* was to him, God and he knew: The King "knew, what he had been towards him. It seems, the King had "advertised him of them; but God, who had delivered *Susan* when "falsly accused, could deliver him. He trusted only in God, and "in the King. In all his Service, he had only consider'd the King; "but did not know that he had done Injustice to any Person: Yet "he had not done his Duty in all Things; therefore he asked Mer-"cy. If he had heard of Conventicles, or other Offences, he had "for the most part revealed them, and made them to be punished, "but not out of Malice. He had meddled in so many Things, that "he could not answer them all; but of this he was sure, that he "had never willingly offended: and wherein he had offended, he "humbly begged Pardon. The Comptroller told him, that Four-"teen Days ago the King had committed a great Secret to him, "which he had revealed: He remembred well the Matter, but he "had never revealed it. For, after the King had told him what it "was that he misliked in the Queen; he told the King, that She "often desired to speak with him, but he durst not: Yet the King "bad him go to her, and be plain with her, in declaring his Mind: "Upon which, he spake privately with her Lord Chamberlain, de-"siring him, not Naming the King, to deal with the Queen to be-"have her self more pleasantly towards the King; hoping thereby "to have had some Faults amended. And when some of her "Council came to him, for Licence to the Stranger Maids to de-"part; he did then require them, to advise the Queen, to use all "Pleasantness with the King. Both these Words were spoken, be-"fore the King had trusted the Secret to him, on design that She "might render her self more agreeable to the King: But after the

Coll. Numb. 68.

"King

" King had trusted that Secret to him, (which it seems was his Design to have the Marriage dissolved) he never spoke of it, but to the
" Lord Admiral; and that was by the King's Order on *Sunday* last;
" who was very willing to seek Remedy for the King's Comfort:
" He protests he was ready to Die to procure the King Comfort: He
" wishes he were in Hell if it was not true. This was all he had
" done, (it seems the King thought the Change in the Queen's Deportment towards him, was the Effect of his discovering the Secret of the King's Purpose, and in order to prevent it) but for this he hum-
" bly begs Pardon: He understood that it was charged upon him,
" that he had more Retainers about him than the Laws allowed:
" He never retained any, except his Houshold Servants, but against
" his Will: He had been pressed by many, who said they were his
" Friends, he had retained their Children and Friends, not as Re-
" tainers, for their Fathers and Friends promised to maintain them:
" In this, God knows, he had no ill Intent, but begs Pardon if he
" had offended, (for that was represented as the gathering a Force about him to defend himself). He concludes he had not behaved
" himself towards God and the King, as he ought to have done:
" And as he was continually calling on God for Mercy, for Offences
" committed against him, so he begs the King's Pardon for his
" Offences against him, which were never wilful; and he assures
" him he had never a Thought of Treason against him, either in
" Word or Deed: And he continuud to pray for him and the Prince,
" ending, indeed, with too abject a Meanness.

1539.

Reflections on the State of Affairs at that Time.

These were all the Particulars that were charged on him upon his First Imprisonment: Other Matters were afterwards added to throw the more load on him; but it seems they were not so much as thought on or mentioned at first: But now I return to the Letter writ to *Zurich*. *Hill* adds, that they heard they once designed to burn *Cromwell* as a *Heretick*, and that these Considerations made him confess that he had offended the King. What he said that way at his Execution, was pronounced coldly by him; upon that the Writer runs out very copiously, and acknowledges that their Sins had provoked God to bring upon them that great Change that they saw in Affairs: They had wholly trusted to the Learning of some, and to the Conduct of others: but God by the taking these away, was calling on them to turn sincerely to him, to trust entirely in him, and to repent with their whole Heart. There was at that Time a great want of Sincere Labourers, so that from *East* to *West*, and from *South* to *North*, there was scarce one Faithful and Sincere Preacher of the Gospel to be found.

Of the King's Divorce with *Anne* of *Cleve*.

The Act of dissolving the King's Marriage, did set forth that some Doubts were raised concerning the King's Marriage, which as he writes, was manifestly false, for no Body thought of any Doubtfulness in it: Nor did they pray, as is in the Act, that it might be enquired into: For no Body spake of it till the King was resolved to part with the Queen, that he might be married to Mrs. *Howard*, whom in his bad *Latin* he calls, *Parvissima Puella*, A very little Girl. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the rest of the Bishops, judged she was yet a Virgin, which none that knew the Man could believe. Here again I must leave my Letter.

1539

What passed in Convocation.

There had been no Convocation for Two Years, for *the Institution of a Christian Man*, was prepared by a Commission, given to some Bishops of both Provinces, and to some Arch-Deacons, but no Deans were summoned with them: A Convocation sate in both Provinces in *May*, in the Year 1539, to which Abbots and Priors were summoned; but though there were Eight Abbots, and Nine Priors, in *Exeter* Diocess, yet the Return from thence says, there were none in the Diocese. I do not know how to reconcile that, with the Abbot of *Tavestoke*'s sitting in the House of Lords, as appears by the Journals of that Parliament.

Upon this Occasion there was a particular Summons for both Provinces, to meet in a National Synod, to judge of the King's Marriage. When I wrote of this in my History, I did not at all reflect on the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, that makes Marriage a Sacrament, in which the Two Parties are the Ministers, who transfer their Persons to one another: And according to the Doctrine of the Necessity of the Intention in him that Ministers the Sacrament, how vile soever this Decision in the Matter of the King's Marriage may seem to be, yet it was a just Consequence from that Doctrine: For without a true, free, and inward Intention, which the King affirmed he had not, the Marriage could be no Sacrament: So that the heaviest Part of the Shame of that Decision falls indeed on that Doctrine. When the News came to *France* of the King's dissolving his Marriage with *Anne* of *Cleve*, King *Francis* himself asked the Ambassadors upon what Grounds it went: The Cardinal of *Ferrara* did also send one to ask what was alleged for it by Divines and Lawyers. *Wallop* and others were then the Ambassadors from *England* at the Court: They sent to the Council an Account of this; and *Wallop* wrote over to know what he should say upon the Subject. The Answer which the Council wrote to him was, that the Queen herself affirmed, her Person had not been touched by King *Henry*. That a Learned Convocation had judged the Matter: That the Bishops of *Duresme*, *Winchester*, and *Bath*, were known to be great and learned Clerks, who would do nothing but upon just and good Grounds: So that all Persons ought to be satisfied with these Proceedings, as she herself was; and here this Matter ended, to the great Reproach of that Body, that went so hastily, and so unanimously into that Scandalous Decision.

Paper-Office.

Exceptions in the Act of Grace.

But to return to my *Zurich* Letter; after he had related the Manner of that Judgment of those called Spiritual, who indeed were very Carnal: He mentions the Exceptions in the Act of Pardon, for besides particular Exceptions, all *Anabaptists* and *Sacramentaries* were excepted, and all those that affirmed, there was a Fate upon Men, by which the Day of their Death was unalterably determined.

A Design against *Crome*.

There was at this Time a great Design against Dr. *Crome*, whom *Cranmer* had recommended to be Dean of *Canterbury*, in these Words: "I know no Man more meet for the Dean's Room in *England*, "than Dr. *Crome*, who by his Sincere Learning, Godly Conversa-"tion, and Good Example of Living, with his Great Soberness, "hath done unto the King's Majesty as good Service, I dare say, as

"as any Priest in *England*: And yet his Grace daily remembreth 1539.
" all others that doth him Service, this Man only excepted, who
" never had yet besides his Gracious Favour, any Promotion at his
" Hands. Wherefore if it please his Majesty to put him in the
" Dean's room, I do not doubt but that he should be a Light to all
" the Deans and Ministers of Colleges in this Realm: For I know
" that when he was but a President of a College in *Cambridge*, his
" House was better ordered than all the Houses in *Cambridge* besides.
Certainly this Good Opinion that *Cranmer* had of him, made him, in the State in which Things were at this Time, to be the worse thought of, and the more watched: So when he heard that he was to be search-ed for, he went to the King, and on his Knees begg'd he would put a stop to the Severities then on Foot, and that he would set many then in Prison on the Account of Religion, at Liberty: The King had such a Regard for him, that upon this, he ordered a stop to be put to further Prosecutions: And he set those at Liberty who were then in Prison, they giving Bail to appear when they should be called for. The King seemed to think that by this small Favour, after some Severities, People would be more Quiet, and more Obedient. But after the Parliament was dissolved, Six Persons suffered. Three of these were Popish Priests, who suffered as Traytors, for denying the King's Supremacy: and *Barnes*, *Gerrard*, and *Jerom*, were the other Three. They were tied to one Stake and suffered without crying out, but were Quiet and Patient, as if they had felt no Pain. He could never hear any Reason given for this their Suffering, unless it was to please the Clergy: They were not condemned by any Form of Law. They had been so cautious, ever since the Act of the Six Articles passed, that they had not opened their Mouths, in Opposi-tion to them in Publick: And by the Act all Offences done before it had passed, were pardoned. *Barnes* himself said at the Place of Execution, that he did not know for what Cause he was brought thither to be burnt; for they were Attainted by Act of Parliament, without being brought to make their Answers.

The Bishop of *Chichester*, *Sampson*, though a Man compliant in all Things, and Dr. *Wilson*, were exempted out of the General Pardon, for no other Crime, as he heard, but that *Abel* who suffered for denying the King's Supremacy, being in the greatest Extremity of Want and Misery in Prison, where it was said he was almost eat up by Vermin, they had sent him some Alms: From this *Hill* goes on to give an Account of *Crome*, whose constant way had been, when he saw a Storm rising, to preach with more Zeal than Ordinary against the prevailing Corruption: So on *Christmass-Day* his Enemies that were watching to find Matter to accuse him, fram'd some Ar-ticles, which they carried to the King against him: He had con-demned in his Sermon all Masses for the Dead; and said, " if they
" were profitable to the Dead, the King and Parliament had done
" wrong in destroying the Monasteries endowed for that End: He
" also said, that to pray to the Saints, only to pray for us, was a
" Practice neither necessary, nor useful: He added, you call us
" the Seditious Preachers of a New Doctrine, but 'tis you are the
" Seditious Persons, who maintain the Superstitious Traditions of
" Men,

1539. " Men, and will not hear the Word of God himself. The Church " of Christ will ever suffer Persecution as it has done of late " among us.

These and some other Complaints being carried to the King, *Crome* was commanded to answer them: He in his Answer explained, and justified all he had said. The King had no Mind to carry Matters further against so Eminent a Man; So he passed a Sentence, in which he set forth, that *Crome* had confessed the Articles objected to him; but the King out of his Clemency, intending to quiet his People, appointed *Crome* to preach at Saint *Paul's*, and there to repeat all the Articles objected to him, and then to read the Judgment that the King gave in the Matter: And it concluded, that if ever he fell into the like Offence again, he was to suffer according to Law: The King's Judgment was, " That private Masses were Sa-" crifices, profitable both to the Living and to the Dead, but yet " that the King's Majesty with his Parliament had justly abolished " Monasteries: Upon this *Crome* preached, and at the End of his Sermon, he told the People he had received an Order from the King to be read to them; which he read, but said not one Word upon it; and with a short Prayer dismissed the Congregation: Whereas the King expected that he should have applauded his Judgment, and extolled his Favour to himself, as Dr. *Barnes* and his Two Companions were unhappily prevailed on to do, and yet were burned afterwards. *Hill* was therefore afraid that *Crome* might be brought into further Trouble. There was an Order sent to him from the King to preach no more, as he had before forbidden both *Latimer* and *Shaxton* to preach any more. They were not excluded from the General Pardon; but were still prohibited to preach: And when they were set at Liberty, they were required not to come within Ten Miles of either of the Universities, or the City of *London*, or the Dioceses in which they had been Bishops. Thus, says he, Faithful Shepherds were driven from their Flocks, and Ravenous Wolves were sent in their stead: He concludes, hoping that God would not suffer them to be long oppressed by such Tyranny. Thus I have given a very particular Account of that long Letter writ with much good Sense and Piety, but in very bad *Latin*, therefore I do not put it into the Collection.

Sampson, though he fell into this Disgrace for an Act of Christian Pitty, yet hitherto had shewed a very entire Compliance with all that had been done: He had published an Explanation on the first 50 Psalms, which he dedicated to the King: In which as he extolled his Proceedings, so he run out into a severe Invective against the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Usurpations and Corruptions favoured by that See, and he reflected severely on *Pole*. *Pole's* Old Friend *Tonstall* did also in a Sermon at Saint *Paul's* on *Palm-Sunday* in his grave way set forth his unnatural Ingratitude. But now the Popish Party upon *Cromwell's* Fall, and the Exaltation of the Duke of *Norfolk* by the King's Marrying his Niece, broke out into their usual Violence; and they were as we may reasonably believe, set on to it be *Boner*, who upon *Stokesly's* Death a Year before, had been brought to *London*, and immediately upon *Cromwell's* Disgrace changed sides; and from having

acted a forced Part with Heat enough, now came to act that which was natural to him. 1539.

Prosecutions upon the Articles

There were so many Informations brought in the City of *London*, that a Jury sitting in *Mercers-Chappel*, presented 500 Persons to be tried upon the Statute of the Six Articles; which, as may be easily imagined, put the City under great Apprehensions: But *Audley*, the Lord Chancellor, represented to the King, that this was done out of Malice: so they were all dismiss'd, some say, pardon'd. Informations came against Papists, on the other side: A Letter was sent from the Council to *Cranmer*, to send Dr. *Benger* to the *Tower*. Two of *Boner*'s Chaplains were, by Order of Council, sent to the Archbishop, to be examined by him. A Vicar was brought out of *Wiltshire*, out of whose Offices *Thomas Becket*'s Name was not yet rased: but he was dismis'd; for it was believ'd to be the Effect only of Negligence, and not of any ill Principles. There was a Letter of *Melanchthon*'s, against the King's Proceedings, printed in *English*; (perhaps it was that, which I published in the *Addenda* to my First Volume.) *Goodrick* Bishop of *Ely*'s Chaplain and Servant were examined, and his House was searched for it. Many were brought into Trouble for Words, concerning the King and his Proceedings. Poor *Marbeck*, of *Windsor*, was imprisoned in the *Marshalsea*. Many Printers were prosecuted, for bringing *English* Books into the Kingdom, against the King's Proceedings. In one Council-Day, (for all these Particulars are taken out of the Council-Books) Five and Twenty Booksellers were examined, as to all Books, more particularly *English* Books, that they had sold these last Three Years. *Hains*, the Dean of *Exeter*, was oft before the Council; but Particulars are not mentioned. Articles were brought against him, and they were referred to the King's Learned Council. The Bishops of *Ely*, *Sarum*, *Rochester* and *Westminster*, were appointed to examine him, and to proceed with all Diligence. He was also sent to the *Fleet*, for *Lewd and Seditious Preaching*, (the Words in the Council-Book) and Sowing many Erroneous Opinions; but, after a good Lesson and Exhortation, with a Declaration of the King's Mercy and Goodness towards him, he was dismissed, under a Recognisance of 500 Marks, to appear (if called for) any time within Five Months, to answer to such Things as should be laid against him.

On the 4th of *May* 1542, an Entry is made, *Cranmer* being present; that it was thought good, if the King's Highness shall be so content, that a General Commission shall be sent to *Kent*, with certain Special Articles; and generally, that all Abuses and Enormities of Religion, were to be examined. This was laid, on design to ruin *Cranmer*; but there is no other Entry made in the Council-Book, relating to this Matter; unless this was a Consequence of it, that on the 27th of *June*, *Hards* of *Canterbury*, a Prisoner for a Seditious Libel, was, after a good Exhortation, dismiss'd. And this is all the Light, that the only Council-Book of that Reign, for Two Years, affords as to those Matters. Mr. *Strype* has helped us to more Light.

While

1539.

Ch. 25. Mem. Cranmer.

A Conspiracy against Cranmer.

While *Cranmer* was Visiting his Diocese, there were many Presentments made of a very different Nature. Some were presented, for adhering still to the Old Superstitions condemned by the King, and for Insinuations in Favour of the Pope's Authority. Others, again, were, on the other Hand, presented for Doctrines, either contrary to the Six Articles, or to the Rites still practised. This created a great Confusion thro' that whole Countrey; and the Blame of all was cast on *Cranmer*, by his Enemies; as if he favour'd and encourag'd that, which was called the *New Learning*, too much.

A Plot was contrived, chiefly by *Gardiner*'s Means, with the Assistance of Dr. *London*, and of *Thornden*, (Suffragan of *Dover*, and Prebendary of *Canterbury*) who had lived in *Cranmer*'s House, and had all his Preferment by his Favour. Several others engaged in it, who had all been raised by him, and had pretended Zeal for the Gospel; but, upon *Cromwell*'s Fall, they reckoned, that if they could send *Cranmer* after him, they would effectually crush all Designs of a further Reformation.

They resolved to begin with some of the Prebendaries and Preachers. Many Articles were gathered out of their Sermons and private Discourses, all terminating in the Archbishop; who, as was said, shewed so partial a Favour to the Men of the *New Learning*, and dealt so harshly and severely with the others, that he was represented to be the Principal Cause of all the Heat and Divisions, that were in *Canterbury*, and in the other Parts of *Kent*. These Articles went thro' many Hands; but it was not easy to prevail with a proper Person to present them. The Steps made in the Matter, are copiously set forth by Mr. *Strype*. At last they came into the King's Hands: And he, upon that, passing by *Lambeth*, where the Archbishop stood, in Respect to him, as he passed by, called him into his Barge; and told him, he had now discover'd who was the greatest Heretick in *Kent*. With that, he shewed him the Articles against himself, and his Chaplains. The Archbishop knew the Falshood of many Particulars; so he prayed the King, to send a Commission to examine the Matter. The King said, he would give him a Commission, but to none else. He answered, it would not seem decent, to appoint him to examine Articles exhibited against himself. The King said, he knew his Integrity, and would trust it to no other Person: Nor would he name above one, (tho' pressed to it) that should be joined in Commission with him: And he even then seemed persuaded, it was a Contrivance of *Gardiner*'s to ruin him.

His great Mildness.

The Archbishop went down himself into *Kent*; and then the Conspirators seeing the King's Favour to him, were struck with Fear. Some of them wept, and begged Pardon, and were put in Prison: But the rest of the Commission, in whose Hands the Archbishop left the Matter, being secretly Favourers of that Party, proceeded faintly: So it was writ to Court, that unless Dr. *Legh* were sent down, who was well practised in Examinations, the Conspiracy would never be found out: He was, upon that, sent down; and he ordered a Search to be made at one and the same Time, of all suspected Places and so he discover'd the whole Train. Some of the Archbishop's

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ſhop's Domeſticks, *Thornden* in particular, were among the Chief of the Informers. He charged them with it. They, on their Knees, confeſſed their Faults, with many Tears. He, who was gentle even to Exceſs, ſaid, he did forgive them, and prayed God to forgive them, and to make them better Men. After that, he was never obſerved to change his Countenance, or alter his Behaviour towards them. He expreſſed the like readineſs to pardon all the reſt: Many were impriſoned upon theſe Examinations, but the Parliament granting a Subſidy, a general Pardon ſet them all at Liberty; which otherwiſe the Archbiſhop was reſolved to have procured to them. This Relation differs in ſeveral Particulars from the Account that I gave of it, in my Hiſtory: But this ſeems to be the exacter and the better vouched, and therefore I acquieſce in it. Another Inſtance is given by the ſame Writer of the King's Zeal for *Cranmer*. Sir *John Goſtwick*, Knight for *Bedfordſhire*, did in the Houſe of Commons charge him for preaching Hereſy, againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, both at *Feverſham* and *Canterbury*: The King hearing of this, did, in his rough way, threaten *Goſtwick*, calling him *Varlet*, and charged him to go and ask *Cranmer* pardon, otherwiſe he ſhould feel the Effects of his Diſpleaſure. The King ſaid if he had been a *Kentiſh*-Man, he might have had ſome more Shadow for accuſing him; but being of *Bedfordſhire*, he could have none. *Goſtwick*, terrified with this Meſſage, made his Submiſſion to *Cranmer*, who mildly forgave him, and went to the King and moved him for his Favour; which he did not obtain without ſome Difficulty.

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5.

Some Steps made in ſetting out True Religion.

It appears plainly that the King acted as if he had a mind to be thought Infallible; and that his Subjects were bound to believe as much as he thought fit to open to them, and neither more nor leſs. He went on this Year before he took his Progreſs, in finiſhing *the neceſſary Doctrine and Erudition of any Chriſtian Man*: A great Part of it was corrected by his own Hand, particularly in that Article of the Creed, *the Catholick Church*, where there are ſevere Reflections added on the Biſhops of *Rome*. Here I found likewiſe ſome more of the Anſwers made to the 17 Queries upon the Matter of the Sacraments that I publiſhed in my Firſt Volume. I ſet them out again in my Collection; that by theſe the Reader may better underſtand the Two following Papers, that I print ſeparately; and not intermixed with one another, as I did before, which I thought to be an Eaſe to the Reader: But ſince that was made a great Offence, I will do it no more. One of theſe is only an Anſwer to the Queries; the Writer of the firſt is not named, it is probably *Tonſtall*'s; he is plainly of the ſame Side with the Archbiſhop of *York*. It will be found in the Collection, as alſo another Paper, with ſeveral Marginal Notes in the King's Hand, by which it appears that the King was much ſhaken from his former Notions: He asked for Scripture in ſeveral Particulars that could not eaſily be brought. On the Margin *Cranmer* and *Barlow* are often named, but I do not underſtand with what View it was that they and no other (except *Cox* once) are named. Over againſt the 15th Article their Names are ſet down in this Order, *York*, *Dureſme*, *Carliſle*, *Corren*, *Simon*, *Oglethorp*, *Edgworth*, *Day*, *Redman*, *Robinſon*, *Wincheſter*; and a little below, *Canterbury*, *Hereford*, *Rocheſter*, *Davys*, (I ſup-

Coll. Numb. 32.
1.*Vol. Refor.*
Coll. Numb. 69.
Coll. Numb. 70.
Coll. Numb. 71.

1539. (I suppose St. *David's*) *Westminster*, *Layton*, *Tresham*, *Cox*, *Crayford*; these are writ in a Hand that I do not know, but not in the same Hand. It seems those Lists were made with Relation to the different Parties in which they stood. The Book thus carefully examined was finished and published.

K. [illegible] Howard's Disgrace.

The King went in Progress with his Queen, who began to have a great Influence on him, and on what Reason I do not know, she withdrew from her Uncle, and became his Enemy: But before the King's Return, her ill Life came to be discovered, which ended fatally to her. It is scarce worth the Reader's while to say any more of a Matter that is so Universally acknowledged; but having found an Original Account subscribed by her self, of one of her Examinations, I have put it in the Collection. It appears there was a particular View in the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Examining her, to draw from her all the Discoveries they could make to fasten a Precontract with *Dereham* on her. Many trifling Stories relating to that being suggested, she was examined to them all: but tho' she confesses a lewd Commerce with *Dereham*, she positively denied every thing that could infer a Precontract; nor did she confess any thing of that sort done after the King married her: which she still denied very positively, even to the last. On the 15th of *December* Letters were written to the King's Ambassadors abroad, that contain a severe Account of the lewd and naughty Behaviour and Lightness of her lately reputed for *Queen*, (I give the Words of the Letter) at which the King was much troubled.

Coll. Numb. 72.

Paper-Office.

Upon her Disgrace there was a new Negotiation proposed with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*. *Mount* was again sent over to excuse, as well as he could, the Divorce with *Anne* of *Cleve*. He said she was treated nobly and kindly in all respects by the King: He renewed the Proposition for a League, with relation to their Common Interests: But they still stood upon this, that they could enter into no Alliance with him, unless they agreed in Religion, insisting particularly on Private Masses, the denying the Chalice, and the Celibate of the Clergy: Upon which a Conference was proposed in *Gelderland*, or at *Hambourg* or *Breme*. The King in answer to this wrote, that he would carefully examine all that they laid before him: He expressed great Regard to the Elector, but complained that some of his Learned Men had written virulently against him, and misrepresented his Proceedings. *Cranmer* likewise wrote to the Elector, and set forth the great Things the King had already done in Abolishing the Pope's Authority, the Monastick State, and the Idolatrous Worship of Images: He desired they would not be uneasy, tho' the King in some things differed still from them. He was very Learned himself, and had Learned Men about him: He was quick of Apprehension, had a sound Judgment, and was firm in what he once resolved on: and he hoped the Propositions they had sent over would be well considered.

Seckendorf lib. 3. p. 78.

A Negotiation with the German Princes.

Lord *William Howard*, the late Queen's Uncle, was then Ambassador in *France*: He tells in one of his Letters, that the Admiral was restored to Favour, chiefly by the Means of Madam *D'Estampes*, whose Credit with that King is well known. There were Reports that the Emperor and the *French* King were in a Treaty, and that in

Conclusion, they would join to make War on the King: This was charged on the *French*, but solemnly disowned by that King. It appears the Proposition for Marrying the Lady *Mary* to the Duke of *Orleans*, was then begun: Great Exceptions were taken to her being declared a Bastard: But it was promised, that when all other things were agreed to, she should be declared Legitimate. Upon Queen *Katherine Howard's* Disgrace, Lord *William* was recalled, and *Paget* was sent over in his Room.

1542.

There is in the Paper-Office an Original Letter of *Paget's* to the King, that gives an Account of his Conversation with the Admiral, who was then in High Favour, *Montmorency* being in Disgrace. It is very long, but it contains so many Important Passages, that I have put it in the Collection, and shall here give an Abstract of it. It is dated from *Chablais* the 22d of *April*, in the Year 1542.

Coll. Numb. 73.

Paget's Negotiation with the Court of *France*.

" He gave the Admiral an Account of his Instructions, and of " what both the King and his Council had ordered him to say: He " perceived the Admiral sighed and crossed himself often: And said " in his Answer to him, that he saw the King of *France* resolved " to enter into some Confederacy; he desired it might be with the " King, and would think of no other Prince till the King refused " him: He thought both the Kings were by their Interests obliged " to stick to one another, though the Marriage had never been spoke " of: It is true, that would fix and strengthen it. But he thought " 200000 Crowns was a very mean Offer, for such a King's Daughter, to such a Prince; 4 or 500000 Crowns was nothing to the " King. The Duke of *Orleans* was a Prince of great Courage, and " did aspire to Great Things. So mean an Offer would quite discourage them. The Daughter of *Portugal* was offered with 400000 " Ducats, together with the Interest of it since her Father's Death, " which was almost as much more. At the First Motion of the " Matter, it was answered, the Man must desire the Woman: Now " he does desire her, and you offer nothing; with this he sighed. " *Paget* answered, and fully set out the Personal Love that he knew " his Master had for the *French* King: That none of the Occasions " of Suspicion that had been given, could alienate him from it; " And he reckoned up many of these: He acknowledged there was " great hopes of the Duke of *Orleans*, but he studied to shew that " the Offer was not unreasonable, all Things considered. *Lewis* " the 12th had but 300000 Crowns with the King's Sister, and the " King of *Scots* had with the other but 100000 Crowns: But he said " besides the 200000 Crowns which he offered to give, they will " also forgive 800000 Crowns that *France* owed the King, and " Discharge the 100000 Crowns Yearly Pension. To this the Admiral replied, he counted the Forgiving the 800000 Crowns for " nothing: And for the Annual Pension they would be at as much " Charge to maintain her, and her Court. *Paget* said the 800000 " Crowns was a just Debt, lent in an Extreme Necessity; and because it had been long owing, and often respited, must that pass " for nothing. So he bad him ask reasonably, or offer what was " proper Reciprocally for it. The Admiral said the King was Rich, " and what was 800000 Crowns to him, which they were not able " to

1542. " to pay. So the Admiral, said he, wished the Thing had never been spoke
" of: He fell next to turn the Motion to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and he
" proposed a League Offensive and Defensive against the Emperor:
" and that whatever should be got from the Emperor, should be the
" King's, in Lieu of the Pension during Life. He knew the Empe-
" ror was practising with the King, as he was at the same Time with
" them. *Boner* was then sent Ambassador to *Spain*, and had carried
" over from the King to the Emperor Three Horses of Value. The
" Emperor might say what he will in the way of Practice: But he
" knew he would never unite with the King, except he would re-
" turn to the Pope: For so the Nuncio told the Chancellor, and the
" Chancellor told it to the Queen of *Navarre*, who fell out with
" him upon that Occasion. She told him he was ill enough before;
" but now, since he had *the Mark of the Beast*, (for he was lately
" made a Priest) he grew worse and worse: The Emperor's Design
" was only to divide them. He offered to them that the Duke of
" *Orleans* should be King of *Naples*, and to give *Flanders* to the
" Crown of *France*: But in Lieu of that, he asked the Renunciation
" of *Milan* and *Navarre*, and the restoring of *Piedmont* and *Savoy*:
" But by this the Father and Son being so far separate, the Empe-
" ror would soon drive the Duke of *Orleans* out of *Naples*. He was
" also studying to gain the Duke of *Cleve*, and to restore him *Guelder*
" quietly, provided that he and his Wife would renounce *Navarre*:
" But he concluded that they knew the Emperor did nothing but
" Practise: They knew he offered to the King to reconcile him to
" the Pope, without any Breach of his Honour, for it should be at
" the Pope's Suit. *Paget* said he knew nothing of all that, but be-
" lieved it would be hard to reconcile him to the Bishop of *Rome*,
" for Vertue and Vice cannot stand together in one Predicament.
" Call ye him *Vice*, said the Admiral, he is the very *Devil*, and I
" trust to see his Confusion: Every Thing must have a Time, and
" a Beginning. But when begin you, said *Paget*? The Admiral
" answered, before it be long; the King will give all the Abbies to
" his Lay-Gentlemen, and so by little and little overthrow him alto-
" gether: Why may not we have a Patriarch in *France*? This the
" Pope's Legate began to perceive, and though they talked of a
" General Council, he believed the Pope would as soon be hanged
" as call one. *Paget* said he would be glad to see them once begin
" to do somewhat. Ah, said the Admiral, I'm ill matched: He
" wished the entire Union of the Two Kings, and if an Interview
" might be between them, it would be the happiest Thing could
" befal *Christendom*: But he believed some of the King's Council
" leaned too much to the Emperor, and proposed several Advan-
" tages from it. He said the Emperor cared not if Father, Friend,
" and all the World should sink, so his Insatiable Desires might be
" satisfied. He suffered Two of his Brothers-in-Law to perish for
" want of 50000 Crowns: First the King of *Hungary*, and then
" the King of *Denmark*; whom he might have restored, if he would
" have given him 10000 Crowns. He was then low enough,
" and they would do well to fall on him, now that he was so low,
" before he took Breath: So he pressed *Paget* to put Matters on

heartily

" heartily with the King: He thought it an unreasonable Thing for " the Emperor and his Brother to ask Aid against the *Turk*, to de- " fend their own Dominions, when they kept the King's Domini- " ons from him. *Paget* gave the King an Account of all this Conver- " sation very particularly, with an humble Submission to him, if in " any Thing he had gone too far. The Court of *France* believed " the Emperor was treating with the King, for the Marriage of the " Lady *Mary*: And that for that End *Boner* was sent to *Spain*; " who was looked on as a Man throughly Imperial. After *Paget* " had ended his Letter, written on the 19th of *April*, he adds a " long Postscript on the 22d, for the Admiral had entred into far- " ther Discourse with him the next Day. He told him how sorry " he was to see all his Hopes blasted: He could not Sleep all Night " for it. They had Letters from their Ambassadors in *England*, and " were amazed to find that a King who was so Rich, stood for so " small a Matter. The Pope had offered the Duke of *Guise*'s Son " 200000 Crowns with his Niece: He said he was much troubled " at all this: All that were about the King his Master, were not of " one Mind; and he had been reproached for beginning this Matter. " They knew the Falshood, and the Lies of the Pope and the Em- " peror well enough: He wished they would consider well what the " Effects of an entire Friendship with the King of *France* might be: " The *French* could do no more than they could do: Within Two " Years they would owe the King 100000 Crowns, besides the " 100000 Crowns during the King's Life, and 50000 Crowns for- " ever after that: But he said in those Treaties many Things ought " to be done for their own Defence: At this he was called away " by the King, but came afterwards to *Paget*: He said it was not " 100000, nor 200000 Crowns could not enrich the one, nor im- " poverish the other King: So he added, we ask your Daughter, " and you shall have our Son; but desired that they might carry " the Matter further into a League, to make War on the Emperor, " Defensive, for all their Territories.

1542.

" He proposed that the King should send 10000 Foot and 2000 " Horse into *Flanders*, and to pay 5000 *Germans*; and the *French* " King should furnish the same Number of Foot and of *Germans*, " and 3000 Horse, and an equal Number of Ships on both sides; " and the King of *France* should in some other Places fall into the " Emperor's Dominions, at an Expence of 200000 Crowns a Month. " What a Thing said he would it be to the King to have *Gravelin*, " *Dunkirk*, and all those Quarters joining to *Calais*? *Paget* answered, " they might spend all their Money, and catch nothing: And he " did not see what ground of Quarrel his Master had with the Em- " peror; upon which the Admiral replied, Does not he owe you " Money? Hath not he broken his Leagues with you in many Par- " ticulars? Did not he provoke us to join with the Pope and him, " to drive your Master out of his Kingdom? And hath he not now " put the Pope on offering a Council to sit at *Mantua*, *Verona*, *Cam-* " *bray*, or *Mets*, (this last Place was lately named) all on Design " to ruin you? A Pestilence take him, said he, false Dissembler that " he is! If he had you at such an Advantage, as you now have him,

" you

1542. " you should feel it: And he run out largely, both against the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Emperor: He desired the War might begin that Year, the Emperor being so low, that for all his Millions, he had not a Peny.

On all this the Admiral seemed wonderfully set; *Paget* excused himself from entering further into these Matters, and desired that they might be proposed to the King by the *French* Ambassador then at *London*; yet being pressed by the Admiral, he promised to lay all before the King, and he did it very fully, but with many Excuses, and much Submission. The King's Council writ a short Answer to this long Letter: They expressed their Confidence in the Admiral, with great Acknowledgments for his Affection to the King; but they seemed to suspect the King of *France*, that all his Professions were only to get Money from the King. 200000 Crowns seemed nothing when they were willing to forgive him a Million: But by this Letter it seems the *French* Ambassadors did still insist on 600000 Crowns to be paid down: So this Matter was let fall; but to say all that relates to the Duke of *Orleans* at once:

Paper-Office.

The Duke of *Orleans* promised to declare himself a Protestant.

Mr. *Le Vassor* has published Instructions, of which a collated Copy was found among Cardinal *Granvill*'s Papers. It is a Question that cannot be answered how he came by it; whether the Original was taken with the Landgrave of *Hesse*, or by what other way, is not certain: It bears dears Date at *Rhemes* the 8th of *September* 1543. " It expresses the great Desire that he had, that the Holy Gospel might be preached in the whole Kingdom of *France*: But the Respect that he owed to the King his Father, and to the Dauphin his Brother, made that he did not order it to be preached freely in his Dutchy of *Orleans*; that being under their Obedience. But he sent to the Duke of *Saxony*, to the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the other Protestant Princes, to assure them that he was resolved, and promised it expresly to them, that he would order that the Gospel should be preached in the Dutchy of *Luxemburgh*, and in all other Places that should belong to him by the Right of War: He desired to be received into their Alliance, and to a League Offensive and Defensive with them. He desired earnestly that they would grant this Request, not to be aided by them against any Prince, but only on the Account of the Christian Religion, of which he desired the Increase above all Things; that by these Means Light may be spread into other Dominions, and into the Kingdom of *France*, when the King his Father should see him so allied to those Princes, which will be the Cause of making him declare the Good Zeal he has to that Matter; and will be able always to excuse it to him, and to defend it against all his Enemies: He desires therefore, that as soon as he shall give order that the Gospel shall be preached in the Dutchy of *Luxemburgh*, this League and Alliance may begin: He hopes this will not be delayed, from the Opinion that they may have that he cannot quickly shew what Power he has to support the Love he bears to this Cause; he hopes in a little Time to shew, if it pleases God, some good Effect of it: and he offers at present, not only all his own Force, but the whole Force of the King his Father, who has given him Authority to employ it in every

"Thing that he shall judge to be good for them, and in every Thing "that may concern their Welfare, their Profit and Freedom.

1543.

It is impossible to read this; and to doubt either of his being sincerely a Protestant, or at least that he was willing to profess it openly: And it can as little be doubted, that in this he had his Father's Leave, to do what he did. The Retaking of *Luxemburgh* put an End to this Proposition: But, it seems, the Emperor apprehended, that the Heat of this young Prince might grow uneasy to him; therefore he took all Methods to satisfy his Ambition. For, on the 18th of *December* 1544, the Ambassadors at the Emperor's Court write over, That he was Treating a Match between his own Eldest Daughter, and the Duke of *Orleans*; and that he offered to give with her the Ancient Inheritance of the House of *Burgundy*, the Two *Burgundies*, and the *Netherlands*: Or if he would Marry his Brother *Ferdinand*'s Second Daughter, to give the Dutchy of *Milan* with her. They also mention in *April* therafter, that he came to the Emperor, and stayed some Days with him at *Antwerp*, and then went back. On this they all concluded that the Treaty was like to go on, but do not mention which of the Two Ladies he liked best; for there could be no Comparison made between what was offered with them. But all the Negotiation, and all the Hopes of that Prince vanished on the 11th of *September* 1545; for *Karn* the King's Ambassador in *Flanders*, writ over, that on that Day he died of the Plague.

Practices on him end with his Life.

I come next to put together all that I find in the Minutes of Convocation, during this Reign. The *Necessary Erudition* was never brought in Convocation: But it was treated by some Bishops and Divines, of both Provinces, and published by the King's Authority. It seems, when the Doctrine was thus settled, there was a Design to carry on the Reformation further. There was a Convocation held in *January* 1541; in the Second Session of which, the Archbishop deliver'd them a Message from the King, That it was his Pleasure, that they should Consult concerning the Reforming our Errors. And he deliver'd some Books to them, to be examined by them: It does not appear, what Sort of Books, or Errors, those were; whether of Papists, Sacramentaries, or of Anabaptists; for of this last Sort, some had crept into *England*. The Business of *Munster* had made that Name so odious, that Three Years before this, in *October* 1538, there was a Commission sent to *Cranmer*, *Stokesly*, *Sampson*, and some others, to enquire after Anabaptists, to proceed against them, to restore the Penitent, to burn their Books, and to deliver the Obstinate to the Secular Arm: But I have not seen what Proceedings there were upon this.

Proceedings in Convocation.

In *October* 1545, there was an Order of Council published, to take away Shrines and Images: Several Commissions were granted for Executing this; in some, they add *Bones* to *Images*. The Archbishop did likewise move the Convocation, in the King's Name, to make Laws against Simony, and to prepare a Book of Homilies, and also a New Translation of the Bible: For, it seems, Complaints were made of the Translation then printed, and set up in Churches. The several Books of the Bible were parcelled out, and assigned to seve-

A new Translation of the Bible design'd.

1543. several Bishops to translate them. This came to nothing, during this Reign; but this same Method was followed in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time. In the 5th Session, the Persons were named for this Translation. *Cranmer* had, some few Years before this, parcelled out an Old Translation of the New Testament, to several Bishops and Divines, to be revised and corrected by them: But it was then much opposed. The *Acts of the Apostles* was assigned to *Stokesly*; but he sent in no Return upon it, so the Archbishop sent to him for it. His Answer was sullen: "He wonder'd what the Archbishop meant, "thus to abuse the People, by giving them Liberty to Read the "Scripture, which did nothing but infect them with Heresy. He "had not looked on his Portion; and never would: So he sent "back the Book, saying, He would never be guilty of bringing the "Simple People into Error. Notwithstanding this, *Cranmer* had published a more Correct New Testament in *English*; which is referr'd to in the Injunctions that were formerly mentioned; but now he designed a New Translation of the whole Bible. In the 6th Session, which was on the 17th of *February*, a Statute against Simony was treated of: There was also some Discourse about the Translating the Lord's-Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in the Vulgar Tongue: And it was consider'd, how some Words in them ought to be translated; but what these were, is not mentioned: Only, it seems, there was a Design to find Faults in every Thing that *Cranmer* had done.

Memor. of *Cranmer*. *Strype*, Ch. 8.

On the 24th of *February* several Matters were treated of; that in particular is named, That none should let Leases beyond the Term of 21 Years. They treated about many of the Rituals, and of *Thomas Becket*, and of the Adorning of Images, and about Reforming some scandalous Comedies. On the 3d of *March*, the Archbishop told them from the King, that it was his Pleasure, that the Translation of the Bible should be revised by the Two Universities. The Bishops did not agree to this; and, it seems, they insisted much upon Trifles: For they treated of this, Whether, in the Translation of the Bible, *the Lord*, or *our Lord*, should be the Constant Form. On the same Day, the Lord Chancellor exhibited to them an Act, allowing, that the Bishops Chancellors might Marry. To this the Bishops dissented. Some other Matters were proposed; but all was referred to the King. Some Homilies were offered on different Subjects, but nothing is marked concerning them. The Archbishop also told them, that the King would have the Books of the several Offices, used in Churches, to be examined and corrected: In particular, that both at Matins and Vespers, one Chapter of the New Testament, should be read in every Parish. Some Petitions were offered by the Clergy: The First was, for Making a Body of the Ecclesiastical Laws. Of this we hear no more in this Reign: But we are assured, that there was a digested Body of them prepared; probably it was very near the same, that was also prepared in King *Edward*'s Time. *Cranmer*, in a Letter that he wrote to the King out of *Kent*, on the 24th of *January* 154⅘, which I did put in my 2d Volume, tells him, "That, according to his Commands, he had "sent for the Bishop of *Worcester*, (*Heath*), to let him know, that "the

2d Vol. Coll. of Rec. N. 61.

" the King's Pleasure was, to have the Names of such Persons sent " him, as he had formerly appointed to make Ecclesiastical Laws " for the Realm. The Bishop promised, with all Speed, to enquire out their Names, and the Book which they made, and to bring both the Names and the Book to the King; which, he writes, he had done before that Time. By this it appears, that Persons had been named for that; and that a Commission was granted, pursuant to which the Work had been prepared: For Things of this Kind were never neglected by *Cranmer*. It seems, it had been done some Years before, so that it was almost forgotten; but now, in one of King *Henry*'s Lucid Intervals it was prepared, as Mr. *Strype* has publish'd: But how it came to pass, that no further Progress was made during this Reign, in so Important and so Necessary a Work, is not easily to be accounted for; since it must have contributed much to the Exaltation of the King's Supremacy, to have all the Ecclesiastical Courts governed by a Code authorized by him. In the Convocation, in the Year 1543, we have only this short Word, That on the 29th of *April*, the Archbishop treated of the Sacraments, and on the next Day, on the Article of Free Will. This is all that I could gather from the Copy of the Minutes of the Convocations; which was communicated to me by my most Learned and Worthy Brother, the Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, who assured me, it was collated exactly with the only Ancient Copy that remains, to give us Light into the Proceedings in the Convocations of those Times.

1544.

A Reformation of the Eccles. Laws was far advanced.

Bell Bishop of *Worcester* resigned his Bishoprick.

Rymer. To. 15.

It does not appear to me, what moved *Bell*, Bishop of *Worcester*, to resign his Bishoprick. *Rymer* has printed his Resignation; in which, it is said, that he did it simply, of his own accord. He lived till the Year 1556, as his Tomb-stone in *Clerkenwell* Church informs us. Whether he inclined to a further Reformation, and so withdrew at this Time; or whether the Old Leaven yet remaining with him, made it uneasy for him to comply, does not appear: If his Motives had been of the former Sort, it may be supposed, he would have been thought of in King *Edward*'s Time: and if of the latter, then in Queen *Mary*'s Reign he might again have appeared; so I must leave it in the dark, what his true Motive was.

Audley Lord Chancellor died.

Rymer ibid.

Audley, who had been Lord Chancellor from the Time that Sir *Thomas More* left that Post, fell sick in the Year 1544, and sent the Great Seal to the King, by Sir *Edward North* and Sir *Thomas Bland*. The King delivered it to the Lord *Wriothesly*, and made him Lord-Keeper during the Lord *Audley*'s Infirmity, with Authority to do every Thing that the Lord Chancellor might do; and the Duke of *Norfolk* tendred him the Oaths. It seems, there was such a Regard had to the Lord *Audley*, that, as long as he lived, the Title of Lord Chancellor was not given with the Seals; but, upon his Death, *Wriothesley* was made Lord Chancellor. This seems to be the First Instance of a Lord Keeper, with the full Authority of a Lord Chancellor.

Practices on some Lords of *Scotland*.

I have not now before me such a Thread of Matters, as to carry me regularly thro' the remaining Years of this Reign; and therefore, hereafter I only give such Passages as I have gathered, without Knitting them together in an Exact Series. The Breach between *Eng-*

1544. *land* and *France* was driven on by the Emperor's Means, and promoted by all the Popish Party: So the King, to prevent all Mischief from *Scotland*, during this War with *France*, entred into an Agreement with the Earls of *Lenox* and *Glencairne*, and the Elect Bishop of *Caithnes*, Brother to the Earl of *Lenox*, in *May* 1544. The Articles are published. They promised, "That they should cause the "Word of God to be truly taught in their Countries. 2*dly*, They "should continue the King's Faithful Friends. 3*dly*, They should "take care, that the Queen be not secretly carried away. 4*thly*, "They should assist the King, to Seize on some Castles on the Bor-"ders. And they delivered the Elect Bishop of *Caithnes* to the King, as an Hostage, for their Observing these Things. On the other Hand, "the King engaged to send Armies to *Scotland*, both by Sea and "Land; and to make the Earl of *Lenox*, (written in this, *Levi-"nax*) as soon as he could, Governor of *Scotland*: And that he "should bestow his Niece, Lady *Margaret Dowglas*, on him. There was a fuller Agreement made with them, with more Particulars in it, on the 26th of *June*; and a Pension of 250 *l.* was assigned to the Earl of *Glencairn*, and 125 to his Son, both during Life. Those in the Castle of St. *Andrews*, were also taken into the King's Protection: And they promised to promote the Marriage, and the King's Interests; and to deliver up the Castle, when demanded. There were also private Agreements made with *Norman Lesley*, *Kircaldy* of the *Grange*, and some others, all to be found in *Rymer*.

Rymer.

Tom. 15.

*Seck.*l.3.p.121. *Mount* sent to *Germany*.

The often-cited *Seckendorf* tells us, that at this Time they in *Germany* began to have greater Hopes of the King than ever. *Mount* was again sent to offer an Alliance with them: He excused all the late Proceedings. He said, *Cromwell* had rashly said, "That he "hoped to see the Time, that he should strike a Dagger into the "Heart of him, that should oppose the Reformation; which his Judges thought was meant of the King. He said, *Barnes* had indiscreetly provoked the Bishop of *Winchester*: He also blamed their Ambassadors, for entring into Disputes in Writing with the King. He believed, *Melanchthon* and *Bucer* would have managed that Matter with more Success. *Bucer* seconded *Mount*'s Motions, and magnified what the King had already done; tho' there was no compleat Reformation yet effected.

This did not move the Elector: He looked on the King, as an Enemy to their Doctrine. His whole Design in what he had done, was, to make himself the *Head of the Church*, to which he was not called of God. His Government was Tyrannical, and his Life flagitious; so he looked for no good from him. The King of *France* moved him to undertake a Mediation between him and the King; but the Elector referred that to a General Meeting of those who were engaged in the Common *Smalcaldick* League. The Princes in *Germany* having their Chief Dependance on the Kings of *France* and *England*, saw how much they were weakned, and exposed to the Emperor, by the War which was going on between those two Kings; so they sent some empowered by them, to try if it was possible to prevent that War, and to mediate a Reconciliation between them. To these, when they delivered their Message to the King, he com-

 plained

plained of the Injustice and Wilfulness of the *French* King: He thought their Interposition could have no Effect, and he used these Words in an Answer to their Memorial, *We give them well to understand, that we do both repose an ampler and a fuller Confidence in them, than the* French *King either doth or will do.*

1544.

De Bellay who being oft employed, understood those Matters well, tells us, that the Emperor and King *Henry* had agreed to join their Armies and to march directly into *France*: He tells in another Place, that if King *Henry* had followed the Opinion of his Council, which was for his landing in *Normandy* with 30000 Men, he would have carried that whole Dutchy: And he ascribes his Error in that Matter to the Providence of God, that protected *France* from so great a Danger: The Emperor had proposed to the King that upon the Junction of their Two Armies, they should march strait to *Paris*: For they reckoned that both their Armies would have amounted to Ninety Thousand Foot, and Twenty Thousand Horse: But after the Emperor had drawn the King into his Measures, he went on taking some Towns, pursuing his own Ends, and then made his own Peace with *France*, and left the King engaged in the War: So the King finding the Emperor's Main Army was not like to join him, some Bodies out of the *Netherlands* only coming to act in Conjunction with him, upon that he sent the Duke of *Norfolk* to besiege *Montrevil*, and he himself sat down before *Bulloigne*. Marshall *Bies*, Governor of *Buloigne*, apprehending the Importance of *Montrevel*, carried a considerable Part of the Garrison of *Bulloigne* with him, and threw himself into *Montrevel*: By this Means he left *Bulloigne* weak, and in ill Hands. In the mean Time the Emperor took *Luxemburgh*, and some other Places; so all the Project with which he had amused the King, vanished, and a Peace was struck up between him and the King of *France*.

P. 1094.
P. 1115.
A War with France.
Bulloigne taken.

The *French* sent an Army to raise the Siege of *Montrevel*; and they were moving so as to get between the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the King's Army: Upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* raised the Siege, but *Bulloigne* was taken; and that small Conquest was out of measure magnified by those who saw their own Advantage in flattering their Master, tho' at a vast Charge he had gained a Place, scarce worth keeping.

The Emperor had that Address, and he had so strong a Party about the King, that even all this was excused, and the Intercourse between the two Courts was not discontinued.

The King is forsaken by the Emperor.

In one Point the Emperor was necessary to the King, and he kept his Word to him. It is certain the King had great Apprehensions of the Council that was now sitting at *Trent*, and the more because *Pole* was one of the Legates sent to preside in it; who, as he had Reason to apprehend, would study to engage the Council to confirm the Pope's Censure thundred out against the King; and it was believed he was named Legate for that End. The King of *France* had offered to *Gardiner*, that if the King would join with him, he would suffer no Council to meet, but as the King should Consent to it. But his fluctuating Temper was so well known, that the King trusted in this particular more to the Emperor, whose Interest in that Council

1544. he knew must be great: And the Emperor had promised that the Council should not at all intermeddle in the Matter between the Pope and the King: The Effect shewed he was true in this Particular.

The King finding himself so disappointed, and indeed abandoned by the Emperor, sent the Earl of *Hartford* with *Gardiner* to him, to expostulate with him. A Letter of the King's was sent by them to the Emperor, written in a very severe Strain, charging him with *Perfidy*. The Emperor either had the *Gout*, or pretended to have it, so that he could not be spoke with: His Chief Ministers at that Time, who were *Grandville*, and his Son the Bishop of *Arras*, delayed them from Day to Day, and discovered much *Chicane*, as they wrote; upon which they grew so uneasy, that at last they demanded a Positive Answer; and then these Ministers told them, that the Emperor could not carry on the War longer against *France*: But he offered to mediate a Peace between *England* and *France*. After that, they complain that they saw the Pretence of Mediation was managed deceitfully; for the Emperor's Design upon *Germany* being now ready, he apprehended those Two Kings, if not engaged in War one with another, would support the Princes of the Empire, and not suffer the Emperor, under the Pretence of a Religious War, to make himself Master of *Germany*. Therefore he studied to keep up the War between *France* and *England*. I find *Maurice* of *Saxony* was this Year, during the Emperor's War with *France*, in his Court: Whether he was then Mediating, or Treating, about his Perfidious abandoning the Elector, and the other Princes of the *Smalcaldick* League, I know not.

Paper-Office.

A Litany set out in *English* with other Devotions.

Before the King went out of *England*, a great Step was made towards the Reforming the Publick Offices. A Form of Procession in the *English* Tongue was set out by the King's Authority, and a Mandate was sent to *Boner* to publish it. The Title of it was, *An Exhortation to Prayer, thought meet by his Majesty and his Clergy, to be Read to the People: Also a Litany, with Suffrages to be said, or sung, in the Time of the Processions.* In the Litany they did still Invocate the Blessed Virgin, the Angels and Arch-Angels, and all Holy Orders of Blessed Spirits, all Holy Patriarchs and Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and Virgins, and all the Blessed Company of Heaven to pray for them: After the Word *Conspiracy*, this is added, *from the Tyranny of the Bishop of* Rome, *and all his detestable Enormities*: The rest of the Litany is the same that we still use, only some more Collects are put at the End, and the Whole is called a *Prayer of Procession.* To this are added some Exercises of Devotion, called *Psalms*; which are collected out of several Parts of Scripture, but chiefly the *Psalms*: They are well collected, and the whole Composition, as there is nothing that approaches to Popery in it, so it is a serious and well digested Course of Devotion. There follows a Paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer: On the 4th Petition, there are Expressions that seem to come near a true Sense of the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament; for by *Daily Bread* as some of the Antients thought, the Sacrament of the *Eucharist* is understood, which is thus expressed: *The lively Bread of the Blessed Body of our Saviour Jesu Christ, and the Sacred Cup of the Precious*

and

1545.

and Blessed Blood which was shed for us on the Cross. This agrees with our present Sense that Christ is present, not as he is now in Heaven, but as he was on the Cross: And that being a Thing passed, he can only be present in a *Type* and a *Memorial.* The Preface is an Exhortation to Prayer, in which these Remarkable Words will be found: "It is very convenient and much acceptable to God, "that you should use your private Prayer in your Mother Tongue; "that you, understanding what you ask of God, may more earnestly "and fervently desire the same; your Hearts and Minds agreeing "to your Mouth and Words. This is indeed all over of a Pious and Noble Strain, and except the Invocation of the Saints and Angels, it is an unexceptionable Composition. At the same Time *Katherine Parre*, whom the King had lately married, collected some Prayers and Meditations, "wherein the Mind is stirred patiently to "suffer all Affliction here, to set at nought the Vain Prosperity of "this World, and always to long for the Everlasting Felicity. Which were printed in the Year 1545.

But so apt was the King, whether from some Old and Inherent Opinions that still stuck with him, or from the Practices of those who knew how to flatter him suitably to his Notions, to go backward and forward in Matters of Religion; that though on the 15th of *October* 1545, he ordered a Mandate to be sent to *Boner*, to publish the *English Procession* ordained by him, which was executed the Day following; yet on the 24th of that Month, there was a Letter written to *Cranmer*, declaring the King's Pleasure for the setting up an Image, that had been taken down by his Injunctions; ordering him at the same Time to abolish the Use of Holy Water, about Saint *John*'s-Tide, and to take down an Image called our *Lady of Pity in the Pew*, for the Idolatry that was committed about it. At this Time it was discovered that Great Indulgencies, with all such like Favours were sent from *Rome* to *Ireland*; so that generally in that Kingdom, the King's Supremacy was rejected, and yet at the same Time it appears that many were put in Prison for denying the Presence in the Sacrament: And a Proclamation was set out, both against *Tindall*'s New Testament, and *Coverdale*'s.

The King neglects the German Princes.

Thirleby, Bishop of *Westminster*, was sent Ambassador to the Emperor, and afterwards Secretary *Petre* was sent to the same Court. *Mount* continued likewise to be employed, but without a Character: He seems to have been both Honest and Zealous; and in many Letters writ both in the Year 1545 and 1546, he warned the King of the Emperor's Designs to extirpate *Lutheranism*, and to force the whole Empire to submit to the Pope and the Council, then sitting at *Trent*. The *German* Princes sent over a Vehement Application to the King, to consider the Case of *Herman* Bishop of *Colen*, praying him to protect him, and to interceed for him. They gave a great Character of the Man, of which *Mount* makes mention in his Letters, but I do not find that the King interposed in that Matter: The Emperor seemed to enter into great Confidences with *Thirleby*, and either imposed on him, or found him easily wrought on. He told him that the King of *France* was making great Levies in *Switzerland*, and he was well assured that they were not designed against himself: So

1546. *Paper-Office.* So he warned the King to be on his Guard. This being enquired into, was not only denied by the Court of *France*, but was found to be false, and was looked on as an Artifice of the Emperor's, to keep up a jealousy between those Two Courts. By such Practices he prevailed on *Thirleby* to assure the King, that the Emperor did not design to enslave *Germany*, but only to repress the Insolence of some Princes, and to give Justice a free Course: All the News he wrote from thence did run in this strain: So that *Germany* was fatally abandoned by both Kings. Yet still the King sent over to the Emperor repeated Complaints of the ill Treatment his Subjects met with in *Spain*, from Inquisitors; and that in many Courts, Justice was refused to be done them, upon this Pretence, that the King and all who adhered to him, were declared Hereticks, and as such, they were Excommunicated by the Pope, and so were not to be admitted to sue in Judicatories: These were sent over to *Thirleby*, but I do not see what was done upon all those Representations.

The Elector of Saxony's ill Opinion of the King. The last Message the King sent to the *Germans*, was in the Year 1546 by *Mount*, with whom one *Butler* was joined: The *German* Princes, in General Terms, prayed the King to insist on rejecting the Council of *Trent*, assuring him that the Pope would suffer no Reformation to be made. This Letter was agreed to by the Greater Number of the Princes of the Union, only the Elector of *Saxony* had conceived great Prejudices against the King: " He said he was an " Impious Man, with whom he desired to have no Commerce. He " was no better than the Pope; whose Yoke he had thrown off on- " ly for his own Ends: And that he intended out of the Two Religions " to make a Third, only for Enriching himself; having condemned " the Principal Points of their Doctrine in his Parliamnet.

Ferdinand discontented with the Emperor. I find at this Time a secret Disgust the Emperor was in towards his Brother *Ferdinand*; upon which, *Ferdinand* sent a Message to the King, setting forth the just Claim he had to his Father's Succession in *Spain*; since, by the Agreement of the Marriage between *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, and *Isabel* of *Castile*, a Special Provision was made, that whensoever there was a Second Son issuing from that Marriage, the Kingdom of *Arragon*, and all that belonged to it, should be again separated from *Castile*. He also pretended, that he ought to have had a larger Share in the Succession of the House of *Burgundy*; and that instead of those Rich Provinces, he was forced to accept of *Austria*, and the Provinces about it, which lay exposed to the *Turks*, and were loaded with great Debts, contracted by his Grandfather *Maximilian*. To this the King sent an Answer secretly, and ordered the Person (who he was, does not appear; but I think it was *Mount*) that carried it, to insist on the Discourse of his Pretensions to the *Netherlands*, which were then vastly Rich. He was particularly required to observe *Ferdinand*'s Behaviour, and all that he said on that Subject: And it seems, that our Court being then in a good Understanding with the Court of *France*, communicated the Matter to *Francis*: For he wrote, soon after that, a Letter to *Ferdinand*, encouraging him to stand on his Claim, and promising him his Assistance to Support his Pretensions on the Emperor. But *Ferdinand*, not being inclined to trust the Court of *France* with this Secret,

cret, sent the Letter to the Emperor: So I see no more of that Matter. 1546.

The last Transaction of Importance in this Reign, was the Fall of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and of the Earl of *Surrey*, his Son. I find in the Council-Book, in the Year 1543, that the Earl was accused for Eating Flesh in *Lent*, without Licence; and for Walking about the Streets in the Night, throwing Stones against Windows, for which he was sent to the *Fleet*. In another Letter, he is complained of for Riotous Living. Towards the End of the Year 1546, both he and his Father were put in Prison: And, it seems, the Council wrote to all the King's Ambassadors beyond Sea, an Account of this, much aggravated, as the Discovery of some very Dangerous Conspiracy; which they were to represent to those Princes, in very black Characters. I put in the Collection an Account given by *Thirlby*, of what he did upon it. The Letter is long; but I only Copy out that which relates to this pretended Discovery: Dated from *Hailbron*, on *Christmass-Day* 1546.

The Duke of *Norfolk*'s Imprisonment.

Coll. Numb. 74.

" He understood by the Council's Letters to him, what Ungraci-
" ous and Ingrateful Persons they were found to be. He professes,
" he ever loved the Father, for he thought him a true Servant to the
" King: He says, he was amazed at the Matter, and did not know
" what to say. God had not only on this Occasion, but on many
" others, put a Stop to Treasonable Designs against the King, who
" (next to God) was the Chief Comfort of all Good Men. He en-
" larges much on the Subject, in the Stile of a true Courtier. The
" Messenger brought him the Council's Letters, written on the
" 15th of *December*, on *Christmas-Eve*; in which he saw the malici-
" ous Purpose of these Two ungracious Men: So, according to his
" Orders, he went immediately to demand Audience of the Empe-
" ror; but the Emperor intended to repose himself for Three or
" Four Days, and so had refused Audience to the Nuncio, and to all
" other Ambassadors; but he said, he would send a Secretary, to
" whom he might communicate his Business. *Joyce*, his Secretary,
" coming to him, he set forth the Matter as pompously as the Coun-
" cil had represented it to him. In particular, he spoke of the
" Haughtiness of the Earl of *Surrey*, of all which the Secretary promi-
" sed to make Report to the Emperor, and likewise to write an Ac-
" count of it to *Grandvil*. *Thirlby* excuses himself that he durst not
" write of this Matter to the King: He thought, it would renew in
" him the Memory of the Ingratitude of these Persons, which must
" wound a Noble Heart.

After so black a Representation, great Matters might be expected: But I have met with an Original Letter of the Duke of *Norfolk*'s, to the Lords of the Council, writ indeed in so bad a Hand, that the Reading it was almost as hard as Deciphering. It gives a very different Account of that Matter, at least with Relation to the Father.

Collect. Numb. 75.
His Letter to the King.

" He writes, that the Lord Great Chamberlain, and the Secretary of
" State, had examined him upon divers Particulars: The First was,
" Whether he had a Cypher with any Man? He said, he had never
" a Cypher with any Man, but such as he had for the King's Affairs,
" when he was in his Service. And he does not remember that ever
" he

1546. " he wrote in Cypher, except when he was in *France*, with the Lord " Great Master that now is, and the Lord *Rochford*: Nor does he " remember whether he wrote any Letters then; or not; but these " Two Lords signed whatsoever he wrote. He heard, that a Letter " of his was found among Bishop *Fox*'s Papers, which being shewed " to the Bishop of *Duresme*, he advised to throw it into the Fire. " He was examined upon this: He did remember, the Matter of it " was, the setting forth the Talk of the *Northern* People, after the " Time of the Commotions: But that it was against *Cromwell*, and " not at all against the King: (so far did they go back, to find Mat-" ter to be laid to his Charge) but whether that was in Cypher, or " not, he did not remember. He was next asked, If any Person " had said to him, that if the King, the Emperor, and the *French* " King came to a good Peace, whether the Bishop of *Rome* would " break that by his Dispensation; and whether he inclined that way. " He did not remember he had ever heard any Man speak to that " Purpose: But, for his own Part, if he had twenty Lives, he would " rather spend them all, than that the Bishop of *Rome* should have " any Power in this Kingdom again. He had read much History, " and knew well how his Usurpation began, and increased: And " both to *English*, *French*, and *Scots*, he has upon all Occasions spo-" ken vehemently against it. He was also asked, if he knew any " thing of a Letter from *Gardiner* and *Knevet*, the King's Ambassa-" dors at the Emperor's Court, of a Motion made to them for a Re-" conciliation with that Bishop, which was brought to the King at " *Dover*, he being then there.

" In Answer to this, he writes, He had never been with the King " at *Dover* since the Duke of *Richmond* died: But for any such O-" verture, he had never heard any thing of it; nor did any Person " ever mention it to him. It had been said in Council, when Sir " *Francis Bryan* was like to have died, as a Thing reported by him, " that the Bishop of *Winchester* had said, he could devise a Way, to " set all Things right between the King and the Bishop of *Rome*. " Upon which, as he remembers, Sir *Ralph Sadler* was sent to Sir " *Francis*, to ask the Truth of that: But Sir *Francis* denied it; and " this was all that ever he heard of any such Overture. It seems, " these were all the Questions that were put to him; to which, those " were his Answers. He therefore prayed the Lords, to intercede " with the King, that his Accusers might be brought Face to Face, " to say what they had against him: And he did not doubt, but it " should appear, he was falsely accused. He desir'd to have no more Favour than *Cromwell* had; he himself being present when *Crom-" well* was examined. He adds, *Cromwell* was a false Man; but " He was a true, poor Gentleman. He did believe, some false Man " had laid some great Thing to his Charge. He desired, if he might " not see his Accusers, that he might at least know what the Mat-" ters were; and if he did not answer truly to every Point, he de-" sired not to live an Hour longer.

" He had always been pursued by great Enemies about the King; " so that his Fidelity was tried like Gold. If he knew wherein he

" had

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" had offended, he would freely confess it. On *Tuesday* in the last
" *Whitson*-Week, he moved the King, that a Marriage might be
" made between his Daughter (the Dutchess of *Richmond*) and Sir
" *Thomas Seymour*; and that his Son *Surrey*'s Children might, by
" Cross-Marriages, be allied to my Lord Great Chamberlain's Chil-
" dren, (the Earl of *Hertford*.) He appealed to the King, whether
" his Intention in these Motions did not appear to be honest. He
" next reckons up his Enemies. Cardinal *Wolsey* confessed to him
" at *Asher*, that he had studied for Fourteen Years, how to destroy
" him, set on to it by the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Exe-*
" *ter*, and the Lord *Sandys*, who often told him, that if he did not
" put him out of the way, he would undo him. When the Mar-
" quis of *Exeter* suffered, *Cromwell* examined his Wife more strictly
" concerning him, than all other Men; of which She sent him
" word by her Brother, the Lord *Mountjoy*. And *Cromwell* had
" often said to himself, that he was a Happy Man, that his Wife
" knew nothing against him, otherwise She would undo him. The
" late Duke of *Buckingham*, at the Bar, where his Father sate Lord
" High Steward, said, that he himself was the Person in the World,
" whom he had hated most, thinking he had done him ill Offices
" with the King: But he said, he then saw the contrary. *Rice*,
" that married his Sister, often said, He wished he could find the
" Means to thrust his Dagger in him. It was well known to many
" Ladies in the Court, how much both his Two Nieces, whom it
" pleased the King to marry, had hated him. He had discovered to
" the King that, for which his Mother-in-Law was attainted of Mis-
" prision of Treason. He had always served the King faithfully,
" but had of late received greater Favours of him, than in Times
" past: What could therefore move him, to be now false to him? *A Poor*
" *Man, as I am, yet I am his own near Kinsman. Alas! alas my*
" *Lords*, (writes he) *that ever it should be thought any Untruth to*
" *be in me.* He prays them to lay this before the King, and jointly
" to beseech him, to grant the Desires contained in it. So he
" ends it with such Submissions, as he hoped might mollify the
" King.

Here I must add a small Correction, because I promised it to the late Sir *Robert Southwell*, for whose great Worth and Virtues I had that Esteem, which he well deserved. Sir *Richard Southwell* was concerned in the Evidence against the Duke of *Norfolk*: He gave me a *Memorandum*, which I promised to remember when I reviewed my History. There were Two Brothers, Sir *Richard* and Sir *Robert*, who were often confounded, an *R* serving for both their Christned Names. Sir *Richard* was a Privy-Councellor to *Henry* the VIIIth, King *Edward*, and Queen *Mary*: The Second Brother, Sir *Robert*, was Master of the *Rolls*, in the Time of *Henry* the Eighth, and in the Beginning of *Edward* the Sixth. I had confounded these, and in Two several Places called Sir *Richard* Master of the *Rolls*.

I have now set forth all that I find concerning the Duke of *Norfolk*; by which it appears, that he was designed to be destroyed only upon Suspicion: And his Enemies were put on running far back to Old Stories, to find some Colours to justify so black a Prosecu-

1546. tion. This was the laſt Act of the King's Reign; which, happily for the Old Duke, was not finiſh'd, when the King's Death prevented the Execution.

A Recapitulation of King *Henry's* Reign.

Thus I have gone over all thoſe Paſſages in this Reign, that have fallen in my way, ſince I wrote my Hiſtory. I have ſo carefully avoided Repeating any Thing that was in my former Work, that I have, perhaps, not made it clear enough, into what Parts of it every Thing here related, ought to be taken in. Nor have I put in my Collection any of thoſe Papers, that either the Lord *Herbert* or Mr. *Strype* had publiſhed, One or Two only excepted in each of them: But theſe I put in it, both becauſe I Copied them from the Originals, when I did not reflect on their being publiſhed by thoſe Writers, and becauſe they ſeemed of great Importance to the Parts of my Hiſtory, to which they belonged. Some of theſe being very ſhort, and the others not long, I thought, the inſerting them made my Collection more compleat. I would not leſſen the Value of Books, to which I have been too much beholden, to make ſo ill a Return; to the laſt eſpecially, from whoſe Works I have taken that which ſeemed neceſſary, to make the Hiſtory as full as might be, but refer my Reader to ſuch Vouchers, as he will find in them.

His Mind corrupted by a Courſe of Flattery.

And now having ended what I have to ſay of King *Henry*, I will add a few Reflections on him, and on his Reign. He had certainly a greater Meaſure of Knowledge in Learning, more particularly in Divinity, than moſt Princes of that, or of any Age: that gave Occaſion to thoſe exceſſive Flatteries, which in a great Meaſure corrupted his Temper, and disfigured his whole Government. It is deeply rooted in the Nature of Man to love to be flatter'd; becauſe Self-Love makes Men their own Flatterers, and ſo they do too eaſily take down the Flatteries that are offered them by others; who, when they expect Advantages by it, are too ready to give this Incenſe to their Vanity, according to the Returns that they expect from it.

Few are ſo honeſt and diſintereſted in their Friendſhip, as to conſider the Real Good of others; but chuſe rather to comply with their Humour and Vanity. And ſince Princes have moſt to give, Flattery (too common to all Places) is the Natural Growth of Courts; in which, if there are ſome few ſo unfaſhion'd to thoſe Places, as to ſeek the Real Good and Honour of the Prince, by the plain Methods of blunt Honeſty, which may carry them to contradict a miſtaken Prince, to ſhew him his Errors, and with a true Firmneſs of Courage, to try to work even againſt the Grain; while they purſue that, which, tho' it is the Real Advantage and Honour of the Prince, yet it is not agreeable to ſome weak or perverſe Humour in him: Theſe are ſoon overtopped by a Multitude of Flatterers, who will find it an eaſy Work to undermine ſuch Faithful Miniſters; becauſe their own Candor and Fidelity, makes them uſe none of the Arts of a Countermine. Thus the flatter'd Prince eaſily goes into the Hands of thoſe who humour and pleaſe him moſt, without regarding either the true Honour of the Maſter, or the Good of the Community.

If

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The Course of all Courts.

If weak Princes, of a ſmall Meaſure of Knowledge and a low Capacity, fall into ſuch Hands, the Government will dwindle into an unactive Languiſhing; which will make them a Prey to all about them, and expoſe them to Univerſal Contempt both at home and abroad: while the Flatterers make their own Advantages the Chief Meaſure of the Government; and do ſo Beſiege the abuſed and deluded Prince, that he fanſies he is the Wonder and Delight of all the World, when he is under the laſt Degrees of the Scorn of the Worſt, and of the Pity of the Beſt of his People.

But if theſe Flatterers gain the Aſcendant over Princes of Genius and Capacity, they put them on Great Deſigns, under the falſe Repreſentations of Conqueſts and *Glory*: They engage them either to make or break Leagues at Pleaſure, to enter upon Hoſtilities without any previous Steps or Declarations of War, to ruin their own People for ſupporting thoſe Wars that are carried on with all the Methods, both of Barbarity and Perfidy; while a ſtudied Luxury and Vanity at Home is kept up, to amuze and blind the Ignorant Beholders, with a falſe Shew of Luſtre and Magnificence.

Wolſey began it, but was a Wiſe Miniſter

This had too deep a Root in King *Henry*, and was too long flattered by Cardinal *Woolſey*, to be ever afterwards brought into due Bounds and juſt Meaſures; yet *Wolſey* purſued the true Maxims of *England*, of maintaining the Ballance during his Miniſtry. Our Trade lay then ſo entirely in the *Netherlands*, without our ſeeming to think of carrying it further, that it was neceſſary to maintain a good Correſpondence with thoſe Provinces: And *Charles*'s Dominions were ſo wildly ſcattered, that till *Francis* was taken Priſoner, it was viſibly the Intereſt of *England* to continue ſtill jealous of *France*, and to favour *Charles*. But the taking of *Francis* the Firſt, changed the Scene; *France* was then to be ſupported. It was alſo ſo exhauſted, and *Charles*'s Revenue was ſo encreaſed, that without great Sums both lent him, and expended by *England*, all muſt have ſunk under *Charles*'s Power, if *England* had not held the Ballance.

A great Occation of Flattery given by his Book.

It was alſo a Maſter-piece in *Wolſey* to engage the King to own that the Book againſt *Luther* was written by him, in which the Secret of thoſe who, no doubt, had the greateſt Share in compoſing it, was ſo cloſely laid, that it never broke out. *Seckendorf* tells us, that *Luther* believed it was writ by *Lee*, who was a Zealous *Thomiſt*, and had been engaged in Diſputes with *Eraſmus*, and was afterwards made Archbiſhop of *York*. If any of theſe who ſtill adhered to the Old Doctrines had been concerned in writing it, probably when they ſaw King *Henry* depart from ſo many Points treated of in it, they would have gone beyond Sea, and have robbed him of that falſe Honour, and thoſe exceſſive Praiſes which that Book had procured him. It is plain *More* wrote it not: For the King having ſhewed it him before it was publiſhed, he (as he mentions in one of his Letters to *Cromwell*) told the King that he had raiſed the Papacy ſo high, that it might be objected to him, if he ſhould happen to have any Diſpute with the Pope, as was often between Princes and Popes: And it will be found in the Remarks on the former Volumes, that he in another Letter ſays he was a *Sorter* of that Book. This ſeems to relate only to the Digeſting it into Method and Order.

1546. How far K. *Henry* was sincere in pretending Scruples of Conscience, with Relation to his First Marriage, can only be known to God. His Suit of Divorce was managed at a vast Expence, in a Course of many Years; in all which Time, how strong soever his Passion was for *Anne Boleyn*, yet her being with Child so soon after their Marriage, is a clear Evidence that till then they had no Unlawful Commerce. It does not appear that *Wolsey* deserved his Disgrace, unless it was that by the Commission given to the Two Legates, they were empowered to act conjunctly or severally: So that though *Campegio* refused to concur, he might have given Sentence legally, yet he being trusted by the Pope, his acting according to Instructions, did not deserve so severe a Correction: And had any material Discovery been made to render *Wolsey* Criminal, it may be reasonably supposed it would have been published.

The Character of *More*.

The New-Flatterers falling in with the King's Passion, out-did and ruined *Wolsey*. *More* was the Glory of the Age; and his Advancement was the King's Honour more than his own, who was a true Christian Philosopher. He thought the Cause of the King's Divorce was just, and as long as it was prosecuted at the Court of *Rome*, so long he favoured it: But when he saw that a Breach with that Court was like to follow, he left the Great Post he was in, with a Superior Greatness of Mind. It was a Fall great enough to retire from that into a Private State of Life; but the carrying Matters so far against him as the King did, was one of the justest Reproaches of that Reign. *More*'s Superstition seems indeed contemptible, but the Constancy of his Mind was truly wonderful.

Cromwell's Ministry.

Cromwell's Ministry was in a constant Course of Flattery and Submission, but by that he did great Things that amaze one, who has considered them well. The setting up the King's Supremacy, instead of the Usurpations of the Papacy, and the rooting out the Monastick State in *England*, considering the Wealth, the Numbers, and the Zeal of the Monks and Fryars in all the Parts of the Kingdom, as it was a very bold Undertaking, so it was executed with great Method, and performed in so short a Time, and with so few of the Convulsions that might have been expected, that all this shews what a Master he was, that could bring such a Design to be finished in so few Years, with so little Trouble or Danger.

But in Conclusion, an Unfortunate Marriage to which he advised the King, not proving acceptable, and he being unwilling to destroy what he himself had brought about, was, no doubt, backward in the Design of breaking it, when the King had told him of it. And then upon no other visible Ground, but because *Anne of Cleeve* grew more obliging to the King than she was formerly, the King suspected that *Cromwell* had betrayed his Secret, and had engaged her to a softer Deportment on Design to prevent the Divorce, and did upon that Disgrace and Destroy him.

The Duke of *Norfolk* was never till *Cromwell*'s Fall the First in Favour: But he had still kept his Post by perpetual Submission and Flattery. He was sacrificed at last to the King's Jealousy; fearing that he might be too Great in his Son's Infancy; and being considered as the Head of the Popish Party, might engage in an uneasy Com-

petition with the *Seymours*, during the Minority of his Son: For the Points he was at first examined on, were of an Old Date, of no Consequence, and supported by no Proof.

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When the King first threw off the Pope's Yoke, the Reformers offered him in their turn, all the Flatteries they could decently give: And if they could have had the Patience to go no further, than as he was willing to parcel out a Reformation to them, he had perhaps gone further in it: But he seemed to think that as it was pretended in Popery, that Infallibility was to go along with the Supremacy; therefore those who had yielded the one, ought likewise to submit to the other. He turned against them when he saw that their Complaisance did not go so far: And upon that, the Adherers to the Old Opinions returned to their Old Flatteries, and for some Time seemed to have brought him quite back to them; which probably might have wrought more powerfully, but that he found the Old Leaven of the Papacy was still working in them: So that he was all the while Fluctuating: Sometimes making Steps to a Reformation, but then returning back to his Old Notions: One Thing probably wrought much on him. It has appeared that he had great Apprehensions of the Council that was to meet at *Trent*, and that the Emperor's Engagements to restrain the Council from proceeding in his Matter, was the main Article of the New Friendship made up between them: and it may be very reasonably supposed that the Emperor represented to him, that nothing could secure that Matter so certainly as his not proceeding to any further Innovotions in Religion: More particularly his adhering firmly to the received Doctrine of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament, and the other Articles set forth by him: This agreeing with his own Opinion had as may be well imagined no small Share in the Change of his Conduct at that Time.

The King's Inconstancy in Matters of Religion.

The dextrous Applicatiom of Flattery had generally a powerful Effect on him: But whatsoever he was, and how great soever his Pride and Vanity, and his other Faults were, he was a great Instrument in the Hand of Providence for many good Ends: He first opened the Door to let Light in upon the Nation: He delivered it from the Yoke of Blind and Implicit Obedience: He put the Scriptures in the Hands of the People, and took away the Terror they were formerly under by the Cruelty of the Ecclesiastical Courts: He declared this Church to be an entire and perfect Body within it self; with full Authority to Decree and to Regulate all Things, without any Dependance on any Foreign Power: And he did so unite the Supreme Headship over this Church, to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, that it seemed a just Consequence that was made by some in a Popish Reign, that he who would not own that this Supremacy was in him, did by that Renounce the Crown, of which that Title was made so Essential a Part, that they could no more be separated.

He attacked Popery in its strong Holds the Monasteries, and destroyed them all. And thus he opened the way to all that came after, even down to our Days: So that while we see the Folly and Weakness of Man in all his Personal Failings, which were very many and very Enormous, we at the same Time see both the Justice, the Wisdom, and the Goodness of God, in making him who was once

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1546. the Pride and Glory of Popery, became its Scourge and Destruction: And in directing his Pride and Passion so, as to bring about under the Dread of his unrelenting Temper, a Change that a milder Reign could not have compassed, without great Convulsions and much Confusion: Above all the Rest, we ought to adore the Goodness of God in rescuing us by his Means from Idolatry and Superstition; from the Vain and Pompous Shews in which the Worship of God was dressed up, so as to vye with Heathenism it self, into a Simplicity of believing, and a Purity of Worship, conform to the Nature and Attributes of God, and the Doctrine and Example of the Son of God.

May we ever Value this as we ought; and may we, in our Tempers and Lives, so express the Beauty of this Holy Religion, that it may ever Shine among us, and may Shine out from us, to all round about us; and then we may hope that God will preserve it to us, and to Posterity after us for ever.

BOOK IV.

1547.

Of what happen'd during the Reign of King Edward the VIth, from the Year 1547, to the Year 1553.

I Had ſuch Copious Materials when I wrote of this King, partly from the Original Council-Book, for the Two firſt Years of that Reign, but chiefly from the Journal writ in that King's own Hand, that I ſhall not be able to offer the Reader ſo many New Things in this, as I did in the former, and as I may be able to do in the ſucceeding Reign. Some Gleanings I have, which I hope will not be unacceptable.

A true Account of a Paper of *Luther*'s wrong publiſhed in my Hiſtory.

I begin with acknowledging a great Error committed, in Copying out a Letter of *Luther*'s, that I found among *Bucer*'s Collections. The Noble *Seckendorf* was the firſt that admoniſhed me of this; but with a Modeſty ſuitable to ſo Great a Man: without that Rancour, in which ſome among our ſelves have vented their ill Nature againſt me. I took the ſure Method to confeſs my Error, and to procure an exact Collated Copy of that Paper, from that Learned Body, to whoſe Library it belongs; which will be found in the Collection. It is an Original in *Luther*'s own Hand; but it could not have been eaſily read, if *Bucer* had not writ out a Copy of it, which is bound up in the ſame Volume with the Original. It was an Inſtruction that *Luther* gave to *Melanchthon*, when he went into *Heſſe*, in the Year 1534, to meet and treat with *Bucer*, upon that fatal Difference, concerning the Manner of the Preſence in the Sacrament. "In which it appears, that *Luther* was ſo far from departing from his Opinion, that he plainly ſays, he could not Communicate with thoſe of the *Zuinglian* Perſwaſion; but he would willingly tolerate them, in hope that in Time they might come to Communicate together. And as for a Political Agreement, he does not think the Diverſity of Religion ought to hinder that; no more than it was a Bar to Marriage or Commerce, which may be among thoſe of different Religions. And now I have, I hope, delivered my ſelf from all the Cenſures, to which the wrong Publiſhing of that Paper had expoſed me.

Coll. Numb. I.

I ſhould next enter into the Hiſtorical Paſſages of King *Edward*'s Reign; but a great Diſcovery, made with relation to the moſt important Foreign Tranſaction, that happen'd both in King *Henry* and King *Edward*'s Reign, (I mean the Council of *Trent*; the Firſt Seſſion of which was in the former Reign, and the Second in this) has

1547. given me an Opportunity of acquainting the World with many extraordinary Passages relating to it.

Vargess's Letters concerning the Council of *Trent*.

There was a large Parcel of Original Letters writ to *Grandville*, then Bishop of *Arras*, afterwards Cardinal, and the Chief Minister of *Charles* the Emperor, that, when he left the *Netherlands*, were in the Hands of some of his Secretaries; and were not carried away by him. About 50 Years after that, Mr. *William Trumball*, then King *James* the Ist's Envoy at *Brussels*, Grandfather to Sir *William Trumball*, (a Person eminently distinguish'd by his Learning and Zeal for Religion, as well as by the Embassies, and other great Employments he has so worthily born) got these into his Hands: no doubt, under the Promise of absolute Secresy, during the Lives of those who had them: Since if they had been then published, it might have been easily traced, from whence they must have come; which would have been fatal to those who had parted with them, in a Court so bigotted, as was that of *Albert* and *Isabella*. I have read over the whole Series of that worthy Gentleman's own Letters to King *James* the First, and saw so much Honesty and Zeal running thro' them all, that, it seems, nothing under some Sacred Tie, could have obliged both Father and Son, to keep such a Treasure so secret from all the World, especially *Padro Paulo*'s History coming out at that Time in *London*; to which these Letters, as far as they went, which is from the 7th of *October* 1551, to the last of *February* 155½, would have given an Authentick Confirmation. I have been trusted by the Noble Owner, with the Perusal of them. It is impossible to doubt of their being Originals: The Subscriptions and Seals of most of them, are still entire.

Translated into *English* by Dr. *Geddes*.

These were by Sir *William* deposited in Bishop *Stillingfleet*'s Hands, when he was sent to his Foreign Employments; that such Use might be made of them, when he found a Person that was Master of the *Spanish* Tongue, as the Importance of the Discovery might deserve. Soon after that, my very worthy Friend, Dr. *Geddes*, return'd from *Lisbon*, after he had been above Ten Years Preacher to the *English* Factory there: And since he is lately dead, I hope I shall be forgiven, to take the Liberty of saying somewhat concerning him. He was a Learned, and a Wise Man. He had a true Notion of Popery, as a Political Combination, managed by Falshood and Cruelty, to Establish a Temporal Empire in the Person of the Popes. All his Thoughts and Studies were chiefly employed in detecting this; of which he has given many Useful and Curious Essays, in the Treatises he wrote, which are all highly Valuable. When Bishop *Stillingfleet* understood that He was Master of the *Spanish* Tongue, he put all these Papers in his Hands. He translated them into *English*, intending to Print the Originals in *Spanish* with them: But none of our Printers would undertake that; they reckoning, that where the Vent of the Book might be looked for, which must be in *Spain* and *Italy*, they were sure it would not be suffer'd to be sold: He was therefore forced to Print the Translation in *English*, without Printing the Originals.

Since

Since that Time, that Learned and Judicious *Frenchman*, Monsieur *Le Vassor*, has published a Translation of them in *French*, with many Curious Reflections: But tho' he found, that a Compleat Edition of the Letters in *Spanish*, was a Thing that the Booksellers in *Holland* would not undertake, yet he has helped that all he could, by giving the Parts of the Letters that were the most Critical, and the most Important, in *Spanish*. Both these Books are highly Valuable. The Chief Writer of those Letters, *Vargas*, was a Man not only very Learned, but of a Superior Genius to most of that Age, as appears both by the Letters themselves, and by the Great Posts he went thro'. He was specially employed by the Emperor, both in the Session that was held in the former Reign, and in that which sat in this Reign; to which only these Letters do relate. He was the Chief of the Council that the Emperor's Ambassadors had, in Matters, in which either Divinity or Canon-Law (the last being his particular Profession) were necessary: And such a Value was set on him, that the Emperor sent him Ambassador to the Republick of *Venice*. And when the last Session was held by Pope *Pius* the Fourth, *Philip* sent him Ambassador to *Rome*, as the Person that understood best how to manage that Court, with Relation to the Session of the Council.

1547. And into *French* by M. *Le Vassor*.

I think, it may give the Reader a just Idea of that Council, both of the Fraud and Insolence of the Legate, and of the Method in which Matters were carried there, to see some of the more Signal Passages in those Letters; that it may both give him true Impressions of what was transacted there, and may move him to have Recourse to the Letters themselves. "He sets forth, how much the "Pope and his Ministers dreaded the Coming of the Protestants to "the Council: We can plainly perceive that they are not them-"selves, nor in a Condition to treat about any Business, when they "are brought to touch on that Point. ——These may, to their "Mortification, deliver their Minds freely against Abuses, and some "other Things. ——Whosoever offers any Thing that is not grate-"ful to the Legate, or that doth not suit exactly with some People's "Prepossessions; he is reported to have Spoke ill, and to Think "worse; and to have taken what He said, out of I do not know "whom.——There are several Matters, which the Legate ought "to treat with more Deliberation, than he hath hitherto handled "Things: I pray God give him Grace to understand this.

The Fraud and Insolence of the Legate.

Octob. 7.

"In the next Letter, without Date, mention is made of a Letter, "that the Emperor wrote to the Pope; in which he did assure him, "that nothing should be done in the Council, but that which he "had a mind should be done in it: And that he would oblige the "Prelates to hold their Tongues, and to let Things pass without "any Opposition. The Copy of this being shewed the Ambassa-"dor, he was astonished at it: But *Vargas* said, it was not to be "understood *Literally*; (in the Original it is *Judaically*) it was "only writ, to bring the Pope to grant the Bull: But that it was "not intended by it, that the Pope should be suffer'd to do such "Things, as would bring all to Ruin; but only to do such Things "as are reasonable. He adds in *Latin*, That the Liberty the Pope

The Promise that the Emperor made the Pope.

Judaicè.

1547. "took, was not only a Disease and Sickness of Mind, but was re-"ally grown to a Fury, and a Madness. Here the *Spirit* of the Promise, is set up against the *Letter*; and a strict Adhering to Words, is counted a Part of the Yoke of *Judaism*, from which some most Christian Princes have thought fit, on many Occasions, to emancipate themselves.

Octob. 12. In another Letter, he sets forth the Behaviour of the Prelates: "The Legate never so much as acquaints them with the Matter; all "Things appearing well to them at first Sight, and, who knowing "nothing of Matters, until they are just ready to be pronounced, "pass them without any more ado.——I am willing to let you "know how Things are carried here; and what the Pope's Aims "are; who seeks to authorize all his own Pretensions by the Coun-"cil.——There are several other Things I am not at all satisfied "with, which were carried here with the same Slight, that Pope "*Paul* made use of.——And is not this a Blessed Beginning of a "Council!——As to the Canons of Reformation,---they are of "so trivial a Nature, that several were ashamed to hear them; and "had they not been wrapped up in good Language together, they "would have appeared to the World to be what they are.

The Bishops knew not what they did.

Octob. 28. In another Letter he writes, "I cannot see, how either Catho-"licks or Hereticks can be satisfied with what is done here.——All "that is done here, is done by the way of *Rome*: For the Legate, "tho' it were necessary to save the World from Sinking, will not "depart one Tittle from the Orders he receives from thence; nor "indeed from any Thing, that he has once himself resolved on.

Nov. 12. In another he writes; "As for the Legate, he goes on still in "his old Way; consuming of Time, to the last Hour, in Dispu-"tations and Congregations, concerning Doctrines; and will at last "produce something in a Hurry, in false Colours, that may look "plausible: By which means, they have no Time to read, and much "less to understand what they are about. ——Words, or Per-"suasions, do signifie but very little in this Place; and, I suppose, they "are not of much greater Force at *Rome*. ——By what I can "perceive, both God and his Majesty are like to be very much "dishonoured by what will be done here. And if Things should "go on thus, and be brought to such an Issue, as the Pope and "his Ministers aim at, and give out, the Church will be left in a "much worse Condition, than She was in before.——I pray God, "the Pope may be prevail'd on to alter his Measures: Tho' I shall "reckon it a Miracle, if he is; and shall thank God for it, as "such.

Nov. 26. In another he writes; "There are not Words to express the "Pride, the Disrespect and Shamelesness, wherewith the Legate "proceeds.——The Success and End of this Sinode, if God by "a *Miracle* does not prevent it, will be such as I have foretold. "I say, by a *Miracle*; because it is not to be done by any Human "Means: So that his Majesty does but tire himself in vain, in Ne-"gotiating with the Pope, and his Ministers.——The Legate has "hammer'd out such an infamous Reformation, (for it deserves no

The Pride and Impudence of the Legate.

"better

1547.

" better Epithet) as must make us a Jest to the World. The Prelates " that are here resent it highly: Many of them reckoning that they " Wound their Consciences by holding their Tongues, and by suf- " fering Things to be carried thus.

Upon the Point of collating to Benefices, he writes, " we ought " to put them to shew what Right the Pope has to collate to any " Benefice whatsoever: I will undertake to demonstrate from the " Principles and Foundations of the Law of God, and of Nature, " and of Men; and from the Antient Usage of the Church, and " from good Policy, that he has no manner of Right to it: And all " this without doing Injury to his Dignity, and the Plenitude of " his Power. He advises the leaving those Matters to a better Time, " in which God will purge the Sons of *Levi*: Which Purgation " must come, and that with a severe Scourge; it being impossible " that a Thing so violent, and so fraught with Abuses, should hold " long: The whole Nerve of Ecclesiastical Discipline being broke, " and the Goods of the Church made a perfect Trade and Mer- " chandize.

No good to be expected from a Council.

Speaking of General Councils, he writes, " This which is now " sitting here, will totally undeceive the World, so as to convince it, " that by reason of the Opposition and Industry of the Popes to en- " gross all to themselves, nothing of Reformation is ever to be ex- " pected from a General Council. I would not have Things wherein " the Pope and his Court have such great Interest and Pretentions, to " be decided, or handled here: Since it cannot be done, but to our " great Prejudice, and to the great Detriment of the Whole Church; " which at present, has neither Strength, nor Courage, to resist; " and if God do not remedy it, I do not see when it will.

He complains of the Exemption of Chapters.

Speaking of Exemptions, he writes, " The Canonists have made " strange Work; having made many Jests, as well as Falshoods, to " pass for current Truths. When I speak of the Canonists, I speak " as a Thief of the Family, being sensible of the Abuses which have " been authorized by them in the Church. The Exemption of " Chapters ought to have been quite taken away, that so there might " be something of Order and Discipline, and that they who are the " Head, should not be made the Feet. It troubles me to see how those Matters are managed and determined here; the Legate do- " ing whatever he had a Mind to, without either numbring, or " weighing the Opinions of the Divines and Prelates; hurrying and " reserving the Substance of Things, which ought to have been well " weighed and digested, to the last Minute: The major Part not " knowing what they are a doing. I mean before the Fact; for " believing that Christ will not suffer them to Err in their Determi- " nations, I shall bow down my Head to them, and believe all the " Matters of Faith that shall be decided by them: I pray God every " Body else may do the same. The taking no Care to reform innu- " merable Abuses, has destroyed so many Provinces and Kingdoms; " and it is justly to be feared, that what is done in this Council, may " endanger the destroying of the Rest. I must tell you further, " that this Council drawing so near an End, is what all People re- " joyce at here exceedingly; there being a great many who wish

1547. " it never had met: And for my own Part, I would to God it " had never been called; for I am mistaken if it do not leave Things " worse than it found them.

A Decree secretly amended after it was past.

In another of the same Date, if there is no Error in Writing, " He complains that the Decree of the Doctrine was not finished, " till the Night before the Session: So that many Bishops gave their " *Placet*, to what they neither did, nor could understand. The " Divines of *Louvain* and *Cologn*, and some *Spanish* Divines, being " much dissatisfied with several of those Matters, have publickly de- " clared they were so. This is a very bad Business, and should " Things of this Nature come once to be so Publick, it must totally " ruin the Credit of all that has been done, or shall be done here- " after; and must hinder the Council from being ever received, " either in *Flanders*, or in *Germany*. The Bishop of *Verdun* speak- " ing to the Canons of Reformation, said, they would be unpro- " fitable, and unworthy of the Synod, calling it a *Pretended Refor-* " *mation*: The Legate fell upon him with very rude Language, " calling him a Boy, an Impudent Raw Man, with many other hard " Names: Nor would he suffer him to speak a Word in his own " Defence, telling him with great Heat, he knew how to have him " chastised. It is really a Matter of Amazement to see how Things " appertaining to God, are handled here; and that there should not " be one to contend for him, or any that have the Courage to speak " in his Behalf; but that we should be all Dumb Dogs that cannot " Bark.

Nov. 28.

In another he writes, " That the Legate himself wished that the " Decrees were corrected as to some Particulars: And in another " without Date, he tells how the Divines were employed in correct- " ing them. This Secret was never heard of before: Father *Paul* knew nothing of it. A Decree after it has passed in Council was thus secretly corrected by Divines, so the Infallability was removed from the Council, and lodged with the Divines.

Decemb. 19. It had been happy that the Council had never met.

In another he writes, " it would have been a happy Thing that " this Council had never met; which is no more than what I have " often wished and declared: By Reason of the many Mischiefs it " has already done, and is still doing. It is to little Purpose, either " in this, or any following Age, to hope for any Thing of a Refor- " mation from a General Council; or to see any better Order therein " than is in this. He supposes the Emperor will still continue to " solicit the Pope that Things may not be carried there, at such a scan- " dalous rate as they have been hitherto: And that he will take care " that no Occasion be given to the Council for to disperse it self upon " the Prelates speaking their Mind freely; or denying their Consent " to such Matters as are not convenient; which is a Thing that may " very justly be feared.

Jan. 10. *Jan.* 19.

In another he writes, " This Synod must End Tumultuously " and Ingloriously. In another he writes, " That it was an Asto- " nishing Thing that the Legate had foisted in several Passages into " the Doctrine of Orders, which must of Necessity Ruin all. By " the Brutal Violences, Pretentions, and Obstinacy of the Legate, " Things are running into such a State, as must in the End, if I am

" not

"not mistaken, make both himself, and the whole Earth to tremble: 1547.
"Or if it does not make him tremble, it must be because he is given
"over to a Reprobate Sense: As in Truth, he seems to be abun-
"dantly, in every Thing that he does.

In another he writes, "All they drive at, is to get the Pope's
"Pretentions established under the Doctrine of Order; and so in- *Jan.* 20.
"stead of Healing, to destroy and ruin all: Those being Matters
"which were never so much as proposed, or disputed in the Council:
"Neither is it fitting, as Things stand here, that they, or any Thing
"else of the same Nature should be meddled with, in this Synod.

He enlarges on the Authority of Bishops being derived from Christ,
"though subjected to the Pope; and he writes that upon this Bot-
"tom only, the Hierarchy of the Church can be established: To settle
"it on any other, is in Effect to confound and destroy it. Never-
"theless, the Pope if he could carry this Point, though all Things
"else were ruined, and whatever was done in the Antient Church
"condemned, would find his own Account in it: For after that
"there would be no possibility of ever having any Thing redressed.
The Decree of Order, on which the Legate had set his Heart, is set down at the End of this Letter, the Translation of it into *English* runs thus.

The Decree concerning the Pope's Authority, proposed, but not passed.

"This may be called the New *Jerusalem*, that comes down from
"Heaven: Which was by the most exactly regulated Policy of the
"Old *Jerusalem*, shadowed only as a Pattern to represent the Hea-
"venly *Jerusalem*: For as she had many different Orders, under
"one Chief Governor, so the Visible Church of Christ, has his
"Chief Vicar; for he is the *only* and *Supreme Head* in Earth, by
"whose Dispensation Offices are distributed so to all the other
"Members, that in the several Orders and Stations in which they
"are placed, they may execute their Functions to the Good of the
"Whole Church, with the greatest Peace and Union. A Deputa-
"tion of 20 was named to consider of this. The Legate and the
"Two Presidents making Three of that Number; it was severely
"attacked by the Bishop of *Guadix*.

The last of *February*.

"In his last Letter he writes that the Legates would one way or
"other bring about the Dissolution of the Synod: Which will be
"certainly done, if they can but get the said Clauses determined;
"because in them they will have gained all that they Desire: And
"after that they will never stand in need of any more Councils, for
"to serve their Pretentions. And in Case they should not be
"able to carry those Points, they will then, to rid themselves of
"this Yoke that is upon their Neck, and of their Fears they will be
"under, when they shall find that they are not able to bring the
"Synod to do all the Mischief to the Church, and to the Authority
"of the present, and all future General Councils, that the Pope and
"his Ministers would have them do, they will then perplex and
"confound all.

He expresses the same Opinion of the former Session under Pope *Paul*.

These are very clear Discoveries of the Zeal and Indignation which possessed this great States-Man, during this Whole Session: He shews also the Opinion he had of the former Session under Pope *Paul*, (in which he had likewise assisted) in the Directions he gives concerning

1547. concerning the Government of a Council, and of the Office of an Ambaſſador, which he drew up before the Council was re-aſſembled, in this its Second Seſſion, in which theſe Words are:

" In the whole Conduct of this Council of *Trent*, there does not " appear the leaſt Footſteps of any of the forementioned Eſſentials of " a General Council: On the contrary, the moſt Pernicious and " Effectual Methods that can be contrived, have been taken to de- " ſtroy Liberty totally; and to rob Councils of that Authority, " which in Caſe of Great Storms, uſed to be the Sheet Anchor of " the Church; by which means they have cut off all Hope of ever " having any Abuſes that infeſt the Church redreſſed, to the great " Diſparagement of all paſt, as well as future Councils; from which " no Good is ever to be expected.

No Shadow of Liberty in the Council.

" The Conduct of this Council has been of Pernicious Conſe- " quence: In which, under the Title of directing it, the Pope's " Legates have ſo managed Matters, that nothing but what they " have a Mind to can be propoſed, diſcuſſed, or defined therein; " and that too after ſuch a Manner, as they would have it. All " the Liberty that is here being only imaginary: So that their " naming it, is nothing but Cheat and Banter: Which is ſo Noto- " rious, that ſeveral of the Prelates even among the Pope's Penſio- " ners, have not the Face to deny it. The Clauſe that they have " inſerted into the Canons of Reformation; which is, *ſaving in all* " *Things the Authority of the Apoſtolical See*, is telling the World " in plain Terms, that what the Pope does not like ſhall ſignify no- " thing. He writes of certain Methods that the Legates have uſed " in Negotiating with People to change their Minds: This they " have done ſo often, that it is now taken Notice of by every Body: " Neither can there be any Courſe more Pernicious, or Deſtructive " of the Liberty of the Council. The Legates many Times when they " propoſed a Thing, declared their Opinion of it firſt. Nay, in the " Middle of Voting, when they obſerved any Prelate not to Vote " as they would have him, they have taken upon themſelves to " ſpeak to it, before another was ſuffered to Vote, doing it ſometimes " with ſoft Words, and at other Times with harſher; letting others " to underſtand thereby, how they would have them Vote. Many " Times railing at the Prelates, and expoſing them to Scorn, and " uſing ſuch Methods as would make ones Heart Bleed to hear of, " much more to ſee.

" The common Method was, the Legates aſſembled the Prelates " in a General Congregation, the Night before the Seſſion was to " be held. Then they read the Decrees to them, as they and their " Friends had been pleaſed to form them. By which means, and " by their not being underſtood by a great many Prelates, ſome not " having the Courage to ſpeak their Minds, and others being quite " tired out with the Length of the Congregation, the Decrees were " paſt. We, who ſaw and obſerved all theſe Doings, cannot but la- " ment both our own Condition, and the loſt Authority of Coun- " cils.

" He

1547.

The Legates Way in Correcting manifest Abuses.

" He shews, the Legate's Drift was to Canonize all the Abuses of " the Court of *Rome* : so they never suffer'd them to be treated of " freely, but managed them like the Compounding of a Law-Suit : " In all which Courses, it is certain, the Holy Ghost did not assist : " They striving still to authorize Abuses ; and giving the World to " understand that the Pope is Gracious, in granting them any thing, " as if all were his own : Taking Abuses, tho' never so pernicious, " and splitting them as they thought good : By which Artifice, that " Part of the Abuse which was approved of by the Synod, becomes " perpetual ; and for the Part that was reprobated, they will, ac- " cording to their Custom, find Ways to defeat its Condemna- " tion.

" There is nothing that can be so much as put to the Vote, with- " out the Consent of the Legates : Who, notwithstanding that they " are (by reason of the great Number of Pensioners, which the " Pope has here) always sure of a Majority, do nevertheless make " use of Strange Tricks, in their Conduct of the Council. Besides, " by having made their own Creatures the Secretaries, Notaries, and " all the other Officers of the Council, they have made it thereby a " Body, without any thing of Soul or Strength in it : Where- " as, all those Officers ought to have been appointed by the Coun- " cil, and especially the Notaries.

" This is the Course that has been hitherto taken in the Council " of *Trent*, which is employed rather in struggling with the Pope " and his Legates, who seek to engross all to themselves, than in " Reforming and Remedying the Evils, under which the Church " groans. I pray God it do not increase them, by the Course it " takes, by Artifice and Dissimulation, to reduce the whole Synod " to the Will of the Pope. ——It may be truly said, we are in a " Convention of Bishops, but not in a Council.——It would have " been much better, not to have celebrated a Council at this Time, " but to have waited, till God had put the Christian Commonwealth " in a better Disposition ; —rather than to have celebrated one after " this manner, with so little Fruit, to the great Sorrow of Catho- " licks, the Scorn of Hereticks, and the Prejudice of the present, " and of all future Councils. So much may serve, to shew the Sense that *Vargas* had of the First, as well as of the Second Session of the Council of *Trent*.

Malvenda and others made the same Complaints. *Octob.* 12.

Malvenda, one of the Emperor's Divines, that was there, complains in one Letter, " that the Decrees, but especially the Matters " of Doctrine, were communicated to them very late. So that not- " withstanding the Substance of these Decrees may be found, which " it is well if it is, nevertheless considering that they are to cor- " rect them upon a bare hearing them read, on the Eve of a Session, " that must in my Opinion hinder them from having that Authority " and Majesty, which such Matters do use to have. I pray God " give them Grace to mend this.——He confesses, it was not fit any " Thing should be done without the Pope's Consent : Yet that ought " to be managed with all possible Secrecy, in order to prevent the " *Lutherans*, if they should come to know it, from reflecting on " the Liberty of the Council, and the Freedom that the Prelates

" ought

1547. "ought to have; who might safely enjoy more, without having any "thing pass to the Prejudice of his Holiness.

Nov. 22. In another he writes, "As there will not want those that write "of this Council, so, for my own Part, I pray God it may not do "more Harm than Good, and especially to the *Germans* that are "here; who seeing how little Liberty it enjoys, and how much it "is under the Dominion of the Legate, cannot possibly have that "Respect and Esteem for it, as is convenient.

Octob. 12. There are some Letters from the Bishop of *Oren*, written in the same Strain. In one he writes, "That for what concerns a Reformation, the Emperor must set himself about it in earnest, both "with the Pope, and the Fathers: For if he does it not, we shall "have our Wounds only skinned over, but shall have the rotten "Core left, to the Corrupting of all quickly again.——The Prelates here are all very much troubled, to see with how ill a Grace,

Nov. 28. "People that say any thing of a Reformation, are heard. In another he writes, "They discover here little or no Inclination, for to "do any Thing that deserves the Name of a true Reformation. Several Things might be done, that would be of great Advantage to "the People, and would be no Prejudice to his Holiness, or to his "Court. May God remedy Things! Under whom, unless his Majesty and your Lordship labour very hard, there will be no Remedy left for the Church. In a Postscript, he tells the same "Story that *Vargas* had told, of the Legate's treating the Bishop of "*Verdun* so ill, for his calling the Reformation offered, a *pretended* "*Reformation*: And he commanded him to be silent, when he was "about to say somewhat in his own Justification. The Bishop answered, that at this Rate there was no Liberty; and having obtained Leave of the Emperor, by whom he was sent thither, "he would be gone. The Legate told him, he should not go, but "should do what he commanded him.——He writes, that it was a "great Reproach to the Bishops, from whom the World expected "Canons of Reformation; that in truth they could give them nothing, but what the Legate pleases.——It were just with the People, if we do not treat about their Interest more in Earnest than "we have done hitherto, for to Stone us, when we return "Home.

Reflections upon those Proceedings. I have set all this out so copiously, that it may appear, from what those, who were far from being in any Sort Favourers of the Reformation, who were at *Trent*, and were let into the Secret of Affairs, wrote of the Council to the Emperor's Chief Minister, how little not only of Liberty, but even of Common Decency, there appeared in the whole Conduct of that Council.

This Digression is, I hope, an acceptable Entertainment to the Reader; and it must entirely free every considering Person, from a vulgar but weak Prejudice, infused into many by practising Missionaries, which was objected to my self by a Great Prince, That no Nation ought to have Reformed it self, in a Separation from the rest of the Church: But that there ought to have been a General Acquiescing in such Things as were commonly received, till by a Joint Concurrence

rence of other Churches the Reformation might have been agreed and settled in a General Council. These Letters do so effectually discover the Vanity of this Conceit, that at first Sight it evidently appears that even those Abuses and Corruptions that could not be justified, yet could not be effectually Reformed at *Trent*; and that every Thing was carried there, partly by the Artifices of the Legates, and partly by the many poor *Italian* Prelates, who were all Pensioners of the Court of *Rome*: So that no Abuse, how gross, or crying soever, could be amended, but as the Popes for their own Ends thought fit to give it up. This appears so evidently in the Letters, out of which I have drawn this Abstract, that I hope any Prejudice formed upon the Prospect of an Universal Reformation, is by it entirely removed. I turn next to the Affairs of *England*.

1547.

The Earl of *Hertford*, advanced to be Duke of *Somerset*, depended much on *Paget*'s Advices. He told him on the Day that King *Henry* died, that he desired his Friendship; and promised to him, that he would have a great Regard to his Advice. But tho' *Paget* put him oft in mind of this, he forgot it too soon. His great Success in his first Expedition to *Scotland*, was a particular Happiness to him, and might have established him; but his Quarrelling so soon with his Brother, was fatal to them both.

Thirlby writes of the *Interim*.

Thirlby was still Ambassador at the Emperor's Court: He studied to make his Court to the Protector, and wrote him a very hearty Congratulation upon his Exaltation; and added, That the Bishop of *Arras* seemed likewise to rejoice at it. At the same time, he warned him of the Designs of the *French* against *England*. He gave him a long Account of the *Interim*, in which he writes, that *Malvenda* had secretly a great Hand: He himself seems to approve of it; and says, that it was as high an Act of Supremacy, as any in all King *Henry*'s Reign; for by it, not only many of the Doctrines of Popery had mollifying Senses put on them, different from what was commonly received; but the Sacrament was allowed to be given in both Kinds, and the Married Priests were suffered to Officiate. It is true, all was softned by this, that it was only a prudent Connivance in the *Interim*, till the Council should be reassembled, to bring all Matters to a final Settlement.

Hobby sent Ambassador to the Emperor.

The Protector either mistrusted *Thirlby*, or he called him Home, to assist *Cranmer* in Carrying on the Reformation. He sent Sir *Philip Hobby* in his Stead. He was a Man marked in King *Henry*'s Time, as a Favourer of the Preachers of the *New Learning*, as they were then called. There was one *Parson*, a Clerk, known to have evil Opinions (so it is entred in a Part of the Council-Book, for the Year 1543,) touching the *Sacrament of the Altar*; who was maintained by *Weldon*, one of the Masters of the Houshold, and by *Hobby*, then a Gentleman-Usher: for which they were both sent to the *Fleet*; but they were soon after discharged.

Hobby was therefore sent over Ambassador, as a Person on whose Advices the Government here might depend, with Relation to the Affairs of *Germany*. I have seen a Volume of the Letters, writ to him by the Protector and Council, with Copies of the Answers that he wrote.

1547.

The Emperor's Confessor refused him Absolution for not persecuting Hereticks.

His first Dispatch mentioned a particular Dispute between the Emperor and his Confessor. The Confessor refused to give him Absolution, unless he would recal the Decree of the *Interim*, and, instead of Favouring Heresy, would with the Sword extirpate Hereticks. The Emperor said, he was satisfied with what he had done in the Matter of the *Interim*, and that he would do no more against the *Lutherans*: If the Fryar would not give him Absolution, others would be found, who would do it. So the Fryar left him.

At that Time, a Proposition of a Marriage for the Lady *Mary* was made by the Emperor, who seemed to apprehend that She was not safe in *England*. It was with the Brother of the King of *Portugal*. He was called at first the Prince of *Portugal*; and it was then hearkned to: But when the Council understood he was the King's Brother, they did not think fit to entertain it. And in the same Letter, Mention is made of *Geofrey Poole*, who was then beyond Sea, and desired a Pardon: The Council wrote, that he was included in the last Act of Pardon; yet since he desired it, they offer him a Special Pardon. This Letter is signed *T. Cant. Wiltshire, Northampton, Wentworth, T. Ely, T. Cheyne, A. Wyngfield, Herbert, N. Walton, J. Gage.*

The Perfidy of the *French* King.

The next Dispatch to him, has a particular Account of Two Persons, whom the King of *France* had corrupted to betray one of their Forts to him. The King of *France* had said to their Ambassador, *Par la Foy de Gentilhomme*, By the Faith of a Gentleman, he would make no War, without giving Warning first. This he promised on the 20th of *July*; yet hearing of the Commotions that were in *England*, he began Hostilities against *Bullogne* within Three or Four Days after. This is signed *E. Somerset, T. Cant. R. Ryche* Can. *W. St. Johns, W. Paget, W. Petre, J. Smith, E. Watton.* So long ago did it appear, that the *Bona Fide* of that Court, was not a Thing to be much relied on. I would have printed these Letters, if they were in my Power: But having had the Originals in my Hands about 30 Years ago, I did not then Copy them out, but contented my self with taking Extracts out of them, to which I shall upon other Occasions have Recourse.

The Progress of the Reformation.

As for the Progress in the Reformation at Home, *Cranmer* was deliver'd from too deep a Subjection, in which he had lived to King *Henry*. The Load of great Obligations, is a Weight on a Generous Mind: The Hope he had of gaining on the King, to carry him to a further Reformation, did, no doubt, carry him too far in his Compliances to him. He did, perhaps, satisfy himself, as I have Reason to believe many in the *Roman* Communion do, to this Day, that he did not in his Mind, or with his Thoughts, go along in those Devotions, that they cannot but think unlawful; but what, thro' a Fearfulness of Temper, or an ill-managed Modesty, they do not depart from establish'd Practices, even tho' they think them unlawful. The Compliances that we find in the Apostles, particularly in St. *Paul* himself, the Apostle of the *Gentiles*, in order to the Gaining the *Jews*, might all meet together, to carry him too far in his Submissions to King *Henry*. This can neither be denied, nor justified; but the Censures passed on it, may be much softned, when all th

Things

Things are laid together. Now he was delivered from that Servitude so he resolved to set about a further Reformation, with much Zeal, tho' perhaps still with too great Caution. He studied if it was possible to gain upon *Gardiner* : he had reason to believe from his Forwardness in complying with King *Henry*, that he had no great Scrupulosity in his own Thoughts ; so he tried to draw him to assist, at least not to oppose the Steps that were to be made ; and judging that it was necessary to give the People due Instruction, to carry them to a further Measure of Knowledge, he set about the preparing a Book of *Homilies* to be read in Churches : And to give some more Light into the Meaning of the New Testament, he chose *Erasmus*'s *Paraphrase* as the most unexceptionable Book that could be thought on : Since he had been so much favoured in *England* ; and as he had written against *Luther*, so he lived and died in the *Roman* Communion.

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Cranmer communicated his Designs, with the Draught of the *Homilies* to *Gardiner* : But he was resolved to set himself at the Head of the Popish Party : He had no doubt great Resentments, because he was left out of the Council, which he imputed to the *Seymours* : *Cranmer* tried if the Offer of bringing him to sit at that Board, could overcome these ; yet all was in vain. He insisted at first on this, that during the King's Minority, it was fit to keep all Things quiet, and not to indanger the publick Peace by venturing on new Changes: He pressed the Archbishop with the only thing that he could not well answer : Which was, that he had concurred in setting forth the late King's Book of *a necessary Doctrine* : *Gardiner* wrote that he was confident *Cranmer* was a better Man than to do any such Thing against his Conscience upon any King's Account ; and if his Conscience agreed to that Book, which he himself had so recommended, he wished Things might be left to rest there. *Cranmer* pressed him again and again in this Matter, but he was intractable. In particular he excepted to the Homily of *Justification*, which was thought to be of *Cranmer*'s own composing : Because *Justification* was ascribed to *Faith* only, in which he thought *Charity* had likewise its Influence ; and that without it *Faith* was dead, and a dead Thing could not be the Cause of *Justification*. But the Archbishop shewed him his Design in that, was only to set forth the Freedom of God's Mercy, which we relying on, had by that, the Application of it to our selves ; not meaning that *justifying Faith* was ever without *Charity* ; for even Faith did not justify as a meritorious Condition, but only as it was an Instrument applying God's Mercy to Sinners. Upon this there was perhaps too much of Subtilty on both Sides. As for *Erasmus*'s Paraphrase, *Gardiner* excepted to it as being in many Things contrary to the *Homilies* : So he thought since they agreed so little together, they ought not to be joined and recommended by the same Injunctions : To this it was said that the Paraphrase was a good and useful Book, tho' in some Particulars, the Homilies differed from it.

Gardiner at the Head of the Opposition to it.

But as they had the Perverseness of the Popish Party to deal with, so it was not easy to restrain their own Side. Those whose Heat could not be well managed, were apt to break out into great Disorders ; some insulting the Priests as they were officiating, others talk-

1547. ing irreverently of the Sacrament; some defining the manner of the Presence, and others asserting the Impossibility of it, as it was explained. These Disorders gave Occasion to two Proclamations this Year; the first was on the 12th of *November*, against Insolence towards Priests, such as the reviling them, tossing them, and taking their Caps and Tippets violently from them: The other was on the 27th of *December* against irreverent Talkers of the Sacrament, and against those who in their Sermons went to define the Manner, the Nature and Fashion, and the Possibility or Impossibility of the Presence. The Visitors went about with their Injunctions. They are registred in the Books of the Dean and Chapter of *York*; where the Visitation was held in *September*. It came not to *Winchester* till *October*, for the Monition concerning it was made on the 7th of *October*. Whether the Slowness of the Visitors coming thither was occasioned by any secret Practice with *Gardiner*, and upon the Hopes of gaining him or not, I cannot tell. He it seems, had before that refused to receive or obey the Injunctions: for which he was put in the *Fleet*: And when he wrote his Letter to the Protector, complaining of the Proceedings against him, he had been then seven Weeks there.

Proceedings in Convocation.

I can say nothing new of the Parliament that sate this Year. When the Convocation was opened on the 5th of *November*, the Archbishop told them, that it was with the King and the Lords Consent that the Prelates and Clergy should consult together about settling the Christian Religion right, and delivering it to the People. He sent them to chuse their Prolocutor, and to present him the *Friday* following. It is set down in the Minutes, that the lower House consulted how they might be joined to the lower House of Parliament: And about the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws. On the 9th of *December* some were appointed to know if the Archbishop had obtained Licence (in the Minutes called Indemnity or Immunity) for them to treat of Matters of Religion. In the 5th Session on the last of *November*, the Prolocutor exhibited an Order given him by the Archbishop for receiving the Communion in both Kinds, to which in the next Session they agreed, no Man speaking against it; 64 agreed to this; *Polydore Virgil* and *Weston* being two of them. And in the 8th Session on the 17th of *December*, a Proposition was offered to them, in these Words: "That all such Canons, Laws, Statutes, Decrees, Usages, and Customs, heretofore made or used, that forbid any Person to contract Matrimony, or condemn Matrimony already contracted, by any Person, for any Vow or Promise of Priesthood, Chastity or Widowhood, shall from henceforth cease, be utterly void, and of none effect". Here it was that *Redman*'s Opinion was read which I had in my History, put as read the following Year. This Proposition went to all Monastick Vows, as well as to the Marriage of Priests. The Proposition was subscribed by 53 who were for the Affirmative, only 22 were for the Negative: After which a Committee was named to draw the Form of an Act for the Marriage of Priests. But all that is in the often cited Minutes as to this Matter, is, *Item* propounded for the Marriage of Priests; and to it is added, and that the Ecclesiastical Laws should be promulgated; there is no more in the Minutes of the Convocations during this Reign.

They affirm that it was free for the Clergy to marry.

Strype

Strype adds to this a particular Remark out of the Defence of the Priests Marriage, that diverse of those who were for the Affirmative, did never marry: And that some of those who were for the Negative yet did afterwards marry. *Cranmer* went on gathering Authorities out of Scripture and the Fathers against unwritten Traditions: He wrote a Book on this Subject in *Latin*; but in Queen *Mary*'s Time it was translated into *English*, and published by an *English* Exile beyond Sea. He took a special Care to furnish *Canterbury* with good Preachers: But tho' their Labours were not quite without Success, yet Superstition had too deep a Root there to be easily subdued: And in the Universities, the old Doctrines were so obstinately persisted in, that when some in *Cambridge* offered to examine the Mass by the Scriptures and the Fathers, and to have a Disputation upon it, the Vice-Chancellor did forbid it. The Archbishop had procured a Confirmation of their Privileges, of *Cambridge* at least; for *Strype* only mentions that: The Mildness he expressed towards all who opposed him, even with Insolence, was remarkable: When one who thought he carried this too far, told him that if ever it came to the Turn of his Enemies, they would shew him no such Favour; he answered, *Well, if God so provide, we must abide it.*

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Cranmer's Labours and Zeal.

I did in the Account of the Arguments against Transubstantion, mention a Letter of St. *Chrysostom*'s to *Cesarius*, of which *Peter Martyr* brought over a Copy in *Latin* to *England*. Since that Time the Popish Clergy were sensible, that by that Letter it appeared plainly, that St. *Chrysostom* did believe that the Substance of Bread and Wine remained still in the Sacrament; as the Human Nature remained in the Person of Christ: So that by this, all the other high Figures used by that Father must be understood so, as to reconcile them to this Letter: therefore they have used all possible Endeavours to suppress it. When the Learned *Bigot* had brought a Copy of it from *Florence* to *France*, and printed it with other things relating to that Father, they ordered it to be cut out in such a manner, that in the printed Book it appeared that some Leaves were cut out; yet one Copy of it was brought to the present Learned and Pious Bishop of *Lincoln*, then Chaplain to our Ambassador at *Paris*, who first printed it here in *England*; as the Learned *Le Moyne*, having another Copy sent to him, printed it about the same time in *Holland*.

St. *Chrysostom*'s Letter to *Cesarius* brought to *England*.

I have nothing to add concerning the Tumults of the Year 1549, but that the Popish Clergy were generally at the Head of the Rebels. Many of these were Priests that had complied and subscribed the new Book; some of them were killed in every Skirmish, and very few of the Clergy shewed much Zeal against them: So that the Earl of *Bedford* could have none but *Miles Coverdale*, to go along with the Force that he carried into *Devonshire* to subdue them.

Troubles at *Frankfort*, p. 187.

Upon some Information, that the Lady *Mary*'s Servants were active in assisting those Commotions, the Protector and Council wrote to her on the 17th; that Letter being delivered to her on the 20th of *July*, she presently wrote an Answer, which I had from Sir *William Cook*, and it will be found in the Collection. In it, "she expresses her "Dislike of those Revolts. A Chaplain of hers in *Devonshire* had "been

The Lady *Mary* denies that she or her Servants were concerned in the Risings.

Coll. Numb. 2.

1547. "been named, but she writes she had not one Chaplain in those "Parts. Another that was named, lived constantly in her House: "She justifies all her Servants, that had been named; and assured "them, that all of her Houshold were true Subjects to the King. "The Council had likewise charged her, that her Proceedings in "Matters of Religion had given the Rebels great Courage: Which "she wrote, appeared to be untrue; since the Rebels in her Neigh-"bourhood touched upon no Point of Religion. She prayed God, "that their new Alterations, and unlawful Liberties, might not ra-"ther be the Occasion of such Assemblies: As for *Devonshire*, she "had neither Lands nor Acquaintance in those Parts.

In the suppressing these Tumults, the Protector did visibly espouse the Peoples Interest, and blamed the Lords for their Inclosures, and the other Oppressions that had, as he said, occasioned all those Disorders. By this he came to be universally beloved by the People; but trusting to that, he began to take too much upon him: and was so wedded to his own Thoughts, that he often opposed the whole Council. Upon which *Paget* wrote him a long Letter, in which, as a Faithful Friend, he set before him his Errors; chiefly his Wilfulness, and his affecting Popularity too much. He desired to be dismissed the Council; for while he was there, he was resolved to deliver his Opinion, according to his Reason, and not seek to please another: He had offered him faithful Advices, and warned him of the Cloud that he saw gathering against him. This he wrote on the 6th of *July*, some Months before it broke out: It seems the Protector took this Freedom well from him, for he continued firm to him to the last. His Brother, the Lord *Seimour*'s Fall lay heavy on him: Tho' that Lord had almost compassed another Design, of marrying the Lady *Elizabeth*: So I find it in the Council's Letters to *Hobby* of the 18th of *January* 154 8/9.

Cotton Libr. *Titus*, D. 3.

The Entertaining Foreign Troops in *England*.

As for the other Matter with which he was loaded, the entertaining some *German* Troops, I find among Sir *Philip Hobby*'s Letters, a great many Orders and Letters, signed by the whole Council, as well as by the Protector, which shew that they all concurred in that Matter. The true Secret of it on both Sides was this: The Bulk of the People of *England* was still possessed with the old Superstition to such a degree, that it was visible they could not be depended on, in any Matter that related to the Alterations that were made, or were designed to be made: Whereas the *Germans* were full of Zeal, on the other side; so that they might well be trusted to: And the Princes of *Germany*, who were then kept under by the Emperor, so that they neither durst nor could keep their Troops at home, but hoped they might at some better time have an Occasion to use them, were willing to put them in the Hands of the present Government of *England*. Howsoever, this had an odious Name put on it, and was called a ruling by Strangers: So that it very much shook the Duke of *Somerset*'s Popularity; for tho' it could not be denied, that all the Council had concurred with him in it, yet the Load and Blame of all was laid on him.

The Popish Party was very active in procuring the Change of Measures that followed. The Council wrote over to the Emperor, to let

him know that the Neceſſity of their Affairs was like to force them to treat for the delivering up of *Bullogne* to the *French*; tho' this was a Secret, not yet communicated to the whole Privy Council. 1547.

Boner's being removed was not much reſented, neither at home nor abroad. He was a brutal Man, few either loved or eſteemed him: And *Ridley*, who came to ſucceed him, was the moſt generally eſteemed Man of all the Reformers. One thing that made it more acceptable to thoſe who favoured the Reformation, was the ſuppreſſing the Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter*, and the removing *Thirleby* to *Norwich*, where it was thought he could do leſs Miſchief than where he was: For tho' he complied as ſoon as any Change was made, yet he ſecretly oppoſed every thing, while it was ſafe to do it. He had a ſoft and an inſinuating Way with him; which, as was thought, prevailed too much even on *Cranmer* himſelf. But *Gardiner* was a dextrous Man, and much more eſteemed, tho' as little beloved as *Boner* was: So the falling on him gave a greater Alarm to the whole Party. He who was ſo well known both in the Emperor's Court, and in the *French* Court, ſent over tragical Accounts of the Uſage he met with. This was writ over hither by our Ambaſſador at the Court of *France*: Upon which a very ſevere Character of him is given in a Letter ſigned *E. Somerſet*, *T. Cant. R. Rich.* C. *W. Wiltſhire*, *J. Warwick*, *J. Bedford*, *W. Northampton*, *G. Clinton*, *W. Petre*, *W. Cecyl.* In it they gave an Account of the Proceedings againſt him; and add, " He " had ſhewed not only a wilful Pride, but a cankered Heart, guilty of " open and ſhameful Lies; by which impudent Falſhood, he ſhewed " himſelf moſt unworthy to be a Biſhop, whatſoever Strangers may " think of him. For Religion, he is as far from any Piety or " Faſhion of a good Biſhop, as a Player of a Biſhop in a Comedy is " from a good Biſhop indeed.

Whether the Protector deſigned any thing againſt the Conſtitution of the Church, or at leaſt to ſwallow up the great Endowments that were not yet devoured, I cannot tell. But there is an Advice in one of *Hobby*'s Letters, dextrouſly enough propoſed, that gives Reaſon to ſuſpect this might be on Deſign to broach a Buſineſs that was to be ſo cunningly propoſed: And *Hobby* being a Confident of the Protector's, he may be ſuppoſed to have written as he was directed by him. He wrote it in *September* 1548. He tells the Council, " that the Pro- " teſtants of *Germany* hoped that the King, ſeeing that the late Wars " in *Germany* happened chiefly by the Biſhops continuing in their " Princely and Lordly Eſtate, would, for preventing the like, ap- " point the Godly Biſhops an honeſt and competent Living, ſuffici- " ent for their Maintenance, taking from them the reſt of thoſe " worldly Poſſeſſions and Dignities, and thereby avoid the Vain-Glo- " ry that letteth them truly and ſincerely to do their Office, and " preach the Goſpel and Word of Chriſt. On the other ſide he " wrote, the Papiſts ſay they doubt not but my Lords the Biſhops, " being a great Number of ſtout and well learned Men, will well " enough weigh againſt their Adverſaries, and maintain ſtill their " whole Eſtate; which coming to paſs they have good Hope, that " in time theſe Princely Pillars will well enough reſiſt this Fury, and " bring all things again into the old Order.

I have

The Popish Party deceived in their Hopes on the Protector's Fall.

I have no Particulars to add concerning the Protector's Fall, and the new Scene; but that soon after, when it appeared that the Papists were not like to be more favourably dealt with, than they were under the Duke of *Somerset*, the Bishop of *Arras* did expostulate upon it with *Hobby*. He said, they had been assisting to the pulling down of the Duke of *Somerset*, and that Hopes of better Usage had been given them; yet things went worse with them than before: Upon that he fell to rail at *Bucer*, and said, he believed he inflamed Matters in *England*, as much as he had done in the Empire. For at this Time many were forced to come to *England* for Shelter, the chief of whom were *Bucer*, *Fagius*, *Peter Martyr*, and *Bernardin Ochinus*; all these were entertained by *Cranmer*, till he got good Provisions to be made for them, in the Universities; which were now most violently set against every Step that was made towards a Reformation. *Hobby* came over to *England*, and tried what Service he could do to his Friend the Duke of *Somerset*: But the Faction was grown too strong to be withstood. Upon his Submission, the Matter went for some Time very high against him, and his Friends. On the 13th of *October*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Michael Stanhope*, Sir *John Thynne*, and *Edward Wolfe*, called Adherents to the Duke of *Somerset*, and the principal Instruments of his Ill Government, were sent to the *Tower*; and on the 14th, he himself was sent thither. No more Mention is made of them till the 6th of *February*, that the Duke of *Somerset* was set at Liberty; but bound in a Recognizance of 10000 *l.* not to go above Four Mile from *Schene*, or *Syon*, nor to come into the King's Presence, unless he was called for by the King, and his Council. And when he knew that the King was to come within Four Miles of these Houses, he was to withdraw from them. Yet, it seems, his Enemies were still in some Apprehension of him; and probably, some Messages went between him and his Friends in the *Tower*: For, on the 18th of *February*, they were all made Close Prisoners, and their Servants were not suffered to attend upon them. But it seems, upon Examination, this was found not to be of a Criminal Nature; so, on the 22d, they were dismissed upon their Recognizances. And upon the 10th of *April*, the Duke of *Somerset* was again brought to the Council-Board, being that Day sworn of the Privy-Council.

Council-Book.

On the 20th of *April*, *Hobby* being sent back to the Emperor's Court, had Orders to try if the Proposition for a Marriage of the Lady *Mary* to the Prince of *Portugal*, might be again set on foot: And in Excuse for its being rejected before, he had Orders to say, that few of the Council had been made acquainted with it: He was desired therefore to enquire, what that Prince's Estate was. Whether this flowed from the Earl of *Warwick*'s Ambitious Designs, which might make him wish to have her sent away far out of *England*; or, if it flowed from the Uneasiness the Council was in, by reason of her persisting in the Old Way of Religion, I cannot determine. *Hobby* had also Orders to represent to the Emperor, that they had hitherto connived at her Mass, in hopes that She would by that Connivance be moved to conform her self to the Laws:

Divers-

1549.

Diversity of Rites in Matters of Religion, ought not to be suffer'd. The Laws were so strict, that no Licence could be granted, in Opposition to them: Yet they were resolved to connive a little longer, tho' She abused the King's Favour; for She kept as it were an open Church, not only for her Servants, but for all her Neighbours: They therefore wished, that the Emperor would give her good Advice in this Matter. The Letter was signed by *Cranmer*, by the Earls of *Wiltshire* and *Warwick*, the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Lord *Wentworth*, and *Paget*, *Petre*, *Herbert*, *Darcy* and *Mason*. To all this, it seems, the Emperor had little Regard: For not long after that, the Ambassador wrote over, that by the Emperor's Command, an Order was served on him, not to have the *English* Service in his House. The Council looked on this, as contrary to the Privileges of Ambassadors, by the Law of Nations. So they ordered, that the Emperor's Ambassador should not have Mass in his House, and gave him Notice of it. When the Emperor knew this, he complained of it, as a High Violation of the Dignity of that Character: But the Council-Books shew that they stood firm, and would not recal their Order, till the Emperor recalled his Order against the New Service in the *English* Ambassador's House. What further Proceedings were of either Side in this Matter, does not appear to me. I find by the Council-Books, that the Carrying on the Reformation was cordially espoused, and pursued at that Board.

Proceedings against *Gardiner*.

Gardiner had been long a Prisoner; and his being detained in the *Tower*, no Proceedings being had against him, occasioned a great Outcry: So, on the 8th of *June* 1550, it was resolved to send some to him, to see if he repented of his former Obstinacy, and would apply himself to advance the King's Proceedings; upon which the King would receive him into Favour, and all passed Errors should be forgiven. So the Duke of *Somerset*, and others, were sent to him. They made Report on the 10th of *June*, that he desired to see the Book of the King's Proceedings, and then he would make a full Answer. He seemed to them in all Things willing to conform himself to it, promising that if he found any Thing in it against his Conscience, he would open it to none but to the Council. So the Book was sent him; and he was allowed the Liberty of the Gallery and Gardens in the *Tower*, when the Duke of *Norfolk* was not in them. On the 13th of *June*, the Lieutenant of the *Tower* reported, that he had given him back the King's Book; and that he said, he would make no Answer to it, till he was set at Liberty; and that then he would speak his Conscience: So the Lords, who had been with him, were appointed to go to him again. The Matter rested till the 8th of *July*.

In an Imperfect Book of the Minutes of the Council, that I have by me, it is set down, that *Gardiner* did at last subscribe Six Articles. The Two first appear not. The Third is, " That the Book of Com-
" mon-Prayer was a Godly and Christian Book, to be allowed and
" observed by all the King's true Subjects. 4th. That the King, in
" his young and tender Age, was a full and entire King: And that
" the Subjects were bound to obey the Statutes, Proclamations, and
" Commands set forth in this Age, as well as if he were Thirty or

1550. " Forty Years old. 5th, That the Statute of the Six Articles " was, for just Causes, repealed by the Authority of Parliament. " 6th, That the King, and his Successors, had full Authority in the " Churches of *England* and *Ireland*, to Reform and Correct Errors and " Abuses, and to alter Rites and Ceremonies Ecclesiastical, as shall seem " most convenient for the Edification of his People; so that the Al- " teration is not contrary to the Scriptures, and the Laws of God. To all this he subscribed his Name: But no Date is added in those Minutes; but it is entred, that he did it in the Presence of the Council, who also subscribed as Witnesses to it. Their Names are, *E. Somerset*, *W. Wiltshire*, *J. Warwick*, *J. Bedford*, *W. Northampton*, *E. Clinton*, *G. Cobham*, *W. Paget*, *W. Herbert*, *W. Petre*, *E. North*. It was resolved to carry his Submissions further; so Twenty New Articles were drawn up: In which, " the Obligation to Celibacy, and " all the Vows made by the Monks, all Images, Relicks, and Pilgri- " mages are condemned. It is affirmed, that the Scriptures ought to " be read by all: That the Mass was full of Abuse and Superstition, " and was justly taken away: That the Eucharist ought to be recei- " ved in both Kinds: That Private Masses were not agreeable to Scri- " pture: That the Sacrament ought not to be adored: That the " Book of Homilies was Godly and Wholesome: That the Book of " Ordaining Bishops, Priests and Deacons, ought to be received and " approved by all; and that the Lesser Orders were not necessary. " That the Scriptures contained all Things necessary to Salvation: And " that *Erasmus* Paraphrase was, upon Good and Godly Considerations, " ordered by the King to be put in all Churches.

But to this a Preface was added, setting forth, " That whereas he " had been suspected as Favouring the Bishop of *Rome*'s Authority, " and that he did not approve of the King's Proceedings, in Alter- " ing some Rites in Religion: Upon which, he had been brought " before the Council, and admonished; and was ordered to Preach, " declaring himself in those Things. But tho' he promised to do it, " he had not done this, as he ought to have done: By which, he " had not only incurred the King's Displeasure, but divers of the " King's Subjects were encouraged by his Example, (as the King's " Council was certainly informed) to repine at his Majesties Pro- " ceedings: For which he was very sorry, and confessed that he " had been condignly punished. And he thanked the King for his " Clemency, treating him not with Rigor, but Mercy. And that it " might appear how little he did repine at his Highness Doings, " which in Religion were most Godly, and to the Commonwealth " most Prudent: He did therefore of his own Will, and without " any Compulsion, subscribe the following Articles. But on the Margin of the Minutes, the Bishop's Answer to this is thus set down. " I cannot in my Conscience confess the Preface: Knowing my self " to be of that Sort, I am indeed, and ever have been———. The rest is torn out. On the 15th of *July*, it is entred, that Report was made by those who were sent to him, that he said he had never offended the King: So he prayed that he might be brought to his Trial, in which he asked no Mercy, but only Justice. When he had

passed

1550.

passed his Tryal and was released, it should then appear what he would do with relation to the Articles: But it was not reasonable that he should subscribe them, while he was yet in Prison.

Some of the Privy-Councellors were sent again to him, and they were ordered to carry with them a Divine and a Temporal Lawyer; so they took with them *Ridley* Bishop of *London*, and Mr. *Goodrick*: His Answer was to the same Purpose, and was next Council Day reported. Upon which he was brought before the Council, and required to subscribe the Paper; but he still refusing to do it, the Sentence of Sequestration was read, with a Denunciation of Deprivation, if he did not conform within Three Months: Nevertheless (it is added in the Council-Book) upon divers good Considerations, and especially upon hope that within that time he might be yet reconciled, it was agreed that the said Bishop's House and Servants should be maintained in their present Estate, until the Time that this Intimation should expire: And the Matter in the mean time was to be kept private. These are all the Additional Passages taken from the Council-Book relating to *Gardiner*.

Those Steps, in which the Reformation was advancing but slowly, occasioned great Distractions over most Parts of the Kingdom: While those who adhered to the Old Practices and Doctrines preached severely against all Innovations, and others as severely against all Corruptions and Abuses. The ill Effects of these contradictory Sermons had given occasion to a Proclamation on the 24th of *April* 1550, prohibiting all Preaching, except by Persons licensed by the King, or the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: And the Disorders occasioned by Mens divorcing their Wives, or marrying more Wives than one, were likewise ordered to be proceeded against by the same Proclamation. On the 9th of *August*, there came out another Proclamation, prohibiting all Plays till *Allhollontide*: What the Reason of this last was, does not appear. That against all Preaching was much censured. It was represented, that by reason of the Proclamation against Preaching, the People were running into great Ignorance and Dissoluteness. So Letters were ordered to be written to the Bishops of *Duresme* and *Ely*; and Eight Days after to the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and other Bishops, to appoint their Chaplains, and others by their Discretion, to preach in their Dioceses, notwithstanding the Proclamation against Preaching. There was also an Order made in Council, that some Bishops, and other Learned Men, should devise an Order for the Creation of *Bishops* and *Priests*. I use the Words in the Council-Book. Twelve were appointed to prepare it. *Heath*, Bishop of *Worcester*, was one of them. It seems there was a digested Form already prepared, probably by *Cranmer*, for that Service: For the Order was made on the 2d of *February*, and on the 28th it was brought to the Council, signed by Eleven of the Number, *Heath* only refusing to sign it: He said, as it is entred in the Council Book, that all that is contained in the Book was Good and Godly; he also said he would obey it; but added that he would not sign it. The Matter was respited for some Days, and great Pains was taken by *Cranmer*, and others, to persuade him to sign it; but he still refusing it (as the Council Book has it) *obstinately*; He was on the 4th of *March* sent

All Preaching is forbidden, except by Persons especially Licenced.

Heath refuses to subscribe the Book of Ordinations.

1550. sent to the *Fleet*. He was in *September* called again before the Council, and required to subscribe the Book: And divers Learned Men argued to persuade him, that the Book was expedient and allowable: His Obstinacy was charged on him, for which they said he had deserved a longer Imprisonment: But he might still recover the King's Favour if he would subscribe it. He acknowledged he had been very gently used, rather like a Son than a Subject: He insisted on what he had formerly said, that he would not disobey the Order set forth in the Book: Every one in the Council took Pains on him, for it seemed a Contradiction to say he would Obey it, and yet not Subscribe it. He was offered more Time for Conferences: He said he knew he could never be of another Mind; adding, that there were other Things to which he would not Consent, as to take down *Altars*, and to set up instead of them *Tables*. The Matter ended with a Charge given him to subscribe under the Pain of Deprivation: At this Time Two Entries made in the Council Books shew the good Effects of *Latimer*'s Zealous Preaching. On the 10th of *March* he brought in 104 *l.* recovered of one who had concealed it from the King: And a little after 363 *l.* of the King's Money: Of which for his Attendance in *Lent*, 50 *l.* was allowed to him. I find there was in this Reign, as in the former, a Peculiar Seal for Ecclesiastical Matters, which was in Secretary *Petre*'s keeping: Many took out Licences under this Seal, for eating Meat in *Lent*; some only for a Man and his Wife; and some for Four, Six, or Ten, that did Eat with them: And some for as many as should come to their House. Licences of another Nature, I find were often taken out for keeping a Number of Retainers, above what was allowed by the Statute.

Day Bishop of *Chichester* in Trouble for not removing Altars.

All Endeavours were too weak to overcome the Aversion that the People had to the Steps that were made towards a Reformation. Dr. *Cox* the King's Almoner and Preceptor was sent to *Sussex*, to Preach and Instruct the People there, who were much disturbed, (as the Council Book has it) by the Sedicious Preaching of *Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, and others. *Day* denied this: So an Order was made in Council, that he should bring in Writing that which he had Preached. The Duke of *Somerset* reported to the Council, that *Day* had been with him, and owned that he had received the Order that the Council had made for the taking down of Altars, and setting Tables in their stead: But answered that he could not in Conscience obey it: This seemed indeed unaccountable: But he insisted that he could not in Conscience obey it, and prayed to be excused: Upon that he was summoned to appear before the Council, and there, he said, he could not Conform himself to their Order: For he thought he followed in that both the Scriptures, and the Doctors, and Fathers of the Church: And that he did not perceive any Strength in the Six Reasons, given by the Bishop of *London*, to justify the Change. He quoted a Passage in *Isaiah*, which the Archbishop, with the Bishop of *London*, and the rest of the Council thought not at all to the Purpose: So he was ordered to confer with the Archbishop, and the Bishops of *Ely* and *London*, and to appear before them on the 4th of *December*. When he was again before the Council, he entred into a Dispute with the Archbishop, and the Bishop of *Ely*. They pressed him to give

his

his Reasons for being so positive; he insisted on those Words in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, *We have an Altar*: And though they thought it was clear, that by the Altar Christ himself was meant, yet that did not satisfy him: They also shewed him from *Origen*, that the Christians in those Days had no Altars: He might call the Table an Altar if he pleased: So the Antient Writers did; but all this had no Effect on him. A few more Days were given him to consider of the Matter: He positively answered he could not obey their Order with a good Conscience: And rather than do it, he was resolved to suffer the Loss of all he had. Two Days more were given him: But he was still firm. So on the 11th of *December* 1550, he was sent to the *Fleet*. Further Proceedings against him were stopt for many Months; in which Time it is said that the King himself wrote to him: But all was in vain. So in *September* 1551, a Commission was given to judge him; and on the 14th of *October*, it seems both *Heath* and he were deprived: For then an Order passed in Council for seizing the Temporalities of both their Bishopricks. Letters were written in *June* 1552, concerning them to the Bishops of *Ely* and *London*; the former was to receive *Day*, and the latter *Heath*, and to use them as in Christian Charity should be most seemly. It seems that both *Heath* and *Day* saw the Change of Doctrine that was preparing, with relation to the Sacrament: So they were willing to lay hold on the first Colour to break off from any further Compliances; for the Points they stood upon did not seem of such Importance, as to suffer Deprivation, and Imprisonment for them.

Scandals given by many.

There was at that Time a very Scandalous Venality of all Offices and Employments, which was so much talked of at the Court of *France*, that the Ambassador whom the King had there, wrote over an Account of it; and it was said that whereas King *Henry* had by his Endowments made some Restitution, yet for all the Wealth they had seized on in Chantries and Collegiate Churches, no Schools, nor Hospitals were yet endowed. Here a very memorable Passage in *Ridley*'s Life deserves to be remembred: He wrote to *Cheek*, that he being to give *Grindal* a Prebend in St. *Paul*'s, had received a Letter from the Council to stop Collation: For the King was to keep that Prebend for the Furniture of his Stable. " Alas, Sir, (he writes) " this is a heavy hearing. Is this the Fruit of the Gospel? Speak, " Mr. *Cheek*, speak for God's Sake, in God's Cause, unto whomso-" ever you think you may do any Good withal: And if you will " not speak, then I beseech you let this my Letter speak. There was nothing that opened all Mens Mouths, more than a Complaint entred in the Council Book, made by one *Norman* against the Archbishop of *York*, that he took his Wife and kept her from him. The Council gave such Credit to this, that as a Letter was written to that Archbishop, not to come to Parliament, so they ordered a Letter to be written to Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, and Mr *Chaloner* to examine the Matter. What they did, or what Report they made, does not appear to me. *Holgate* during all the Time he was Archbishop of *York*, was more set on enriching himself than on any Thing else. He seemed heartily to concur in the Reformation, but he was looked on as a Reproach to it, rather than a Promoter of it. This might have a

share

1550. ſhare in the Cenſure, that as was reported King *Edward* paſſed on the Biſhops in that Time, *Some for Sloth, ſome for Ignorance, ſome for Luxury, and ſome for Popery, are unfit for Diſcipline and Government.* At this Time the Anabaptiſts were again enquired after, and a Commiſſion was granted to *Cranmer, Thirleby, Cox,* and Sir *Thomas Smith,* to enquire after them, and to judge them.

Gardiner is deprived.

Now *Gardiner*'s Buſineſs was brought to a concluſion. On the 23d of *November,* a Committee of the Council was appointed to conſider how to proceed further againſt him: On the 14th of *December* an Order was ſent to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to carry him to *Lambeth* on the 16th, and after that as often as they required him. The Commiſſion to try him was directed to *Cranmer,* and others: He deſired Council, it was granted; and his Lawyers had free acceſs to him. On the 19th of *January* his Servants moved in Council, that ſome of that Board might be Sworn as his Witneſſes: They ſaid they would Anſwer upon their Honour, but would not be Sworn: And on the 15th of *February,* the laſt mention made of him in the Council Book, is in theſe Words, " For as much as the Biſhop had " at all Times before the Judges of his Cauſe, uſed himſelf Unreve- " rently to the King's Majeſty, and very Slanderouſly towards his " Council; and eſpecially Yeſterday being the Day of the Judgment " given againſt him, he called the Judges Hereticks and Sacramen- " taries; theſe being there, as the King's Commiſſioners, and of his " Highneſs's Council, it was ordered that he ſhould be removed from " his preſent Lodging into a meaner one in the *Tower,* and have but " one Servant to wait on him: That his Books and Papers ſhould " be taken from him, and that from henceforth he ſhould have nei- " ther Pen, Ink, nor Paper given him, but be ſequeſtred from all " Conference, and from all Means that may ſerve him to practice any " ways. Here was Severity upon Severity, which as it raiſed him to be depended on as the Head of the Popiſh Party, ſo it muſt have recommended him to the Compaſſions of all equitable People.

Whether theſe hard Orders were rigorouſly executed or not, does not appear to me. I find in a Letter of *Hooper*'s to *Bullinger,* one Circumſtance relating to *Gardiner.* It is without Date. In it, as he tells him that *Crome* did with Zeal oppoſe their Doctrine concerning the Sacrament; but commends him, as a Perſon of great Learning, and a Man of a moſt Holy Life; he tells him alſo, That *Gardiner* had a Month before ſent him a Challenge to a publick Diſputation upon that Head; promiſing, that if he did not clearly carry away the Victory, he would ſubmit himſelf to the Laws, and would willingly ſuffer the Cruelleſt Hardſhips. *Hooper* accepted the Challenge, and a Day was ſet for them to diſpute: But when the Day came near, *Gardiner* ſaid, he muſt be firſt ſet at Liberty: So all this Shew of a Readineſs to maintain the Old Doctrine, vaniſhed to nothing. Concerning the King, *Hooper* writes in that ſame Letter, That theſe Thouſand Years, there had not been any Perſon of his Age, who had ſuch a Mixture both of Piety and Learning, with ſo true a Judgment, as appeared in him. If he lived, and went on ſuitably to theſe Beginnings, he would be the Wonder and the Terror of the World. He took Notes of all the Sermons he heard; and after Din-

ner, he asked the Young Persons that were bred up with him, an Account of what they remembred of the Sermon; and went over the whole Matter with them. He wrote further in this Letter, That then they were every Day expecting that the Duke of *Somerset* should be again called, to Sit in the Council.

1550.

Poinet, Bishop of *Rochester*, was Translated to *Winchester*, being Nominated to it the 8th of *March*: And on the 5th of *April*, he took his Oath of Homage. While he was Bishop of *Rochester*, he had no House to live in, so he kept his Benefice in *London*. But it is entred in the Council-Book, that no Bishop after him, was to have any Benefice, besides his Bishoprick.

An Account of Bp. *Hooper*.

A New Scene of Contention was at this Time very unhappily opened. *Hooper*, a Zealous, a Pious, and a Learned Man, had gone out of *England* in the latter Years of King *Henry*'s Reign; and had lived at *Zurick*, at a Time, when all *Germany* was in a Flame, on the Account of the *Interim*. Upon that, a great Question arose among the *Germans*, concerning the Use of Things in themselves indifferent. For, a great Part of the Design of the *Interim* was, to keep up the exterior Face of Things, as it had been in Popery, with the Softnings of some other Senses put on them. It was said, "If "Things were Indifferent in themselves, it was Lawful, and that it "became the Subjects Duty to obey them when commanded. Many thought, that *Melanchthon* himself went in that Matter too far. It was visible, the Design in it, was, to make the People think the Difference was not great between that and Popery: So the Rites were ordered to be kept up on purpose, to make it easy to draw the People over to Popery. Out of this another Question arose; Whether it was Lawful to Obey in Indifferent Things, when it was certain they were enjoined with an Ill Design? Some said, the Designs of Legislators were not to be enqured into, nor judged: And whatever they were, the Subjects were still bound to Obey. This created a vast Distraction in *Germany*, while some obeyed the *Interim*, but many more were firm to their Principles, and were turned out of all for their Disobedience. Those who submitted were for the most part *Lutherans*, and carried the Name of *Adiaphorists*, from the *Greek* Word that signifies Things Indifferent. The Reformed were generally firmer. Those of *Switzerland*, particularly at *Zurick*, had at this Time great Apprehensions of a Design of Introducing Popery, by keeping up an Exterior, that resembled it. Of this I find a very late Instance, the Year before this, in a Letter that *Mont* wrote from *Strasburg*, on the 18th of *February* 1548, to *Musculus*, which will be found in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 3.

"When he left *Augsburg*, there were no Changes then begun "there; but they expected every Day, when the New Superstitious Practices were to be set up. One of the Ministers told him, "that the Magistrates had desired the Ministers, not to forsake "them in that Time of Distress. They promised that they would "give them Timely Notice, when those Rites were to be brought "in among them. They prayed them likewise, to recommend the "*Interim* in the softest Manner, and with the best Colours they "could. This was refused by the greater Number of them; who "said,

1550. "said, they could never approve that, which was by an unanimous "Consent condemned. He did not doubt, but they had heard what "was done in *Saxony*. He wishes, the *German* Courage and Firm-"ness might now appear: That if they could not act with their usual Courage, they might at least shew their Courage in Suffer-"ing. The Duke of *Deux-Ponts* had left *Augsburg*; and said, "the Publishing the *Interim* did not belong to him, but to the Bi-"shops. Those of *Breme* had such a heavy Composition laid on "them by the Emperor, that they said, it was not in their Power "to comply with it, tho' they had a Mind to it. So it was "thought, this was done on Design to take their Town, as a Conve-"nient Post for a Garrisoned Place, to keep that Countrey in Order. "He concludes, desiring to know what Agreement there was, as "to these Matters, in the *Helvetick* Churches. They were, indeed, much inflamed on this Occasion; and very Zealous against any Compliance with the *Interim*, or the Use of the Rites prescribed by it: So *Hooper* came from *Zurick*, in the Heat of this Debate, and with this Tincture upon his Mind.

Coll. Numb. 4.

When he came to *Brussels*, on the 20th of *April* 1549, he wrote a Letter to *Bullinger*, that is in the Collection. "He sets forth in it, "very tragically, the Misery of the *Netherlands*, under the Vio-"lent Oppressions of the *Spaniards*. Complaints were heard in all "Places, of Rapes, Adulteries, Robberies, and other Insolencies, "every Day committed by them: So that an Hostess of a Pub-"lick House said to him, If She could but carry her Children in "her Arms with her, She would chuse to go and beg from Door "to Door, rather than suffer their Brutalities every Day, as they "were forced to do. He hoped this would be a Warning, to put "others on their Guard.

"The Emperor came seldom out of his Chamber. *Hooper* had "been at the Duke of *Saxony*'s House, who had about Thirty of "his Servants still attending on him: He designed to have talked "with *Hooper*, but the *Spaniards* hindred it. He had no Hope of "obtaining his Liberty, tho' his Health was much broken: But he "continued firm in his Religion, and did not despair of Things, "but hoped Religion would be again revived. The Landgrave was kept at *Oudenard*. He was both uneasy, and inconstant. Some-"times he was ready to submit to the Emperor, and to go to "Mass: At other Times, he railed at the Emperor; and at the *In-*"*terim*, (*Hooper* was entertained by *Hobby*, the *English* Ambassa-"dor, from whom probably he heard these Things;) he prayed "God to pity him, for he suffered justly for his Treachery. The "Pope's Legate was there, and preached all that *Lent* in his own "Court.

"The Pope and the Emperor were then in very ill Terms. The "Pope pressed the Emperor to own the Council at *Bologna*; for he "was afraid to let it Sit again in *Trent*: But the Emperor was as "positive for their Coming back to *Trent*; and said roundly, He "would break with the Pope, if that were not done. The Ambas-"sador told him, That if the Emperor's Confessor were to any de-

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" gree right set, there might be good Hope of the Emperor: But
" both he, and all his Ministers, were strangely governed, and in a
" manner driven by the Confessor. About Seven Months before
" this, he had left the Emperor, because he would not be more Se-
" vere, and would not restore Popery entirely in *Germany*. The
" Emperor had offered him a Bishoprick in *Spain*, worth 20000
" Crowns: But he refused it, and said, He would be tied to the
" Church, but not to him, unless he would serve the Church with
" more Zeal. The Emperor seemed to design to break the Peace of
" *Switzerland*, and *Hooper* understood that some of *Lucern* were
" then hanging on at Court, probably with no good Design. He
" wishes they would fear God, lead Holy Lives, and Fight bravely:
" And so they might expect to be protected by God: Yet he under-
" stood that the Emperor was troubled that he had meddled so much
" as he had done in Matters of Religion in *Germany*: He found that
" was like to cross his other Designs, which might have succeeded
" better if he had left that Matter more at liberty. His Army lay
" then near *Bremen*, but was undertaking nothing. The Cities there
" had furnished themselves with Stores and Provisions for Five Years;
" and were making no Submissions. This Account I thought no Digression from my chief Design in Writing, since this Intelligence came, no doubt, from the Ambassador. Upon *Hooper*'s coming to *England* he applied himself much to Preaching, and to the Explaining the Scriptures. He was much followed, and all Churches were crowded where he preached. He went through the Epistle to *Titus*, and Ten Chapters of the Gospel of St. *John*: His Fame came to Court. *Poinet* and he were ordered to preach all the Lent at Court; *Hooper* on *Wednesdays*, and *Poinet* on *Fridays*: He was also sent to Preach both in *Kent* and in *Essex*. At this Time *Bullinger* wrote to the King, and sent with it a Book that he dedicated to him, which was presented to the King by the Marquiss of *Northampton*; for an Order was made, that none but Privy Counsellors might bring Books, or Papers to the King. The King said to *Hooper*, that he had read the Letter, and would read *Bullinger*'s Book: and spoke to the Marquis of a Present to be sent him: But *Hooper* told him, He never took any: besides, that it was forbidden by the Laws of *Zurick*. *Hooper*, in his Letters to *Bullinger*, on the 8th of *February* 1550, says, The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Rochester*, *Ely*, St. *David*'s, *Lincoln* and *Bath*, were sincerely set on advancing the Purity of Doctrine, agreeing in all Things with the *Helvetick* Churches. He commends particularly the Marquis of *Dorchester*, afterwards Duke of *Suffolk*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, afterwards Duke of *Northumberland*, who at that Time put on such a Shew of Zeal, that *Hooper* calls him a most Holy Instrument, and the best affected to the Word of God. He writes of *Cranmer*, that he wishes he were not too feeble. He was at *London*, when the Council divided from the Duke of *Somerset*, but had not meddled in that Matter: And he says not a Word of it, but that he blesses God, the Duke of *Somerset* was to be set at Liberty. In *June*, he was named to be Bishop of *Glocester*; for he gives an Account of

1550. it in a Letter to *Bullinger*, on the 29th of *June*. He declined it, as he writes, both for the Oath, which he says was *foul* and *impious*, and by reason of the *Aaronical* Habits. The King asked, What his Reasons were? He told them very freely to him. He says of him, that the World never saw such a Prince as He was, for his Age. He likewise says, the Lady *Elizabeth*, his Sister, was wonderfully Zealous, and very Knowing: She read both *Greek* and *Latin*; and few could maintain an Argument against Her, particularly in Matters of Religion.

Fœdum & impium.

Among the Letters sent me from *Zurick*, I find some written upon the Occasion of the Difficulty that was made in *Hooper*'s Business, to *Bullinger* and *Gualter*, pressing them very earnestly to write to the King, to let fall all the Ceremonies: They tell them, that *Ridley*, tho' he stood upon the Forms of the Law, yet was very earnest to have *Hooper* made a Bishop. They seem also to reflect on the Bishops, for their Earnestness in that Matter, as if they were ashamed to have that to be blamed, to which they themselves had submitted: And they reflect on *Bucer*, for Supporting the Matter too much. Those of *Zurick* were more discreet and modest, than to interpose in such a manner. It would have been too great a Presumption in them, to have made any such Application; but it seems, *Bullinger* wrote about it to the King's Præceptor, *Cox*. I have not found his Letter: But I find, by *Cox*'s Letter to him, that he himself was for Proceeding easily in this Matter. He wrote to him in *May*, in these Words. "I think all Things in the Church ought to be Pure and "Simple, removed at the greatest Distance from the Pomps and E- "lements of this World. But, in this our Church, what can I do, "in so low a Station? I can only endeavour to perswade our Bi- "shops, to be of the same Mind with my self. This I wish "truly, and I commit to God the Care and Conduct of his own "Work. Of the King he writes, "Believe me, there appears in "Him an incredible Beginning of Learning, with a Zeal for Reli- "gion, and a Judgment in Affairs almost already ripe. *Traheron*, at the same time, writes of Him, "We are Training up a Prince, "that gives the greatest Hopes of being a most Glorious Defender "of the Faith, even to a Miracle. For, if God is not so provoked "by our Sins, as to take him too early from us, we do not doubt, "but that *England* shall again give the World another *Constantine*, "or rather, one much better than he was.

This Matter took up much Time, and was managed with more Heat than might have been expected; considering the Circumstances of that Reign: He being named to be Bishop of *Gloucester*, was recommended by *Dudley* to *Cranmer*, that he would not Charge him with an Oath that was (as is expressed) burdenous to his Conscience. This was the Oath of Supremacy. He next desired to be excused from accepting the Bishoprick, or from the Ceremonies used in the Consecration; upon which the King writ to *Cranmer* in *August*, freeing him from all Dangers and Penalties, that he might incur by omitting those Rites, but left the Matter to the Archbishop's Discretion, without any Persuasion or Command to omit them. The Archbishop

did

did not think fit upon that Letter to act against the Laws: There were ſeveral Conferences between *Ridley* and *Hooper*, not without heat: *Hooper* maintaining that if it was not unlawful, yet it was highly inexpedient to uſe thoſe Ceremonies. The Council apprehending the ill Effects of Controverſies between Men of the ſame Profeſſion, ſent for *Hooper*, and wiſhed him to let this Oppoſition of his fall. He deſired leave to put his Reaſons in Writing; that was granted him: And when he offered his Reaſons, they were communicated to *Ridley*. I gave an Account in my former Work how honeſtly and modeſtly both *Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* behaved themſelves on this Occaſion. *Peter Martyr* mentions *Hooper*'s unſeaſonable and bitter Sermons, which it ſeems his Heat carried him to; and probably that was the Reaſon that moved the Council to command him to keep his Houſe, unleſs it were to go to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; or to the Biſhops of *Ely*, *London*, or *Lincoln*, for the Satisfaction of his Conſcience, and not to preach, or read, 'till he had further Licenſe. But he did not obey this Order: He writ a Book on the Subject, and printed it. This gave more diſtaſt. He alſo went about and complained of the Council, for which being called before the Board, he was committed to the Archbiſhop's Cuſtody, to be reformed by him, or to be further puniſhed. The Archbiſhop repreſented that he could in no ſort work upon him, but that he declared himſelf for another way of Ordination: Upon that he was on the 27th of *January* committed to the *Fleet*.

1550.

Micronius, a Miniſter of the *German* Church at *London*, in a Letter to *Bullinger* on the 28th of *Auguſt*, 1550, tells him that the Exception that *Hooper* had to the Oath of Supremacy, was becauſe the Form was, *by God*, *by the Saints*, *and by the Holy Goſpels*. This he thought Impious; and when he was before the Council, the King being preſent, he argued that God only ought to be appealed to in an Oath, for he only knew the Thoughts of Men. The King was ſo fully convinced by this, that with his own Pen he ſtruck theſe Words out of the Oath, ſaying that no Creature was to be appealed to in an Oath. This being cleared, no Scruple remained but with relation to the Habits. The King and Council were inclined to order him to be diſpenſed with as to theſe. But *Ridley* prevailed with the King not to diſpenſe in that Matter. The Thing was indifferent, and therefore the Law ought to be obeyed. This had ſuch an Effect, that all *Hooper*'s Exceptions were after that heard with great Prejudice. *Micronius* was on *Hooper*'s ſide as well as *Alaſco*. *Ridley* had oppoſed the ſettling the *German* Church in a different way from the Rites of the Church of *England*: But *Alaſco* had prevailed to obtain an entire Liberty for them to continue in the ſame Forms of Worſhip and Government, in which they had been conſtituted beyond Sea, in which he had been aſſiſted by *Cranmer*. It is added in that Letter, that it was believed that the Emperor had ſent one over to carry away the Lady *Mary* ſecretly, but the Deſign was diſcovered and defeated. To explain this Matter of the Oath, I ſhall inſert in the Collections the Oath of the Biſhops, as it was practiſed in King *Henry*'s Reign, and continued to be uſed to that Time, which is on Record, and is among Mr. *Rymer*'s Manuſcripts. *Hooper*'s Matter hung in ſuſpence Nine

Coll. Numb. 5.

1550. whole Months; in which Time he seemed positively resolved not to yield, not without severe and indecent Reflections on those who used the Habits. *Cranmer* expressed a willingness to have yielded to him; But *Ridley* and *Goodrick* stood firm to the Law; while many reflected on them, as insisting too much on a Thing practised by themselves, as if Vain-Glory and Self-Love had been their chief Motives: They said they wished that Distinction of Habits was abolished, but they thought the breaking through Laws was so bad a Precedent, and might have such ill Consequences, that they could not consent to it. *Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* expressed their dislike of the Habits, but thought the Thing was of it self indifferent; so they blamed him for insisting so much on it. *Alasco* on the other Hand encouraged him to continue in his Refusal to submit to the Laws in that Matter: In conclusion, he was prevailed on to submit, and was consecrated. This was written to *Bullinger* by one of the Ministers of the *German* Church. His standing out so long, and yielding in the End, lost him much of the Popularity, that, to speak freely, he seemed to be too fond of; yet his great Labours in his Diocese, and his Patience and Constancy during his Imprisonment, and in his last most extreme Sufferings, made all good People willing to forget what was amiss, and to return to a just Esteem of what was so truly Valuable in him.

In conclusion, he submitted, and was Consecrated according to the established Form, and went into his Diocese, which he found overrun with Ignorance and Superstition; he applied himself to his Duty with great and indefatigable Industry; Preaching often twice, sometimes thrice in a Day, to instruct the People, and to reform the Clergy: He did earnestly wish that the Articles of Religion, which he knew were under Consideration, might be quickly published. He found the greatest Opposition in his Diocese rose from the Prebendaries of his Church. Of this he made great Complaints; as indeed all the Bishops that were well affected to the Reformation, found the greatest Opposition in their Cathedrals; though none of them expressed it so severely as *Ferrar* Bishop of St. *David's*, who wrote to a Lord, desiring that he might have leave to defend himself, against those *high-minded, arrogant, stubborn, ambitious, covetous Canons*, who for private Revenge were set against him: Yet on the other Hand there were great Complaints made of his Behaviour in his Diocese as both indiscreet and contentious. A Petition was sent up to the Council in the Name of the Inhabitants of his Diocese against him, complaining of his insatiable Covetousness, and his daily vexing his Poor Tenants and Clergy without Cause; and indeed his Firmness and Sufferings afterwards raised his Character, more than his Conduct in his Diocese had done.

The last and the most eminent of all the Popish Clergy, that fell in Trouble during this Reign, was *Tonstall* Bishop of *Duresme*. He was a generous and well Tempered Man, Learned far above the Common Rate. He retained his Old Opinion concerning the Presence in the Sacrament; but he had hitherto submitted, and gone along in all that was done: He had no Heat, nor a Spirit of Opposition in his Temper, yet his Opinion was known. The true Account of his Matter has been taken out of the Council Book, which has come

to Light since I wrote my History. One *Ninian Mainvil* charged him as consenting to a Conspiracy in the *North*, for raising a Rebellion there; to this the Bishop answered, and *Mainvil* made Replication: The Council Book only refers to these, and gives no Account of the Bishop's Answer. *Mainvil* had a Letter of the Bishops, which was his main Evidence, upon which the Issue of the Trial depended: But that was then wanted, and as appeared afterwards, the Letter was put in the Duke of *Somerset*'s Hands, and he still kept it, but whether he did it out of Kindness to him, or to have this as a Check to over-awe *Tonstall*, does not appear.

1550.

This Letter was found among the Duke of *Somerset*'s Papers, after his last Apprehension: Upon which *Tonstall* was sent for, and his Letter was produced against him. He could not deny it to be of his own Hand; and not being able to make any further Answer, he was on the 20th of *December* sent to the *Tower*. *Whitehead* Dean of *Duresme*, and *Handmarsh*, *Tonstall*'s Chancellor, were accused of the same Crime by *Mainvill*. The Dean's Death put an end to his Trouble, but *Tonstall* lay in the *Tower* till Queen *Mary* set him at Liberty: And there, in the 77th Year of his Age, he wrote his Book asserting the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. It seems, the Evidence against *Tonstall* did not at all amount to a Consent to a Conspiracy; for he was only charged with Misprision of Treason; whereas the consenting to it would have been carried further, to High Treason it self: But even that must have been by a Stretch of his Words; since if his Letter had imported that, *Cranmer* could not have opposed, much less have protested against the Bill attainting him for Misprision, if the Evidence had been clear. This is confirmed by the Opposition made in the House of Commons, where the Bill fell. So since the Parliament would not attaint him, a Commission was issued out some Months after; and on the 22d of *September* 1552 a Letter was written to the Lord Chief Justice, signifying to him, that there was a Commission addressed to him, and to some others, for determining the Bishop of *Duresme*'s Case, with Eight Letters, and other Writings touching the same, which he is required to consider and to hear, and to give order in the Matter as soon as the Rest of his Colleagues were brought together. He was brought before these Commissioners: He desired Council, and Time convenient to make his Answer: Both were denied him, as is set forth in the Sentence that reversed this. He was charged as a Conspirator against the King and the Realm: The Commission empowered them to proceed against him for all Offences, both according to the Ecclesiastical and the Temporal Laws: He made divers Protestations against the several Steps of their Proceedings: And at last he Appealed from them to the King: The Commissioners on the 11th of *October* depriv'd him of his Bishoprick; but did not attaint him of Misprision of Treason; for the Judgment in that Case must have been the Forfeiture of his Goods, and Imprisonment for Life: But he was by Order of Council on the 31st of *October* to receive Money for his Necessities, remaining Prisoner in the *Tower*, till further Order should be given, touching the Money and Goods lately appertaining to him.

This

1550. This was one of the Violent Effects of the Duke of *Northumberland's* Ambition, who was all this while a concealed Papist, as himself declared at his Execution. I have laid all these Things relating to the Deprivation of the Bishops, that opposed the Reformation together, to give a full View of that Matter. But now I must look back to some Matters that happened while these Proceedings went on. There was an Information brought to the Council, of some at *Bocking*, who were irregular in the Worship of God, who thought that to stand, or to kneel at Prayer, or to be covered, or bare-headed, was not material, and that the Heart only was necessary: When they were brought before the Council, they confessed that they met together; sometimes to confer about the Scriptures, and that they had refused to receive the Communion above Two Years, as was judged upon very Superstitious and Erroneous Principles; (so it is entred in the Council Book) with diverse other Evil Opinions, worthy of great Punishment: Five of them were sent to Prison, and Seven gave Bonds to appear when called for: They were required to resort to their Ordinaries, if they had any doubt in Religion, for Resolution from them. These were probably some of the Anabaptists, though that is not objected to them.

The Great Point that was then most canvassed in the Universities, was, the Presence in the Sacrament. Concerning this, I have, among the Papers sent me from *Zurick*, a Letter of *Peter Martyr's* to his Friend *Bullinger*, dated from *Oxford* the 1st of *June* 1550, which will be found in the Collection. (*Coll. Numb.* 6.) "He excuses himself, for his "Slowness in Answering his Letters, by reason of the constant Labours he was engaged in. For, besides his Daily Exposition of "St. *Paul*, which might claim his whole Time, there was a New "Load brought on him: He was commanded, by an Order from "the King, to be present at the Publick Disputations upon Theological Matters; which were held Once a Fortnight. And in the College, in which he was placed, there was a Disputation, where he "was appointed to be present, and to Moderate. He was in a perpetual Struggle with most obstinate Adversaries. The Business of "Religion did not go on with the Zeal and Success to be wished "for: yet it made a better Progress, than he had expected Four "Months before. The Number of their Adversaries was great: "They had few Preachers on their Side; and many of those who "professed the Gospel, were guilty of gross Vices. Some, by a human Policy, were for purging Religion, but for altering Outward Things as little as might be. They being Secular Men, "apprehended, that upon a more visible Change, such Disorders "would follow, as might prove fatal: whereas, it was evident, that "the innumerable Corruptions, Abuses and Superstitions, that had "overrun the Church, were such, that it was impossible to reform "it, without bringing Matters back to those pure Fountains, and to "the first Sound Principles of Religion. The Devil studied to undermine those Good Designs, by keeping up still many Relicks of "Popery, that by these, the Memory of the Old Abuses might be "preserved, and the Return to them rendred easier. On the other "Hand, they had this great Comfort, that they had a Holy King,

"full

" full of fervent Zeal for true Religion. He writes, That he ſpeaks " in all this tender Age, with that Learning, that Prudence, and " that Gravity, that it amazes all People who hear it. Therefore, " they were all bound, to pray God earneſtly, to preſerve him long " for the Good of the Church. There were ſeveral of the Nobili- " ty well inclined, and ſome Biſhops not of the worſt Sort, among " whom the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was the Standard-Bearer. *Hooper* " was lately made a Biſhop, to the Joy of all Good Men; who was " to paſs thro' *Oxford*, in his Way to his Dioceſe. He believed, " that he himſelf had given *Bullinger* an Account of his being made " a Biſhop, otherwiſe he would have wrote it. He alſo commends " *Coverdale*'s Labours in *Devonſhire*: and adds, That if they could " find many ſuch Men, it were a great Happineſs. *Alaſco* being " forc'd to leave *Friezeland*, by reaſon of the *Interim*, was then " about the Settling his Congregation in *London*. He was at that " Time in the Archbiſhop's Houſe. The Peace with *France* gave " them ſome Hopes. All were under great Apprehenſions, from the " Pope's Deſigns of bringing his Council again together: but they " muſt ſtill truſt in God. And after ſomewhat of their private Con- " cerns, he deſires his Prayers, for the Progreſs of God's Word in this " Kingdom.

1550.

" He alſo, in a Letter written on the 6th of *Auguſt* 1551, la- " ments the Death of the Young Duke of *Suffolk*, looking on him " as the moſt promiſing of all the Youth in the Nation, next to the " King himſelf. After ſome more on that Subject, he adds this ſad Word, " *There is no End put to our Sins, nor any Meaſure in* " *Sinning*. He commends *Hooper*'s Labours in his Dioceſe mighti- " ly, and wiſhes that there were many more ſuch Biſhops as he " was.

1551.

Peccatis neque finis neq; modus imponitur.

Upon the Death of the Two young Dukes of *Suffolk*, *Grey*, Marquis of *Dorcheſter* was made Duke of *Suffolk*. He had married their Siſter, but had no Sons by her. He had Three Daughters, of whom the Eldeſt, Lady *Jane*, was eſteemed the Wonder of the Age. She had a Sweetneſs in her Temper, as well as a Strength of Mind, that charmed all who ſaw her. She had a great Aptneſs to learn Languages, and an earneſt Deſire to acquire Knowledge. Her Father found out a very extraordinary Perſon, to give her the firſt Impreſſions: *Ailmer*, who was afterwards, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, advanced to be Biſhop of *London*. Under his Care, She made an amazing Progreſs. He found, it ſeems, ſome Difficulty in bringing her to throw off the Vanities of Dreſs, and to uſe a greater Simplicity in it. So, on the 23d of *December* 1552, he wrote to *Bullinger*, " That the Lady *Elizabeth* was a Pattern to all, in the Mode- " ſty of her Dreſs; and yet no body was prevailed on by ſuch an " Illuſtrious Example to follow it; and, in all this Light of the " Goſpel, to abſtain from wearing Gold, or Gems, or Platting of Hair. He was particularly charged with the Education of Lady *Jane Gray*, whom he calls his Scholar: But, it ſeems, he could not prevail in this particular; ſo he deſires *Bullinger*, to write his Thoughts to her on that Head.

1551. There was nothing done for almost Two whole Years, pursuant to the Act passed in *November* 1549, for Making a New Body of Ecclesiastical Laws: Concerning which, it is not easy to guess what was the Clause in it, that gave the Bishops so much Offence, that the greatest Part of the Bench protested against it. For both the Archbishops, and the Bishops of *Ely*, *Duresm*, *Worcester*, *Westminster*, *Chichester*, *Lincoln*, *Rochester*, and St. *David's*, joined in the Protestation. There were only Two Clauses, that I can imagine could give them this Disgust. One is, That only Four Bishops, and Four Common Lawyers, were made necessary to be of the Number of the Thirty two Persons. The other might be, the Limitation of the Time to Three Years: Tho' that seems designed, to make the Act have its Effect in a little Time. Two Years were almost ended, before any Steps were made towards the Execution of it. On the 6th of *October* 1551, the Council wrote to the Lord Chancellor, to make out a Commission for Thirty two Persons, to Reform the Ecclesiastical Laws. These were, the *Archbishop*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Ely*, *Exeter*, *Glocester*, *Bath*, and *Rochester*. The Eight Divines were, *Taylor*, *Cox*, *Parker*, *Latimer*, *Cook*, *Peter Martyr*, *Cheek*, *John Alasco*. The Eight Civilians were, *Petre*, *Cecyl*, *Smith*, *Taylor* of *Hadley*, *May*, *Trahern*, *Lyell*, *Skinner*. The Eight Common Lawyers were, *Hales*, *Bromley*, *Goodrick*, *Gosnald*, *Stamford*, *Caryl*, *Lucas*, *Brook*.

1552. This, it seems, brought *Peter Martyr* from *Oxford* to *London*, in *March* 1552. And on the 8th of that Month, he wrote to *Bullinger* from *Lambeth*, being lodged with the Archbishop. He tells him, "That the King did earnestly press the Bishops, that "since the Papal Authority was cast out of this Church, the Ecclesiastical Laws might be so reformed, that none of the Papal Decrees might continue to be of any Authority in the Bishops Courts; "and that another Body of Laws ought to be compiled for them. "He had therefore appointed Two and thirty Persons, to set about "it, of which Number he himself was one. He says, the greater "Number of them, were Persons both eminently Learned, and "truly Pious: In this, he desires both their Advices, and their "Prayers. This Work must be so prepared, as to receive a Confirmation in Parliament; in which he foresaw some Difficulties. It seems, that this Number was thought too great, to bring any Thing to a good Conclusion, or these Persons had not all the same Views; For soon after, on the 9th of *November* after this, a New Commission was ordered to be made out to Eight Persons, for preparing the same Work. These were the Archbishop, the Bishop of *Ely*, Doctor *Cox*, *Peter Martyr*, *Taylor*, *May*, *Lucas*, *Goodrick*. *Strype* tells us he saw the Digest of the Ecclesiastical Laws, written out by the Archbishop's Secretary: The Title being prefixed to each Chapter, with an Index of the Chapters in the Archbishop's own Hand. In many Places there are Corrections and Additions in his Hand, and some Lines are scored out: Some of them were also revised by *Peter Martyr*: the 7th Chapter in the Title *de Prescriptionibus* is all written by *Peter Martyr*. Several Chapters are added to the First Draught, which

Life of *Cranmer*, B.1.C.30.

which is probably that which was prepared in King *Henry*'s Time. There was a later, and more perfect Draught of this Work, prepared for King *Edward*, which coming into *Fox*'s Hands, he printed it in the Year 1571 : The Differences between the Two Draughts, as Mr. *Strype* assures us, are not very material. But all this was brought to no Conclusion.

1552.

The D. of Somerset's last Fall.

I find somewhat to be added, concerning the Duke of *Somerset*'s Tragical Death, in a Letter that one *John ab Ulmis*, a *Switzer*, then in *England*, wrote from *Oxford* the 4th of *December* 1552, to *Bullinger*; That the Duke of *Somerset* was censured, as having been too gentle to the Lady *Mary*, in conniving at her Mass : But when he proposed the doing that in Council, the Earl of *Warwick* answered, "The Mass is either of God, or of the Devil : If it is of "God, we ought all to go to it : If it is of the Devil, why should "it be connived at in any Person? Yet still the Gentleness of the Duke of *Somerset*, made him suffer it to go on. But now, he adds, since the Earl of *Warwick* had the greatest Share in the Government, he had put her Priests in Prison, and had given strict Orders, to suffer no Mass to be said in her House.

He tells one Remarkable Particular in the Duke of *Somerset*'s Trial : "That after he was found guilty of the Conspiracy against the "Earl of *Warwick*, (upon which the People expressed a great Con-"cern) the Earl of *Warwick* addressed himself to the Duke, and "told him, That now, since by the Law he was adjudged to dye, "He, as he had saved him formerly, so he would not now be "wanting to serve him, how little soever he expected it from him. "He desired him, therefore, to fly to the King's Mercy, in which "he promised he would faithfully serve him. Upon this, the Duke "did petition the King; and it was hoped, that he would reconcile "those Two Great Men, and that by this means the Duke of *So-"merset* should be preserved.

It seems, there was some Treaty about his Pardon : For tho' he was condemned on the 1st of *December*, he was not executed till the 22d of *January*. What made it to be respited so long, and yet executed at last, does not appear. It is probable, it was from a Management of the Duke of *Northumberland*'s, who, by the Delay, did seem to act in his Favour, that so he might be cover'd from the Popular *Odium*, which he saw his Death was like to bring upon him; and, at the same time, by the Means of some who had Credit with the King, he possessed him with so bad an Opinion of the Duke of *Somerset*, that He, looking on him as an implacable Man, capable of black Designs, resolved to let the Sentence be executed upon him.

Hooper's Impartial Zeal.

In the same Letter, he gives an Instance of *Hooper*'s impartial Zeal in the Discharge of his Function in his Diocese : That while he was Censuring some Inferior People, for their scandalous Life, one said to him, "We Poor People must do Penance for these "Things; while Great and Rich Men, as guilty as we, are over-"looked. Upon that, He said, Name any Person, how Great so-"ever, that was guilty of Adultery, so that it could be proved "against him, and he would leave himself in their Hands, to be "used by them as they pleased, if he did not proceed equally against

1552. " all. So, in a few Days, Sir *Anthony Kingston*, a Great Man in " those Parts, being accused of Adultery, he cited him into his " Court. He, for some Time, refused to appear. At last he came; " and when the Bishop was Charging his Sin severely upon him, he " gave him very foul Language, and at last fell to beat him. This " was presently followed so severely, that he was Fined in 500 *l.* and " forced to submit to do Penance.

This raised the Bishop's Character, as it contributed not a little to establish his Authority in his Diocese. He set himself to do his Duty there with so much Zeal, that his Wife, who was a *German*, wrote to *Bullinger*, praying him to write to her Husband, to take a little more Care of himself: For he preached commonly Thrice, sometimes Four times in One Day. The Crowds of those who came constantly to hear him, made him look on them, as Persons that were hungring for the Word of Life. So She apprehending, that his Zeal made him labour beyond his Strength, studied to get others to put some Stop to that, which, it seems, She could not prevail with him so far as to restrain.

About this Time, the Bishops and Divines were employed in the Review of the Common-Prayer; but I have met with nothing new with Relation to that Matter, save that on the 6th of *May* 1551, there was an Order of Council, for Preserving Peace, sent to all the Cathedrals, at least to that of *Exeter*, for it is in that Register. And on the 18th of *January*, there was a Commission issued out for the Repressing of Heresy, and for Observing the Common-Prayer. And on the 27th of *October* 1552, the Council-Book mentions also a Letter, written to the Lord Chancellor, to add in the Edition of the new Common-Prayer-Book, a Declaration touching Kneeling at the Receiving the Communion.

Reg. *Exon.*

The Articles of Religion prepared.

It remains that I give the best Account I can of the Articles of Religion. It seemed to be a great Want that this was so long delayed, since the Old Doctrine had still the Legal Authority of its side. One Reason of delaying the publishing them, probably was, that the King in whose Name, and by whose Authority they were to be published, might be so far advanced in Years, and out of the Time of Pupillage, that they might have the more Credit, and be of the more Weight: For though it was a Point settled in Law, that the King's Authority was at all Ages the same, yet the World would still make a Difference in their Regard to Things passed while he was a Child, and those Things Authorized by him when he was in the 16th Year of his Age.

Not passed in Convocation.

The First Impression of these Articles appeared with a Title apt to make one think they had been agreed on in the Convocation. It runs thus in *English*, *Articles which were agreed to in the Synod of* London, *in the Year* 1552, *by the Bishops and other Godly and Learned Men, to root out the Discord of Opinions, and establish the Agreement of true Religion.* But there is Reason to believe that no such Articles were offered to the Convocation. *Weston* objected afterwards to *Cranmer* that he had set forth a Catechism in the Name of the Synod in *London*, and yet, said he, there be 50 which witnessing that they were of the Number of the Convocation, never heard one Word of

this *Catechifm.* And in a long and much laboured Sermon of *Brooks*, preached at St. *Paul*'s Crofs in *November* 1553, there is an Intimation that makes it indeed probable that the Articles were brought into the Upper-Houfe of Convocation. For when he complains that they were fet forth as allowed by the Clergy, he adds, Whereas the Convocation without all doubt (for the Lower-Houfe at leaft) was never made Privy thereto: That Referve feems to make it probable that they were brought into the Upper-Houfe. In the Firft Impreffion of the Articles, the Catechifm is printed Firft before the Articles: So this is to be underftood of that whole Book, which is indeed a very fmall one.

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When this was objected to *Cranmer*, he anfwered, *I was Ignorant of the fetting to of that Title, and as foon as I had knowledge thereof I did not like it. Therefore when I complained thereof to the Council, it was anfwered by them, that the Book was fo Entitled, becaufe it was fet forth in the Time of the Convocation.* In the Interrogatories that were afterwards exhibited to him, in order to his Final Cenfure, the 7th Ends thus, *That he did compile and caufed to be fet abroad divers Books*: The laft Part of his Anfwer to that was, *As for the Catechifm, the Book of Articles, with the other Book againft* Winchefter, *he grants the fame to be his Doings.*

It is true in the Firft Convocation under Queen *Mary*, when the Prolocutor charged *Philpot* with this, that a Catechifm was put forth without their Confent, He anfwered on the fudden, that the Houfe had granted an Authority to make Ecclefiaftical Laws, to certain Perfons to be appointed by the King's Majefty: And what was fet forth by them, might be well faid to be done in the Synod of *London*, altho' the Houfe had no notice thereof before the Promulgation. But *Wefton* alfo faid, *That the Catechifm beareth the Title of the laft Synod before this, although many of them who were then prefent were never made privy thereof in fetting it forth:* So that both *Wefton* and *Philpot* agree that the Book was never brought before the Convocation. In this Matter *Philpot*, as he could not deny the Fact, fo he made ufe of the beft Anfwer that then occurred to him, without confidering that the Convocation had not agreed to any fuch Deputation of 32 Perfons: For that was fettled by an Act of Parliament; nor did the Deputation relate to Matters of Doctrine, but only to the Canons and Proceedings in the Ecclefiaftical Courts: For as it was a Revival of the Acts paft in King *Henry*'s Time, fo it run in the fame ftrain with them. Thefe Evidences make it plain that the Articles of Religion did not pafs in Convocation. We have *Cranmer*'s own Word for it, that he drew them, and that he, who was always plain and fincere, did not approve of that deceitful Title that was prefixed to them, to impofe upon the unwary Vulgar. He alfo owns that they were his doings. One Reafon that may feem probable, for his not offering them to the Convocation, might be, that he had obferved that many made a difference between obeying Orders already made, and the confenting before-hand to the making of them: A greater degree of Authority and Evidence feemed neceffary for the one, than for the other: Befides that the offering Things to debate, while it was free to argue on either fide of the Queftion, might carry fome to engage themfelves

1553. so far, that they could not after that submit with any Decency. This as far as I can judge, seems to be *Cranmer*'s Reason for not offering the Articles to be debated and passed in Convocation.

But Published by the King's Authority.

But now that they were to be published with Authority, that was to be done in the King's Name: So a very few Days before the King's Death, he sent a Mandate to *Cranmer* to publish the Articles, and to cause them to be subscribed: This was done pursuant to the Archbishop's Motion to the King and Council; for he had desired, " That all Bi-" shops might have Authority from him to cause all their Preachers, " Archdeacons, Deans, Prebendaries, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, with " all their Clergy, to subscribe the said Articles: And he trusted that " such a Concord and Quietness in Religion should shortly follow " thereon, as else is not to be looked for in many Years. God shall " thereby be glorified: His Truth shall be advanced, and your Lord-" ships (for he writes it to the Privy Council) shall be rewarded of " him, as the Setters forward of his true Word and Gospel. Dated from *Ford* the 24th of *November*. It seems they were prepared some Time before that, for on the 20th of *October*, in the Year 1552, the Council had written to the Six Preachers, *Harley*, *Bell*, *Horn*, *Grindall*, *Pern*, and *Knox*, to consider of some Articles then offered to be subscribed by all Preachers, which can be no other than these Articles: But as this Matter was long delayed formerly, so when it was now ordered, it was sent about with all the Diligence that so Important a Work required. The King also directed his Orders to all the Archbishop's Officers, enjoining them to cause all Rectors, Vicars, or those in any Ecclesiastical Employments to appear before the Archbishop, to obey, and do on the the King's Part, as shall be signified to them.

And sent to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. *Collect.* *Numb.* 7.

The Mandate that upon this was sent out by the Archbishop's Officers, which is in the Collection, though it is in the King's Name, yet was issued out by *Cranmer* himself, in Execution of the Mandate; it is mentioned in it that it was sent to him by the King. It was thus put in the King's Name, pursuant to the Act passed in the Beginning of this Reign, that all Process in the Ecclesiastical Courts should be in the King's Name: But its being Tested by the Archbishop, shews it was the Act of his Court. For though there is an Exception in that Act for the Archbishops, yet that only related to what they should act in their Provinces as Metropolitans, but not to their Proceedings in their particular Dioceses; in which it seems they were put on the same Foot with the other Bishops. The King's Mandate to himself is not in any Record that I was able to find out. After the Mandate, the Execution of it by his Officers was certified to him on the 22d of *June*, which is in his Register, and is added in the Collection to the Mandate. But probably the Time given them run further than the King's Life: For nothing farther appears to have been done upon it. The Clergy of the City of *London* (probably only his Peculiars) appeared before him, and he exhorted them to subscribe the Articles: No mention is made of any ones refusing to do it; but he compelled none to subscribe, which he affirmed in his Answer to an Interrogatory put to him by Queen *Mary*'s Commissioners; for he said that he compelled none, but exhorted such to subscribe as were willing to do it,

before they did it. It came to *Norwich* where *Thirleby* was Bishop, who complied readily with every Thing that he was required to do, though by his sudden Turn, and his Employments in the next Reign, it appears that he acted, at least, against his Heart, if not against his Conscience.

1553.

And the Bishop of *Norwich*.

Coll. Numb. 8.

The Mandate for *Norwich*, which will be found in the Collection, bears Date the 9th of *June*, in the 7th Year of this Reign: And it is not to be doubted but that the like Mandates were directed to all the Bishops, though they do not appear upon Record. "It sets forth that "whereas after a long Time of Darkness, the Light was now Reveal-"ed to the Inestimable Benefit of the Nation: The King thought "it his Duty to have a Uniform Profession, Doctrine, and Preaching "for the evading Dangerous Opinions and Errors: And therefore "he sent him certain Articles gathered with great Judgment, of the "greatest Part of the Learned Bishops of the Kingdom, and sundry "others of the Clergy: Which he required and exhorted him to "sign, and in his Preaching to observe, and to cause them to be sub-"scribed by all others, who do, or shall preach, or read within his "Diocese: And if any shall not only refuse to subscribe, but shall "preach contrary to them, he is required to give Notice of it to the "King and his Council, that further Order may be given in the "Matter. And for such Persons as came to be admitted to any "Benefice, or Cure, he was to confer with them on these Articles, "and to cause them to subscribe them, otherwise not to admit them "to any such Benefice, to which they were presented. But if the "Person was Ignorant, and did not understand them, Pains was to be "taken on him to Instruct him; and Six Weeks Time might be given "him to examine them by the Scriptures: But at the End of Six "Weeks, if he did not subscribe them, he was to be rejected. Then "follows an Order for him to receive the Catechism, and to give it to "all Masters of Schools, that it may be taught in them all, and he "is required to make Report to the Archbishop of the Province, of "the Obedience given to these Orders. This Order was so readily executed, that about 50 of the Clergy subscribed it. This Instrument was examined, and sent tome by Dr. *Tanner*, the Learned Chancellor of *Norwich*.

And to the University of *Cambridge*.

But besides the Evidence that appears from the Registers of *Canterbury* and *Norwich*, I have a further Proof that the Articles of Religion were only promulgated by the King's Authority, in an Injunction sent to the University of *Cambridge*, signed by the Bishop of *Ely*, Sir *Jo. Cheek*, *Mayo*, and *Wendy*, who were the Visitors of the University, bearing Date the 1st of *June*, 1553; directed to all the Regents, and Non-Regents; setting forth that great and long Pains had been taken by the King's Authority, and the Judgments of Good and Learned Men, concerning some Articles described according to the Title with which they were printed; these being promulgated by the King's Authority, and delivered to all the Bishops, for the better Government of their Dioceses, they did commend them to them, and by their Visitatorial Authority, they do enjoin that all Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, and all Doctors of Arts should publickly before their Creation swear to them, and subscribe them;

and

1553. and ſuch as refuſe to do it, are to be denied their Degree. To this is added the Form of the Oath to be taken: The Injunction will be found in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 9.

Cranmer deſigned to ſet up the Provincial Synods.

Thus it appears by a Variety of Evidences, that theſe Articles were not paſſed in Convocation, nor ſo much as offered to it. And as far as can be judged from *Cranmer*'s Proceedings, he intended to put the Government of the Church in another Method, different from the Common Way by Convocation; and to ſet up Provincial Synods of Biſhops, to be called as the Archbiſhop ſaw Cauſe, he having firſt obtained the King's Licenſe for it. This appears by the 18th Chapter of the *Reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws* prepared by him, in which it is plain that theſe Provincial Synods were to be compoſed only of the Biſhops of the Province. The Convocations now in uſe by a long Preſcription, in which Deans, Archdeacons, and Cathedrals, have an Intereſt, far ſuperior in Number to thoſe elected to repreſent the Clergy, can in no ſort pretend to be more than a Part of our Civil Conſtitution: And have no Foundation either in any Warrant from Scripture, or from the Firſt Ages of the Church: But did ariſe out of that Second Model of the Church, ſet out by *Charles* the Great, and formed according to the *Feudal* Law; by which a Right of giving Subſidies, was veſted in all who were poſſeſſed of ſuch Tenures, as qualified them to contribute towards the Supporting of the State.

As for the *Catechiſm*, it was printed with a *Preface* prefixed to it in the King's Name, bearing Date the 24th of *May*, about 7 Weeks before his Death: In which he ſets forth that it was drawn by a pious and learned Man, (ſuppoſed to be Biſhop *Poinet*,) and was given to be reviſed by ſome Biſhops and other Learned Men; he therefore Commands all Schoolmaſters to teach it.

King *Edward*'s Scheme of the Succeſſion.

I come now to ſet forth the diſmal Overturning of all that had been done now in a Courſe of Twenty Years. King *Edward* was for ſome Months under a viſible Decay: His Thoughts were much poſſeſſed with the Apprehenſions of the Danger Religion muſt be in, if his Siſter *Mary* ſhould Succeed him. This ſet him on contriving a Deſign to hinder that. He ſeemed to be againſt all Females Succeſſion to the Crown. I have put in the Collection, a Paper that I Copied out of a Manuſcript of the late Mr. *Petyt*'s, all written in that King's own Hand, with this Title, *My Device for the Succeſſion.*

Coll. Numb. 10.

" By it the Crown was to go to the Iſſue Male of his own Body, or
" if he had only Female Iſſue, to the Iſſue Male coming of the Iſſue
" Female: Next to the Iſſue Male of the Lady *Frances*; then in Suc-
" ceſſion to her Three Daughters, and to their Iſſue Male: And if
" they had only Female Iſſue, to the Firſt Iſſue Male of any of her
" Daughters. The Heir Male after 18 was to enter upon the Govern-
" ment: But his Mother was to Govern 'till he was of that Age,
" with the Advice of Six of that Council of Twenty Perſons, which
" he ſhould Name by his laſt Will: But if the Mother of the Iſſue
" Male ſhould not be 18, then the Realm was to be governed by the
" Council, provided that after the Iſſue Male was of the Age of 14,
" all Matters of Importance ſhould be opened to him. If at his
" Death there were no Iſſue Male, the Lady *Frances* was to be

"*Governess-Regent*; and after her Life, her Three Daughters were "to be Governesses in Succession, till an Heir-Male was born: And "then the Mother of that Heir-Male was to be Governess. If Four "of the Council should die, the Governess was ordered, within a "Month, to summon the whole Council, to chuse Four in their "Stead, in which the Governess was to have Three Voices. But "after the Death of the Governess, the Council was to chuse the "New Counsellors, till the King was 14, and then He was to chuse "them, but by their Advice.

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It may seem by this, that the King designed this some Time before his Death; while he thought that he himself might have Issue: But he was prevailed on, to change a great deal of this Scheme; especially those Clauses, that kept the Crown as in an Abeyance, till an Issue-Male should be born; which would have totally changed the Government: So he departed from these Clauses.

Much alter'd.

This was afterwards put in another Form by the Judges; and that Scheme which they prepared, was, in Six several Places, superscribed by the King's Hand. Probably it consisted of so many Pages. I never saw that Paper; but I have put in the Collection, the Paper that was subscribed by 24 Counsellors and Judges: In which they set forth, "That they had often heard the King's earnest Desire, "touching the Limitation of the Succession of the Crown, and had "seen his Device written in his own Hand: And after that was "Copied out, and delivered to Judges, and other Learned Men, "they did Sign with their Hands, Seal with their Seals, and Pro-"mise by their Oaths and Honours, to observe every Article in that "Writing, and all such other Matter, as the King should by his last "Will declare, touching the Limitation of the Crown: and never "to vary from it, but to defend and maintain it to the utmost of "their Power. And they also promised, that they would prose-"cute any of their Number, or any other, that should depart "from it, and do their uttermost to see them severely punish-"ed.

Coll. Numb. 11.

Opposed long by *Cranmer*.

I gave an Account in my History, of the Opposition that *Cranmer* made to this: But Mr. *Strype* has discover'd more Particulars concerning it. He tells us, "that he argued with the King himself "once about it, in the Hearing of the Marquis of *Northampton*, "and the Lord *Darcy*. He desired Leave to speak to the King alone "about it, that so he might be more free with him: but that was "not allowed him. He hoped, if he had obtained that Liberty, "he should have diverted the King from it. He argued against it "in Council, and pleaded that the Lady *Mary* was Legitimate: "But some Lawyers were prevailed on to say, That the King being "in Possession of the Crown, might dispose of it as He pleased. "He stood firm, and said, that he could not Subscribe it with-"out Perjury; having sworn to the Observance of King *Henry*'s "Will. Some Counsellors said, they had sworn to that Will, as "well as He; and that they had Consciences, as well as He. He "said, Every Man was to answer to God for his own Deeds, and "not for other Men's: He did not take upon him to judge any "Man's Conscience, but his own. He spake with the Judges about

1553.

" the Matter; and they agreed, that the King might Settle the " Succession, notwithstanding King *Henry*'s Will: Yet he remained " still unsatisfied; till the King himself required him to set his Hand " to his Will; saying, He hoped He alone would not stand out, " and be more repugnant to his Will, than all the rest of the Coun- " cil were. This made a great Impression on him; it grieved him " much: But such was the Love that he bore to the King, that in " Conclusion he yielded, and Signed it.

The Primate of *Ireland* poysoned.

A little before the King's Death, a very extraordinary Thing happen'd in *Ireland*. I had told in my former Work, that *Goodacre* and *Bale* were sent over to promote the Reformation in *Ireland*. The former was made Primate of *Armagh*: Of whose Death, there is a Report, that has been all along believed by his Posterity. A Reverend and Worthy Clergymman of *Hampshire*, not far from *Salisbury*, (who is the Fourth in Descent from that Primate; they having been all Clergymen but one) told me he had it from his Grandfather, who was the Primate's Grandson. " That he being invited to " a Popish Lord's House, a Monk there drank to him in a poysoned " Liquor, on design to poyson him; of which they both died. This I set down from the Venerable Person's own Mouth, as a Thing known and believed in the Family.

A Character of the Court in K. *Edward's* Time.

I have no Particulars to add, neither concerning the Death, nor the Character of that Good Prince, King *Edward*; whose untimely End was looked on, by all People, as a just Judgment of God, upon those who pretended to Love and Promote a Reformation, but whose Impious and Flagitious Lives were a Reproach to it. The open Lewdness in which many lived, without Shame or Remorse, gave great Occasion to their Adversaries to say, they were in the right, to assert Justification by Faith without Works; since they were, as to every Good Work, Reprobate. Their Gross and Insatiable scrambling, after the Goods and Wealth, that had been Dedicated with Good Designs, tho' to Superstitious Uses, without applying any Part of it to the Promoting the Gospel, the Instructing the Youth, and Relieving the Poor, made all People conclude, that it was for Robbery, and not for Reformation, that their Zeal made them so active.

I will here give an eminent Instance, of fraudulent Proceedings in the Beginning of this Reign; of which the present Learned, and Zealous Dean of *Norwich*, was pleased to send me a Copious Account out of their Registers. The Prior, when inducted into that Dignity, took an Oath not to alienate any of their Lands; which was confirmed by Injunctions, exhibited to the Convent in the Royal Visitation. But the King, upon certain Reasons suggested by the Prior and Convent, and approved by him, did dispense with that Oath; so that notwithstanding the Oath, they were left at Liberty to alienate some Lands, set forth in the Instrument dated the 1st of *April* 1538. countersigned by *Cromwell*. A Month after that, on the 2d of *May*, that Year, the Church was converted from a Prior and Convent, to a Dean and Chapter; and the Last Prior was made the First Dean of the Church.

But

But on the 26th of *May* 1547, in the Beginning of King *Edward*'s Reign, a Letter was sent to that Church, signed by the Duke of *Somerset*, *Rich* the Lord Chancellor, and Six other Privy-Counsellors; pretending, that they designed the Advancement of God's Glory, and the truest Intent of the late King's Determination: By which, Sir *Richard Southwell*, Sir *Roger Townshend*, and Sir *William Paston*, were authorized to receive a full Surrender of the whole Chapter; assuring both the Dean, and every one of the Prebendaries, that there should be no Alteration made in their yearly Profits: And that there should be a just Contentation given to the Residue of the Ministers there. A Commission was granted on the 27th, to these Persons, to take the Surrender, with Articles and Instructions annexed to it: Which, because, probably, many others were of the same Sort, are put in the Collection. But, for all this Appearance of fair Dealing, it being pretended, that this was only designed that the King should be the Founder, and that the Church should lose nothing by the Surrender; yet when they had made the Surrender, in the Hope of New Letters-Patents, they could not obtain them. And Lands, to the Value of 200 *l.* a Year, were taken from them. Upon which, that Corporation tried, in Queen *Mary*'s Time, to get a Bill to pass, to restore them to the State they were in, before they were prevailed on to make the Surrender. But the Bill did not pass. Perhaps it might be suggested, that it would alarm the Nation too much, if any Alienation of Church-Lands, how fraudulently soever obtained, were meddled with. I give this, as a well-attested Instance; by which it may appear, how Things of this Kind were obtained and managed, chiefly in the Beginnings of this Reign. For I am not so much set on Justifying every Thing that was done in this Reign, as another Voluminous Writer is on Condemning almost every Thing done in it, with a particular Virulence against the Memory of that Pious Prince. This, from one of another Communion, is that which might have been expected; but it is a little singular, when it comes from one, who says he is of our Church.

Coll. Numb. 12.

Coll. Eccl. Hist. P. 332. Col. 2.

The bad Lives of those who professed the Gospel.

The irregular and immoral Lives of many of the Professors of the Gospel, gave their Enemies great Advantages, to say, they run away from Confession, Penance, Fasting and Prayers, only that they might be under no Restraint, but indulge themselves in a Licentious and Dissolute Course of Life. By these Things, that were but too visible in some of the more Eminent among them, the People were much alienated from them: And as much as they were formerly prejudiced against Popery, they grew to have kinder Thoughts of it, and to look on all the Changes that had been made, as Designs to enrich some Vicious Courtiers; and to let in an Inundation of Vice and Wickedness upon the Nation. Some of the Clergy that promoted the Reformation, were not without very visible Blemishes: Some Indiscretions, both in their Marriages, and in their Behaviour, contributed not a little to raise a General Aversion to them.

1553. It is true, there were Great and Shining Lights among them, whose Exemplary Deportment, Continual Labours, Fervent Charity, and Constant Zeal, both during their Lives, and at their Deaths, kept up the Credit of that Work, as much as it was disgraced by others: But They were *Few*, in Comparison of the *many Bad*, and those of the Clergy, in whom the Old Leaven had still a deep Root, tho' they complied in every Thing that was imposed on them: Seeing that they had lost those Perquisites of Masses, and other Practices, which brought them their Chief Gains, and saw nothing came in Lieu of them, for their Subsistance; they, who in their Hearts hated all that they were forced to profess outwardly, did secretly possess such as were influenced by them, with an Abhorrence of all that was done: And they dispos'd the Nation to be ready to throw it all off.

Much lamented by the Reformers.

That which was above all, was, that God was highly dishonoured, by Men who pretended Zeal for his Glory, but with their Works dishonoured him. They talked of the Purity of the Gospel, while they were wallowing in all Sensuality and Uncleanness: Pretending to put all their Confidence in the Merits and Sufferings of Christ, while they were Crucifying him afresh, and putting him to open Shame. In such Lamentations as these, I find the Good Men of that Time did often vent their Sorrows, in their Letters to one another, and break out into severe Reflections on them. Some did it afterwards Abroad in their Exile, and others at Home in their Sufferings. Their only Human Hope was in the King himself; in whom there appeared such a Progress, both in Knowledge and Zeal, that they expected to see him compleat the Reformation, and redress those Crying Abuses, in which the Men in Power found their Account too evidently, to expect a Remedy from them. They were Men, in whose Hands Things grew every day worse and worse; and whose Arrogance, and other Disorders, our Chief Reformers were forced in some measure to connive at, that they might not provoke them to retard a Work, that could in no wise be carried on without their Countenance and Authority; tho' they saw the Prejudice it brought upon them, to be obliged to apply to, and to make use of such Tools, with which the Righteous Souls of our Best Reformers were much grieved. They were engaged with Men, that were ready to Pull down, especially when any Thing was to be got by it; but were as backward in Building up, as they were forward in Plucking down. So that they seemed to design to leave all in a great Ruin. These were great Hindrances to the Progress of the Reformation, as they were both the Burden, and the Shame of our Reformers.

I thought it not amiss to open this as fully as I found it lying before me: And I hope the Reader will not only consider this as a Part of the History of a former Age, but as an Admonition to us in the Present: If we fall under the Disorders and Corruptions that then reigned, why should not we expect such a Calamity as overtook and overwhelmed them? We may justly look for worse, since we have the Advantages of much more Light, and many more Blessings, as well as many alarming Terrors, which have all gone over us without those

those dismal Convulsions that we might have looked for: And they have as easily slipt out of our Thoughts, as if we had never seen, or felt them. To the Viciousness of Life, and the Open Immoralities and Neglect of Religion, that were the Sins of the former Age, many among us have added a Studied Impiety, and a Laboured Opposition to all Revealed Religion: Which some have owned in so barefac'd a Manner, that perhaps no Age of the World can shew any Thing like it. If others with Secular Views have declaimed against this, and put on some Shew of Zeal, how much more of Party than of True Religion has appeared in it. The divided Parties among us have shewed little true Regard to Religion, and to a Course of Vertue and Piety, which can only give both Strength and Honour to a Church; and this does too plainly appear in many, who Talk the most of it, or for it.

1553.

Have we of the Clergy made the Steps that became us, and that were designed in the former Age, for throwing out Abuses, for regulating the Courts, and restoring Discipline? While we have for above 150 Years expressed once a Year a faint Wish that the Primitive Discipline were again restored, and yet have not made one Step toward it: What a Venality of the Advowsons to Livings do we hear of, and at best the Disposing of them goes generally by Secular Regards, by Importunities, Obligations, or Friendship: And above all, how few of those that Labour in the Gospel, do Labour indeed, and give themselves wholly to it? How much of their Time and Zeal is employed in Things that do not deserve it so well, as the Watching over, the Instructing, and the Building up their Flock in their most Holy Faith? How few do Fast and Pray, and Study to prepare themselves and their People for the Evil Day, that seems much nearer us, than the greatest Part are willing to apprehend; that so we may by our Intercessions deliver our Church and Nation from that which is ready to swallow us up; or at least be so fortified and assisted, that we our selves, and others, by what they see in us, may Glorify God in that Day of Visitation.

The Providence of God towards the Reformed.

I shall conclude this Book with one Reflection that may make us hope, that the Reformation was under a particular and watchful Care of Providence: When the Light seemed almost extinguished in one Place, it broke out in another: By which as it was still kept Shining somewhere, so there was a Sanctuary opened, to which those who were forced to fly from one Place, might in their Flight find a Covert in another from the Storm. In the Beginning of this Reign, by the breaking of the *Smalcaldick* League, by the taking of the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and by the *Interim*, the Reformation seemed to be near extinguished in *Germany*. In this Church it was at that Time advanced; and we kindly then received those who were forced to fly hither for shelter. And now in the Year, before the Death of this Good King, there was not only a Revival, but a lasting Settlement procured in *Germany* to the Reformation there. So that those who fled from hence, found a safe and kind Harbour in all the Places of the Empire, to which they were driven by the Storm and Tempest that arose here. Of which I go next to gather up such Gleanings as have come in my way.

BOOK V.

Of what happen'd during Queen Mary's *Reign, from the Year* 1553, *to the Year* 1558.

1553. The Queen's Words were soft.

AS soon as the Queen came to the *Tower* of *London*, She sent for the Lord-Mayor, and the Aldermen of the City, and told them, "That though her own Conscience was "stayed in Matters of Religion, yet she meaneth graci-"ously not to compel or strain other Peoples Consciences, otherwise "than God shall, as she trusteth, put in their Hearts a Persuasion of "the Truth. These soft Words were not long remembred: Of the Progress of the Severities in her Reign, I have a very Authentical Account before me, in the Original Council Book, that begins on the 17th of *August* 1553, and goes to the End of the Year 1557: But from that to her Death I have not so sure a Thread. The Book begins with Orders for Letters to be written to *Coverdale* and *Hooper* for their undelayed Repair to the Court: And a Complaint being made of a Sermon preached by *Fisher*, Parson of *Amersham*; he was ordered to appear the next Day, and to bring the Notes of his Sermon with him. A Parliament was summoned to meet in *November*: On the 14th of *August* the Writ for the Convocation was directed to *Cranmer*. A Letter was soon after written by the Queen and Council to the Bishop of *Norwich*, to suffer none to preach without a Special Licence; the same Order was intimated to the Lord Mayor of *London*; and the same was no doubt Universally both ordered and executed.

But her Proceeding severe.

On the 20th of *August* there was an Order for Guards to defend the Preacher at St. *Paul's* Cross, occasioned by what had hap'ned to *Bourn*: It seems few came to hear the Sermons, for the Lord-Mayor was ordered "to make the Antients of the Companies resort to the Ser-"mons, lest the Preacher should be discouraged by a small Audi-"ence: On the 23d of *August Gardiner* was declared Lord Chancellor: Here I shall set down the Appointments of the Lord Chancellor as they were settled at that Time. There was a Privy Seal given for Wages and Dyets, and for the Masters in Chancery, for 542 Pound, 15 Shillings, Yearly: Fifty Pound was ordered for attending on the Star-Chamber every Term: And besides that, a Salary was given of 300 Pound, and 64 Pound for 12 Tun of Wine, and 16 Pound for Wax. All these were granted the 21 of *September*, but were to commence from the 23d of *August*. On the 24 of *August* there was an

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Order sent to the Keeper of *Newgate* to receive and keep *John Melvil*, a *Scot*, and a very Seditious Preacher; so he was called in the Warrant. On the same Day a Letter was written to the Mayor of *Canterbury*, to set *Panton*, Vicar St. *Dunstan*'s, and one *Burden*, on the Pillory for Seditious Words against the Queen; and to take Bonds at their Discretion for their good Abearing. On the 26th of *August*, a Letter was writ to the Mayor of *Coventry* to apprehend *Symonds*, a Vicar there, and to send him up with such Matter as can be procured to charge him with: "And to punish at their Discretion, such "Slanderous Talkers, as by his leud Preaching have had Dissolute "and Seditious Talk.

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Here is a great deal of Heat in Ten Days Time. *Cranmer* was called before the Council in the Beginning of *August*; probably on the Account of his Signing King *Edward*'s Will, and acting upon it: But since so many of those who had signed it, were then at the Council Board, they were perhaps ashamed to proceed further against him, who had opposed it so much. He had for that Time only a severe Reprimand, and was commanded to keep his House. He was brought again before some of the Queen's Commissioners, being cited to appear, and to bring the Inventory of his Goods with him. He brought it, but no further Proceedings against him are mentioned at that Time. On the 29th of *August Hooper* appeared before the Council: On the 1st of *September* he was sent to the *Fleet*, no Regard being had to the Active Zeal, that he had expressed in asserting the Queen's Right, and against the Lady *Jane*; so sincerely did he follow the Dictates of his Conscience, when he could not but see what Consequences it was like to have. On the 2d, Order was given that his Servant might attend on him. On the 31st of *August*, *Coverdale* appeared before them, and in respect that he was a Foreigner, he was ordered to attend till further Order. On the 2d of *September*, *Sanders*, Vicar in *Coventry*, appeared before the Council, and a Letter was written to the Mayor of *Leicester* to bring up their Vicar: On the 4th of *September*, *Latimer* was summoned to appear, and a Letter was written to the Mayor of *Coventry* to set *Symonds* at Liberty, upon his Repentance, for a Wish he had uttered, wishing they were hanged that said *Mass*: If he refused to do that, the Mayor was to give Notice of it.

Against *Cranmer*, *Hooper*, and others.

On the 5th of *September* a Letter was written to Sir *John Sidenham* to let the Strangers depart, and to give them a Passport. This related to the Congregation of the Foreigners that had settled, in order to set up a Manufacture at *Glassenbury*. On the 10th of *September* a Letter of Thanks was ordered for the Gentlemen of *Cornwall*, for their honest Proceeding in electing Knights for the Parliament: It seems there was some Debate about it with the Sheriff: For a Letter was written to him to accept of the Election; and not to Trouble the County for any Alteration: On the 13th of *September* it is entred, that *Latimer* for his Seditious Demeanor should be close Prisoner in the *Tower*, with a Servant to attend him: On the same Day *Cranmer* was ordered to appear the next Day at the Star-Chamber. On the 14th in the Star-Chamber, *Cranmer*, as well for his Treason against the Queen, as for spreading Seditious Bills moving Tumults,

to

1553. to the Disquieting the Present State, was sent to the *Tower*, and referred to Justice. There are several Orders made for restoring all Chalices to Churches, together with all others Goods belonging to them, though they had been sent into the *Great Wardrobe*. On the 4th of *October* the Archbishop of *York* was committed to the *Tower* for divers Offences; and *Horn* the Dean of *Duresme* was summoned again and again, but he thought fit to go beyond Sea. Nothing gave more Offence than the promoting Petitions for retaining the Doctrine and Service settled in King *Edward*'s Time. Those of *Maidstone* were charged with it; and this is on several Occasions mentioned in the Council Book: But as the Government was thus set to overthrow all that had been done in King *Edward*'s Time; so the Fierceness of the Popish Party made them on many Occasions out-run the Government: Some of the Clergy continued to perform the Daily Worship, and to Celebrate the Sacrament: More they durst not do in Publick, all Preaching being forbidden. The People that favoured the Reformation frequented the Service with great Devotion and Zeal, for all saw what was coming on them: And so they studied to prepare themselves for it. Some of the Ruder Multitudes came into their Churches and disturbed them while they were at their Devotions: They insulted the Ministers, and laughed at their Worship; and there were every where Informers with false Stories to charge the more Zealous Preachers: In many Places the People broke in violently into Churches and set up Altars, and the *Mass* in them, before the Parliament met to change the Laws.

The Duke of *Northumberland* begs his Life, but in vain.

The Duke of *Northumberland* shewed that Abjectness of Mind, that might have been expected from so insolent a Man, loaded with so much Guilt: He begg'd his Life with all possible Meanness, *That he might do Penance all the Days of his Life, if it were in a Mouse-Hole.* He went to *Mass* in the *Tower*, and received the Sacrament in the Popish Manner. He sent for *Gardiner*, and asked him if there was no hope for him, to live, and do Penance for his Sins. The Bishop said, his Offence was great, and he would do well to provide for the worst; especially to see that he stood well with God in Matters of Conscience and Religion. For to speak plainly, he said, he thought he must Die. The Duke desired he might have a Learned Priest sent him, for his Confession and Spiritual Comfort. "For "Religion, he said, he could be of no other but of his: He never "was of any other indeed: He complied in King *Edward*'s Days "only out of Ambition, for which he prayed God to forgive him, "and he promised that he would declare that at his Death. The Bishop shed many many Tears, and seemed to be troubled for him: And as he reported himself, he pressed the Queen so much, that he had almost gained her Consent for his Life. But the Emperor who was then designing the Marriage, that took Effect afterwards, saw what a Struggle there might be against that, and what Mischief such a Man might afterwards do: So he wrote his Advice for his Death positively to the Queen: And he was Executed, and Died as he had lived.

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Others suffered with him.

Gates and *Palmer*, who suffer'd with him, had tried how far the Going to Mass, and Receiving the Sacrament in the Popish Way, could save them: But when they were brought to Suffer, *Gates* confessed, "That he had lived as viciously, as any in the World. "He was a great Reader of the Scriptures; but no Man followed "them less: He read them only to Dispute. He exhorted People, "to consider how they read God's Holy Word, otherwise it would "be but Poyson to them. *Palmer* thanked God for his Affliction, "and said, He had learned more in one Dark Corner of the *Tower*, "than he had ever learned formerly: He had there come to see God in "his Works, and in his Mercies; and had seen himself a Mass of "Sin, and of all Vileness the Vilest. He seemed not daunted with the Fear of Death, tho' he saw Two die before him, and the bloody Axe coming to finish the Business on himself. I find nothing new, with relation to the Session of Parliament.

A Convocation summon'd.

The Writ, upon which the Convocation was summoned, was directed to *Cranmer*, but executed by *Boner*, Bishop of *London*. *Weston* was chosen Prolocutor: And the Queen sent a Message to them, to Dispute about Religion. I gave formerly an Account of that Disputation, and can add little to it. The Minutes tell us, that *Philips*, who was one of the Five that refused to Subscribe, did, on the 30th of *April*, Recant, and Subscribe. It is indeed of little Consequence, to enquire into the Proceedings of the Convocation during this Reign; in which, all the Old Notions of Popery were taken up, even before they were enacted. Tho' both this Convocation, and the next, were Summoned by the Queen's Writ, with the Title of *Supreme Head of the Church*.

There was at this Time an Infamous Slander set about, of the Queen's being with Child by *Gardiner*. The Queen's whole Life being innocent as to all such Things, that might have made them to despise such a Report, rather than to trace it up: Besides, *Gardiner*'s great Age made, that none could believe it. But the Earl of *Sussex*, in his Officious Zeal, pursued it thro' Eight or Ten Hands: And one at last was indicted, for having reported it; tho' such an absurd Lie had, perhaps, been better neglected, than so minutely enquired into. In the same Letter that mentions this, the Earl of *Sussex* gives an Account of Examinations, touching a Design for an Insurrection, upon the Arrival of the Prince of *Spain*.

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A Treaty of Marriage with the Pr. of *Spain*.

The Emperor had, on the 21st of *December*, signed a Commission, Empowering the Count of *Egmond*, and others, to Treat a Marriage between his Son and the Queen. Upon their Coming to *England*, the Queen gave a Commission, on the 1st of *January*, to the Lord Chancellor, and others, to Treat with them. And Prince *Philip* of *Spain*, did, on the 28th of *April*, send from *Vallidolid*, full Powers to the same Effect. That which quickned the Treaty, was, an Account of a Vast Treasure that was come with the Fleet, from the *West-Indies* to *Seville*; reckoned to have brought over Five Millions, as *Mason* wrote from *Brussels*. He does not denominate the Millions, whether Pounds, or Crowns. He wishes the Half were true. It was necessary to have a great Treasure in View: For tho' I never found any Hint of the Corrupting of Parliament-Men, before

1553.  fore this Time, yet there was now an extraordinary Occasion for it; and they saw, where only the Treasure to furnish it, could be had. A Concurrence of many Circumstances, seemed to determine all Things for this Marriage. Every Thing was agreed to: The Conditions seemed to be of great Advantage to the Nation. In this Treaty of Marriage, if *Cæsar Campana* (who wrote *Philip*'s Life very copiously) was well informed, *Philip* himself was extremely disgusted at it: For he desired to be Married to a Wife, more suited to his own Age. He adds another Particular, "That the Nation shewed such an Aversion to it, that the Count of *Egmond*, "with the others sent over to Treat about it, saw themselves in such "Danger, that they were forced to fly away, that they might avoid "it: And a Parliament was to be called, to approve of the Conditions of the Treaty.

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Wyat's Rising and Principles.

Sir *Thomas Wyat* was a Man that had been oft employed in Embassies, particularly in *Spain*; where he had made such Observations upon the Subtilty and Cruelty of the *Spaniards*, and of the Treatment that such Kingdoms and Provinces met with, that came under their Yoke, that he could not look on the Misery that his Country was like to fall under, without a just Concern about it. He was the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Kinsman, yet he would not join in Lady *Jane*'s Business: and before he knew that any others had done it, he proclaimed the Queen at *Maidstone*: But he did not, upon that, run to Her for Thanks, as others did: Yet the Queen was so sensible of his Loyalty and Zeal for her, that She sent her Thanks to him by the Earl of *Arundel*; to whom he appealed, as to this Particular, when he was under Examination in the *Tower*. He had obtained a Pass to go beyond Sea; but his Lady being with Child, he stayed to see the End of that. Nothing set him on to raise the Country as he did, but his Love and Zeal for the Publick. He never pretended that Religion was his Motive: Many Papists joined with him. When he passed by *Charing-Cross*, he might have turned to *Whitehall*, which was but ill defended; for many of the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Men came over to him. This shewed, that he meant no Harm to the Queen's Person. His Marching into *London*, was, on Design to engage the City, to come and join with him in a Petition to the Queen, against the *Spanish* Match. The Queen her self was so satisfied, as to his good Intentions, that She intended to have pardoned him, had not a Message from the Prince of *Spain*, determined her to order his Head to be cut off. I suppose, there may be a Mistake here; and that it was the Emperor, then in *Flanders*, and not the Prince of *Spain*, who was yet in *Spain*, that sent this Advice. He never accused the Lady *Elizabeth*: But being intangled by Questions in one Examination, he had said somewhat reflecting on the Earl of *Devonshire*: For this he begg'd his Pardon. And when he was on the Scaffold, he not only cleared the Lady *Elizabeth*, but referred himself with Relation to her Innocence, and that She was not privy to their Matters, to the Declaration he had made to the Council. All this Account concerning him, I take from a Relation, that his Son gave afterwards to the Lord *Burleigh*, marked

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marked with that Lord's Hand on it. It seems, the Priests at this Time, understood the Interests of their Cause, better than others did above an Age after. For they moved the Queen, to shew a Signal Act of Mercy, and to pardon all that had been engaged in this Rising.

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Only it gave a Colour to the Severity against the Lady *Jane Gray*, and her Husband. She was the Wonder, and Delight of all that knew her. I have Two of her Letters in *Latin*, writ to *Bullinger*, copied from the Originals all in her own Hand, written in a pure and unaffected Stile. She was then entring on the Study of the *Hebrew*, in the Method that *Bullinger* advised her. She expresses, in her Letters, a wonderful Respect and Submission to him, with a great Strain of Modesty, and a very singular Zeal for Religion. There being nothing in those Letters, that is in any Sort Historical, I thought it was not proper to put them in my Collection; tho' one cannot read them, without a particular Veneration for the Memory of so Young, and so Rare a Creature.

Lady *Jane Gray* executed.

And now the Government finding all Things under their Feet, did begin to shew to the whole Nation what was to be expected. All that adhered to the Reformation, were sure to be excluded from all Favour: Commissions were sent over the whole Kingdom, to proceed, as upon other Points, so particularly against the Married Clergy. These came to *York*, directed to the Guardian of the Spiritualties in that Place: And the Dean and Chapter were authorized by the Queen, to act pursuant to their Instructions. And they acted as in a Vacancy: Tho' the Commission to proceed against the Archbishop, bears Date the 16th of *March*; yet on the 9th of *March*, they sent out a General Citation of the Clergy, to appear before them on the 12th of *March*. They did not, indeed, begin to deprive any before the 27th of *April*: And from that Day, to the 20th of *December*, they deprived One and Fifty, of whom several were Prebendaries.

Severities against the Married Clergy.

Reg. *Ebor. Se. de Vac.* f. 65, 66.

I will here insert a short Account of the Unjust and Arbitrary Deprivations of the Married Clergy, that was published by *Parker*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*. "What Examples have they "in Stories before-time, that Deprivations have been thus handled, "before our Days? I will not speak of particular Cases; where some "Men have been deprived, never convict, no, nor never called: "Some called, that were fast locked in Prison; and yet they were "nevertheless deprived immediately. Some were deprived without "the Case of Marriage after their Order: Some induced to resign, "upon Promise of Pension, and the Promise as yet never perform-"ed. Some so deprived, that they were spoiled of their Wages, for "the which they served the Half-Year before; and not Ten Days "before the Receipt, sequestred from it: Some prevented from the "Half-Year's Receipt, after Charges of Tenths and Subsidies paid, "and yet not deprived Six Weeks after. Some deprived of their "Receipt somewhat before the Day, with the which their Fruits to "the Queen's Majesty should be contented; and some yet in the "like Case chargeable hereafter, if the Queen's Merciful Grace be "not informed thereof, by the Mediation of some Charitable Solli-

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"citor.——And a little after, there were deprived, or driven "away, Twelve of Sixteen Thousand, as some Writer maketh his "Account. But there are good Reasons to think, that Numbers have been wrong taken of this. Among other Suggestions, Dr. *Tanner* has sent me this; That the Diocese of *Norwich* is reckoned almost an 8th Part of all *England*; and he finds, there were only 335 Clergymen deprived on that Account: By this, the whole Number will fall short of 3000. This, it is true, is but a Conjecture; yet it is a very probable one: and the other Account is no way credible.

Aggravated by some.

I shall, to this, only add another short Account of the Proceedings at that Time, published by *Ailmer*, afterwards Bishop of *London*. "The Bishops that were married, were thrust out of the Par-"liament-House; and all married Deans, and Archdeacons, out of "the Convocation. Many put out of their Livings, and others "restored, without Form of Law.—— Many Churches were "changed, many Altars set up, many Masses said, many Dirges sung, "before the Law was repealed. From these Accounts, we may easily believe, that when the Laws were altered, there was a vigorous and a speedy Execution of them.

The Queen writes the first Letter to K. *Philip*.

After all Matters relating to the Queen's Marriage were settled, the Emperor sent a Fleet for the Prince of *Spain*: And upon that Occasion, the Queen was prevailed on to break thro' all Forms, and to write the first Love-Letter to him; of which, having met with the Original, I have put it in the Collection, as a Singularity in such Matters. She tells him, "That She understanding that the Empe-"ror's Ambassador was sending the Bearer to him, tho' He had not "written since their Alliance had been a Treating; yet She, think-"ing her self obliged by the sincere Affection that He had for her, "confirmed by good Effects, and by the Letters that he had writ-"ten to the Emperor's Ambassador, could not restrain her self from "letting him know the Duty, in which She intended to correspond "always with him: And She thanked him for all his Good Offices. "She acquainted him, that her Parliament had, without any Oppo-"sition, agreed to the Articles of their Marriage, and thought them "Honourable, Advantageous, and more than Reasonable. This "gave her an entire Confidence, that his Coming to *England* should "be Safe, and Agreeable to him. She ends, recommending her self "most affectionately and humbly to his Highness, as being his en-"tirely assured, and most obliged Ally.

Coll. Numb. 13.

Proceedings against Hereticks.

But, the Matter of the Marriage being settled, and afterwards executed, I will now look again into the Proceedings of the Council. On the 16th of *January*, one *Wotton*, called an Esquire, was committed to be close Prisoner in the *Fleet*, for his obstinate Standing against Matters of Religion. On the 14th of *February*, Letters were written to the Lord *Rich*, and to Sir *John Wentworth*, to punish some in *Colchester*, *Coxall*, and other Places; who dissuaded People from Frequenting such Divine Service, as was then appointed by Law to be observed. Upon this, many were committed, and others put under Recognisances to appear. On the 8th of *March*, an Order was sent to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to deliver *Cranmer*,

mer, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, to Sir *John Williams*, who was to carry them to *Oxford*. On the 26th of *March*, an Order was given to send up *Taylor*, Parson of *Hadley*; and *Askew* of *West-Hillesly*. *Barlow* Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells* was carried beyond Sea, by one *Williams*, a Mariner of *Bristol*; who returning to *Pembrokeshire*, some Gentlemen there seized on him, and sent him to *London*: So he was sent to the *Marshalsea*, and a Letter of Thanks was written to those who had seized on him; so careful were they to encourage every officious Shew of Zeal.

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A Convocation.

But now came on the 2d Convocation in this Reign, in which all that was done, was, that the Prolecutor *Weston*, with some deputed to go along with him, were ordered to go to *Oxford*, to dispute with the Three Bishops. Of which I can add nothing to the Account I formerly gave of it. On the 27th of *April*, *Weston* returned and reported the Conference, or Examination of *Cranmer*, and the Two other Bishops, attested under the Seal of the University: And soon after that they were dismissed; for the Parliament met on the 2d of *April*, and was dismissed on the 5th of *May*.

Cranmer's Treason pardoned, that he might be burned.

On the 3d of *May*, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, being judged obstinate Hereticks; The Judges were asked what the Queen might do, since *Cranmer* was attainted. He was a Man Dead in Law, and not capable of any other Censure: And this seems to be the true Reason that moved the Queen to Pardon the Treason, upon which he was already condemned: For though he was very earnest to obtain a Pardon for that, it does not appear that there was any Regard had to him in granting it, but on the contrary it seems it was resolved that he should be burned as a Heretick: And since that could not be done while he stood condemned of Treason, this seems to be the only Motive of that Mercy; which in this Case, was certainly done out of Cruelty. On the 20th of *May*, a Servant of the Lady *Elizabeth's* was brought before the Council: But there is nothing in particular mentioned, only he was required to attend. There were Suspicions of her being concerned in *Wyat's* Rebellion, as appeared in the Account given of *Wyat* himself. It is alleged that *Gardiner* studied to suborn false Witnesses to charge her with that; and that this went so far, that a Warrant was brought to *Bridges*, the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, for her Execution; but that he would not Obey it, 'till he knew the Queen's Pleasure. Some Credit seems due to this, since it was published in her Reign, and was not contradicted, nor denied as far as I can find. But it seems to be denied in a Declaration set forth many Years after, by her self when she was Queen; which shall be mentioned in its proper Place. On the 25th of *May*, some in *Stepney* were ordered to be set on the Pillory for spreading false News; the Ears of one were ordered to be nailed to the Pillory, and then cut off. On the 26th of *May*, Sir *Henry Bedingfield* was sent with Instructions, signed by the Queen, for the ordering the Lady *Elizabeth*.

Reply to *Parsons*. P. 84.

On the 1st of *June*, an Order was sent to the Bishop of *London*, to send discreet and learned Preachers into *Essex*, to reduce the People there. *Boner* seemed to think of no way of reducing any, but by Severity and Force; so that the Council found it necessary to put

1554. him in mind of his Pastoral Care. Orders were then given for the Reception of the Prince of *Spain*. Some were ordered to be set on a Pillory, and their Ears were to be nailed to it, and cut off. The Dutchess of *Northumberland* desired that her Sons might hear Mass in the *Tower*: This was granted, but Order was given that none might speak with them. On the 11th of *June*, Orders were given to receive the Duke of *Savoy* at *Dover*. And on the 5th of *July*, Order was given to punish those who were concerned in the Imposture, called, *the Spirit in the Wall*. On the 6th of *July*, some of the Lady *Elizabeth*'s Servants were committed for lewd Words of the State of the Kingdom: On the 24th of *July*, Two Treaties for the Queen's Marriage, made by the Lord *Fitzwater*, who had been Ambassador in *Spain*, were given to the Lord Treasurer.

The Council orders severe Proceedings.

Now the Marriage was made, and the Jollities on such Occasions put some stop to Severities: But it was a short one, for on the 15th of *August*, Letters were writ to the Justices of Peace in *Sussex*, to punish those who railed at the Mysteries of Christ's Religion. I must observe here once for all, that the Letters themselves, writ by the Council, are not entred in the Book; These would have set out Particulars much more clearly, than those short Entries do: But there were Forms of those Letters put in a Chest, and the Council Book refers us often to the Letter in the Chest. On the 19th of *August*, Letters of Thanks are ordered to *Tirrell*, and others, for their Care, ordering them to imprison all such as came not to Divine Service; and to keep them in Prison 'till they had the Comfort of their Amendment: Several Men and Women were imprisoned in *Huntingtonshire*. The 20th of *August*, mention is made of some in Prison for Words. On the 21st of *August*, an Order was sent to examine into a Conspiracy in *Suffolk*, by certain lewd Persons: On the 16th of *September*, a Letter was ordered to the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, to punish the Spreaders of false Rumours.

The Reconciliation with *Rome* design'd.

But now came on the great Affair of the Reconciling the Nation to the See of *Rome*. The Two former Parliaments could not be brought up to that; so the Court was willing to accept all that they could be brought to; but when they saw at what they stuck, they were sent home: And some were so weak as to think that by Yielding in some Things, they should give the Court such Content, as to save the rest. They were willing to return back to that State of Religion, in which King *Henry* left it; and did not rightly apprehend that nothing could give the Queen an entire Content, but a total Reconciliation with the Pope: Whereas those who could not come up to this, ought to have stood firm at first, and not by giving Ground, have encouraged the Court to compass their Whole Design. The Queen was more than ordinary sollicitous to get a Parliament chosen to her Mind. She wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Sussex*, and probably she wrote to all those in whom she confided, in the same Strain. It will be found in the Collection. " She had now summoned a Parliament to the 12th " of *November*, in which she expected to be assisted by him; and " that he would admonish her good Subjects who had a Right to " Elect the Members, to chuse Men of the Wise, Grave, and Catho- " lick Sort; such as indeed meant the true Honour of God, and the

Collect. Numb. 14.

" Prosperity of the Common-Wealth; which she and the King her " Husband did intend, without the Alteration of any particular " Man's Possession; which among other false Rumours, the Hin-" derers of her Good Purposes, and the Favourers of Hereticks, did " most untruly report. She desired him to come up against the " Feast of *All-Saints*, at the furthest, that she might confer with him " about those Matters, that were to be treated of in Parliament." This is dated the 6th of *October*, and so careful was that Lord to Merit the Continuance of the Queen's Confidence, that on the 14th of *October*, he wrote to the Gentlemen of the County, to reserve their Voices for the Person whom he should Name: He also wrote to the Town of *Yarmouth* for a Burgess. But now to open more particularly the Great Matter that was to be transacted in this Parliament.

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Pole sent Legate for that end.

When the News of the Change of Government in *England*, and of the Queen's Intentions, were brought to *Rome*, it was not possible to deliberate long, who was the properest Person to be sent Legate. *Pole* had so many meritorious Characters on him, that besides the Signification of the Queen's Desire, no other Person could be thought on. *A. Harmer* has given the Bull, upon which he was sent from *Rome*. It is dated the 5th of *August*, 1553, though the Queen came not to *London* 'till the 3d of *August*, and *Comendone*, who carried her Message to the Pope, was in *London* on the 23d: For he saw the Duke of *Northumberland*'s Execution. It seems that at *Rome*, upon King *Edward*'s Death, they took it for granted, both that her Right would take Place, and that she would reconcile her Kingdom again to that See: And therefore the Bull was prepared. *Pole* had at that Time retired 300 Mile from *Rome*, to an Abbey upon the Lake, now called *De Garda*: In his Absence he was declared Legate: Upon which he wrote a Letter to the Queen on the 13th of *August*, which I have put in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 15.

He wrote to the Queen.

" He begins, expressing his Joy at her Exaltation, more particu-" larly at the Manner of it; which he reckons a singular Work of " an immediate Providence; in which, as indeed the Subject seem-" ed to allow it, he enlarges very copiously. And since she carried " the Name of the *Blessed Virgin*, he calls on her to say the *Mag-" nificat*, applying it to the late Providences of God towards herself. " He desires her to consider what was the Beginning of all the Mise-" ries that *England* had felt; it was the King her Father's departing " from the Apostolick See, and the Catholick Church. He was a " Witness to all the Steps made in that Matter: He had upon all " Occasions asserted both her Mother's Marriage, and her own Right: " And had done and suffered much on that Account. He was there-" fore now most particularly concerned to know what her Mind was " with Relation to Religion; and though he was then 300 Miles " from *Rome*, he was named Legate to be sent, to her, to the Empe-" ror, and to the *French* King; therefore he sent one to her to " know her Mind. He did not doubt of it; for no Person owed " more to the Apostolick See than she did, since it was upon her " Account that so much Outrage had been done to it. So before " he would proceed in his Legatin Function, he desired to know her " Pleasure more particularly.

Upon

1554. Coll. Numb. 6. The Queen's Answer.

Upon this she wrote an Answer on the 10th of *October*; which is also in the Collection. " She thanked him for all the kind Ex-
" pressions in his Letter; and in particular for the good Advice he
" gave her. She was full of Reverence and Obedience to the Holy
" See; but it was a great Trouble to her, that she could not yet
" declare her Mind openly in that Matter. As soon as it was safe
" for her to do it she would let him know it. His Messenger would
" tell him all Particulars: She was then Crowned. She hoped the
" Parliament would repeal all the bad Laws: And that she should
" obtain the Pope's Pardon for all her own Faults. She sends by
" him her most humble Thanks to the Pope for his Clemency to
" her, and for his Readiness to forget all that is past: With this she sent back *Ormanet* to him. The Bull that the Pope sent to *Pole*, is all a Rhetorical Panegyrick upon the Queen's coming to the Crown, and on her Pious Intentions. But Bulls being often in a Common Form, it is not in it, but in the Breves, that we are to seek the Powers, or Instructions, given to *Pole*. There was a Part of Cardinal *Pole*'s Register conveyed to me, about a Year after my IId Volume was printed: A short Account of the most remarkable Things in it was then printed, in a Letter directed to me. The Characters of the Truth of the Papers are Visible: Some of them are in *Latin*, and some in *Italian*: And because I look on this as a Matter of great Consequence, I will give a very particular Account of them.

Coll. Numb. 17. His First Powers.

The first Paper, which will be found in the Collection, is the Breve, that was at first sent him, of the Pope's own Motion; and bears Date the 8th of *March* 1554. By it, " *Pole* is empowered to
" receive all Hereticks, of both Sexes, and of all Ranks, even Bi-
" shops and Archbishops, Communities as well as Single Persons, of
" what Heresies soever guilty, tho' relapsed in them, upon their true
" and unfeigned Repentance; and to absolve them from all Pains
" and Censures, how long soever they had continued in their Errors,
" and tho' their Sins were reserved immediately to the Holy See.
" And he was empower'd, to pardon all Irregularities run into by
" them, and all the Bigamies of Ecclesiastical Persons: They first
" relinquishing their Wives; notwithstanding which, they might be
" continued in their Orders and Functions, and might be capable of
" all Ecclesiastical Promotions: All Infamy being pardoned, provi-
" ded they, with a Contrite Heart, should Sacramentally Confess
" their Sins to any Catholick Priest, at their Choice, and submit to
" such Penance as he should enjoin: Excusing them from all Publick
" Confession, Abjuration, or open Penance. Absolving all Commu-
" nities from any unlawful Pactions, in Favour of others, tho' con-
" firmed by Oaths. Empowering him to receive all Regulars, and
" to absolve them from the Censures of Apostacy; allowing them
" to possess Benefices as Seculars. Dispensing with the strict Obser-
" vation of *Lent*, as to Milk Meats, and Eggs; and even Flesh,
" upon the Allowance of either the Confessor, or the Physician.
" Giving him Authority, to suffer such of the Clergy, under the
" Degree of a Bishop, who were married, upon their true Conversi-
" on, to live in that State, so that no Scandals were given by it:
" Only they were not to Minister at the Altar, nor to do any Ec-

" cleſiaſtical Function; but they might lawfully continue in the Mar- 1554.
" ried State, the Iſſue being declared Lawful. To this is added, a
" Power of Uniting of Benefices.

Next comes the Clauſe concerning the Poſſeſſors of Eccleſiaſtical Goods. " He is empowered to agree, tranſact, and diſcharge them, " for all the Profits they had wickedly received, and for the Moveable " Goods that they had conſumed; *the Immoveable Goods that have* " *been by them unduly detained, being firſt reſtored, if that ſhould* " *ſeem to be convenient to him.* And whatever ſhould ariſe out of " any ſuch Agreement, was to be applied to the Church, to which " ſuch Goods had belonged, or for the Advancement of Studies, and " to Schools. There is likewiſe a Power granted, to delegate others " under him, for the Care and Performance of all theſe Particulars. " But becauſe he was to go firſt to *Flanders*, and ſtay in thoſe Parts " for ſome Time; the Pope gave him Authority to execute theſe " Powers, even while he was without the Kingdom, to all Perſons " belonging to it, that ſhould apply to him, particularly, with Rela- " tion to all Orders unduly received; and to confirm Biſhops, or " Archbiſhops, who had been promoted by a Secular Nomination, " during the Schiſm, and had aſſiſted the former Kings, tho' they " had fallen into Hereſy, upon their Return to the Unity of the " Church: And to provide to Metropolitical or Cathedral Churches, " ſuch Perſons as ſhould be recommended to him by the Queen, ac- " cording to the Cuſtoms of the Kingdom, upon any Vacancy: And " to Abſolve, and Reabilitate all Clergymen, of all Ranks, notwith- " ſtanding their paſt Errors. All theſe Powers are confirmed, with " a full *Non Obſtante* to all Conſtitutions whatſoever.

Card. *Pole* ſtopp'd in *Flanders* by the Emperor.

Here was a great Fulneſs of Favour, with Relation to all Perſonal Things. When *Pole* (whoſe Name I write as he himſelf did, and not as we uſually do) came to *Flanders*, he was ſtopped by the Emperor's Order, till his Powers were ſeen, and ſent to *England*. When they were ſeen, they were conſider'd as far ſhort of what was expected, and of what ſeemed neceſſary, for the Carrying on the Reconciliation quietly thro' the Nation: So *Pole* ſent *Ormanet* to *Rome*, for fuller Powers, and retir'd to *Diligam*-Abbey, near *Bruſſels*. While he was there, he heard the News of *Philip*'s Arrival in *England*, and of the Queen's being married to him: Upon which, he wrote a Letter of Congratulation to the Biſhop of *Arras*, which is in the Collection: And on the ſame Day, he wrote this acceptable Piece of News to the Cardinal *de Monte*; which is alſo in the Collection. In the Poſtſcript to the Biſhop of *Arras*, he tells him, that *Ormanet* was returned with fuller Powers. He brought with him Two Breves.

Coll. *Numb.* 18.

Coll. *Numb.* 19.

The Firſt is of no Importance to this Matter; but becauſe it was thought to be ſuppreſſed on Deſign, by the Writer of the Letter directed to me, by him that wrote on this Subject in K. *James*'s Time, it is put in the Collection. It ſets forth, " That he was ſent firſt to " the Queen of *England*; and after that he was conſtituted Legate " *à Latere*, for Mediating a Peace between the Emperor and the " King of *France*. He had alſo very ample Powers given him, while " he remained in *Flanders*, with Relation to *Engliſh* Perſons and Af-

Coll. *Numb.* 20.

New and fuller Powers ſent to *Pole*.

" fairs.

1554. " fairs. But since, by reason of the Schism, and other Errors, many Cases might happen; that wanted a Provision from the Apostolical See, which could not be comprehended within the Faculties given him; and because it is doubtful, whether he may yet use them in the Queen's Dominions; and which of them shall be made use of, while he is either with the Emperor, or the King of *France*; the Pope gives him full Power, to make use of all Faculties sent to him, by himself, or by any other deputed by him: and to do every Thing, that he shall think will conduce to the Glory of God, the Honour of the Holy See, and the bringing the Queen's Dominions to the Communion of the Church, as fully as may be. And while He remained with the Emperor, he gave him all the Powers of a *Legate à Latere*, for all his Dominions: And he gave him the same Powers, while He should be with the King of *France*.

Coll. Numb. 21. With Relation to Church-Lands.

The other Breve, which is also in the Collection, sets forth, "That upon the Hopes of Reducing the Kingdom of *England*, that had been torn from the Body of the Catholick Church, to an Union with it, out of which there is no Salvation; the Pope had sent him his *Legate à Latere*, with all the Powers that seemed necessary, or proper, for Effecting that Work: In particular, to agree, and transact with the Possessors of Church-Goods, concerning them. And whereas, by the Beginnings and Progress already made, there is good Hopes of bringing that Work to a full Perfection; which will go on the easier, the more indulgent and bountiful the Pope shews himself, with Relation to the Possessions of those Goods: The Pope therefore, not willing that the Recovering that Nation, and the Salvation of so many Souls, should be obstructed, by any worldly Regards; in Imitation of the good Father, who received the returning Prodigal, he empower'd *Pole*, in whose Prudence and Dexterity, he put an entire Confidence; to Treat with all the Possessors, or Detainers of Ecclesiastical Goods, for whom the Queen should interceed; and to transact and compound with them, that they might, without any Scruple, enjoy and retain the said Goods: And to conclude every Thing, that was proper or necessary, with Relation to them. *Saving always such Things, in which, for the Greatness and Importance of them, it shall seem fit to you to consult this Holy See, to obtain our Approbation and Confirmation.* Upon which, he is fully empower'd to proceed, with a full *Non Obstante*, bearing Date the 28th of *June*. With these Breves, Cardinal *de Monte* wrote him a Letter, in the *Roman* Way, of a High Compliment; which is in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 22.

Coll. Numb. 23.

The next Letter is from Cardinal *Morone*; which is likewise in the Collection. By this it appears, that *Pole* had gone to *France*, upon his Legatine Commission: And after the usual *Roman* Civilities, "He tells him, he had laid his Letter before the Pope, who was beginning to despair of the Affairs of *England*: And tho' the Pope had not the Patience to read, or hear his Letter, which was his ordinary Custom, yet he told him the Sum of it; with which

" he

"he was satisfied; and said, He had given no Cause, neither to the 1554.
"Emperor, nor to any other, to use such extravagant Words to
"him. It seems, *Pole* had desired to be recalled; but the Pope said,
"that could not be done. It would be a great Disgrace both to the
"Pope, and to the Apostolical See, to the Emperor himself, and to
"Cardinal *Pole*; and a great Prejudice to *England*. But he would
"not write to the Emperor upon it: Nor was he resolved about
"the Goods of the Church; concerning which, he spoke often
"very variously. He resolved to write, both to the Queen, and to
"the Prince of *Spain*; which Letters, he adds, will be sent by *Or-*
"*manet*, who is dispatched with every Thing necessary for the Bu-
"siness, conform to his Desire. The rest is all Compliment; dated
the 13th of *July*. Then follows a Breve, merely in Point of Form,
extending the former Powers that were addressed only to the Queen,
to *Philip* her Husband; dated the 10th of *July*.

All was laid before the Emperor.

Upon this, the Emperor being then at *Valenciennes*, the Cardinal sent *Ormanet* thither; who gave an Account of his Audience to *Priuli*, the Legate's Great and Generous Friend, which will be found in the Collection. The Bishop of *Arras* told him, how much the Emperor had the Matters of Religion at Heart; and that he would be always ready to promote them. But when *Ormanet* pressed him for a present Dispatch, he said, they had no News from *England* since the Marriage: And that before any other Step was made, it would be necessary to know what Ply the Affairs of that Kingdom were like to take. It was fit to consider, whether the Powers of Securing the Goods of the Church, should come from the Legate, or from the King and Queen. Then he desired to see the Copy of the Cardinal's Faculties. As to the Point of Time, *Ormanet* said, it was not fit to lose a Moment, since so many Souls were endanger'd by the Delay: And the first Coming of the Prince of *Spain* ought not to be let slip, by which, the Honour of the Work would be chiefly due to him. As for his Faculties, all Things necessary were committed to the Cardinal in the amplest manner; and more particular Resolutions could not be taken, but upon the Place. Somewhat further passed between them, which *Ormanet* reserves till he saw the Cardinal. The Bishop of *Arras* promised to lay all before the Emperor, and to do all Good Offices. The Emperor was at that time so well, that he was often on Horseback, to view his Army; which had then marched to St. *Amand*, and the Two Armies were very near one another. This is dated the last of *July*.

Collect. Numb. 24.

Yet he was still put off by Delays.

On the 3d of *August*, the Bishop of *Arras* wrote to the Cardinal, "That the Emperor received his Congratulations on the Mar-
"riage very kindly; but did not think it was yet proper for him to
"go to *England*, till they had a perfect Account of the present State
"of Affairs there. To know that, he had that Day sent an Ex-
"press thither: Upon his Return, he should be able to give him
"a most positive Answer. He knew, the Zeal of the King and
"Queen was such, that they would lose no Time; but yet they
"must proceed with such Moderation, that the Way to a true Re-
"medy might not be cut off, by too much Haste. This is in the Collection. The Cardinal had a Letter from *Bartholomew de Mi-*

Coll. Numb. 25.

1554. *randa*, a Friar, who (I suppose) was K.*Philip*'s Confessor, and afterwards Archbishop of *Toledo*, from *Winchester*, *July* 28. It is only a Letter of Respect, desiring his Commands. The Cardinal wrote to the Bishop of *Arras*, on the 5th of *August*: He sent him the Copy of his Faculties, and expressed a great Earnestness in his Design of Going speedily into *England*, as soon as the Courier, sent by the Emperor, should return. He shewed himself as impatient of the Delays, as in good Manners he could well do. This is also in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 26.

King *Philip* stayed at *Winchester* some Days after the Marriage: For, on the 4th of *August*, he sent the Count of *Horn* over to the Emperor from thence; and by him he wrote a Letter, partly of Respect, partly of Credit, to the Cardinal. To this the Cardinal wrote an Answer, which I have put in the Collection: Tho', besides such High Compliments as are usually given to Princes, there is nothing particular in it; only he still insists earnestly, for Leave to come over. On the 11th of *August*, the Bishop of *Arras* wrote to him, "That he had seen the Copy of his Faculties, and he joins with him "in his Wishes, to see that Kingdom restored to its ancient Obedi-"ence; he assures him, the Emperor was pressing the Dispatch of the "Matter, and he did not doubt, but that it would be speedily ac-"complished. *Pole* wrote on the 2d of *September*, to *Soto* the Emperor's Confessor, "thanking him for those pressing Letters that he "had written, both to the Emperor, and to Duke *Alonso d' Aqui-*"*lara*; with which the Legate was so delighted, that he writes as "one in a Rapture upon it; and he animates him to persist in that "Zeal, for Promoting this Great Work.

Coll. Numb. 27.

The Reason of those Delays.

He was still put off with new Delays; of which, the best Account I can give, is, that this being the Decisive Stroke, there was a close Canvassing over *England* for the Elections to this Parliament. Since Nothing can effectually ruin this Nation, but a Bad Choice; therefore, as it is the constant Character of a Good Ministry, who design nothing but the Welfare and Happiness of the Nation, to leave all Men to a due Freedom in their Elections; so it is the constant Distinction of a Bad Ministry, that have Wicked Designs, to try all the Methods of Practice and Corruption possible, to Carry such an Election, that the Nation being ill represented by a Bad Choice, it may be easy to impose any Thing on a Body of Vicious, Ignorant, and Ill-principled Men, who may find their own Mercenary Account, in Selling and Betraying their Country. It appeared in the Two former Parliaments, who They were, that could not bear the Returning to their Old Servitude to the Papacy. It was, no doubt, spread over *England*, that they saw the Legate was kept in *Flanders*; and not suffer'd yet to come over: This seems the true Cause, why his Coming was so long put off. It might be likewise an Artifice of *Gardiner*'s, to make the Difficulties appear the greater, and by that, to enhanse his own Merit the more. It is plain, that till the Election was over, and till the Pulses of the Majority were first tried, it was resolved not to suffer the Legate to come over. This seems to be that which he insinuates, in his Letter to the Confessor, when he says, that *the Wisdom of the Wise has kept the Gate so long shut against him*.

On

1554. Coll. Numb. 28

On the 13th of *October*, *Pole* wrote the Pope an Account of what had passed between him and the Bishop of *Arras* and the Emperor himself: The Bishop of *Arras*, as he writes, came to him and assured him that the Emperor was in the best Disposition possible: But it was necessary to come to Particulars, to examine all the Impediments, and the best Methods to put them out of the way. The Legate said he had full Powers, and desired to know from *England* what Impediments were suggested. He added, this was not a Negotiation like that in making a Peace, where both Sides did conceal their own Designs all they could, 'till they discovered those of the contrary side: Here all had but one Design, and he was ready to enter into Particulars when they pleased. He had an Audience of the Emporor, none but the Nuntio, and the Bishop of *Arras*, being present. In it, after usual Compliments, the Impediments proposed were Two; the First related to the Doctrine, in which there was no Abatement to be made, nor Indulgence to be shewed. The other was concerning the Lands; for the Usurpers of them knowing the Severity of the Ecclesiastical Laws, were afraid to return to the Obedience of the Church: To this the Legate answered, that the Pope was resolved to extend his Indulgence in this Case; First, as to all the mean Profits already received, and the Censures incurred by that, which was a great Point; the Pope was willing freely to discharge that entirely: Nor did he intend to apply any Part of these to himself, or to the Apostolical See, as many feared he would: Though that might seem reasonable, as a Compensation for Damages sustained, but he would convert all to the Service of God, and to the Benefit of the Kingdom: And he had such Regard to the Piety of those Princes, that he had empowered him to grant such Favours as they should intercede for, and to such Persons as they should think worthy to be gratified, and were capable to assist him in the Matter of Religion. The Emperor understanding all this, thanked the Pope very heartily for his Favour in that Matter: He said he had granted enough; he excused himself, that being wholly taken up with the present War, he had no sooner applied himself to consider the Matter: Now he knew it well: He had already written to *England*, and he expected a speedy Answer from thence, by which he would know the State of Affairs there. He knew by his own Experience in *Germany*, that this of the *Church Lands* was the Point that was most stood on: As to Matters of Doctrine, he did not believe that they stood much upon that, they neither believing the one, nor the other: Yet those Lands (or Goods) being dedicated to God, he thought it was not fit to yield all up, to those who possessed them: He added, that though the Legate had told him the whole Extent of his Powers, yet he would do well not to open that to others. He then desired to see his Faculties. The Legate upon that apprehending this would give a Handle to a new Delay, said he had already shewed them to the Bishop of *Arras*, and he told the Emperor, what a Scandal it would give to the Whole World, if the Reconciliation should not be settled by this Parliament. The Queen did not think fit to press it formerly, 'till she had received that Mighty Assistance which was now come to her by her Marriage; yet if this which ought to have been the Beginning, and the Foun-

1554. dation of all the rest, were delayed any longer, it must give great Offence both to God and Man. The Emperor said, Regard was to be had to the ill Disposition of the People concerned, who had formed in themselves, and others, an Aversion to the Name of Obedience, and to a Red Cap, and a Religious Habit. He said some *Fryars* whom his Son had brought with him out of *Spain*, were advised to change their Habits. They had not indeed done it, nor was it convenient that they should do it. He also touched on the ill Offices that would be done them by their Enemies abroad, in order to the raising of Tumults: (meaning the *French*.) The Legate answered, if he must stay 'till all Impediments were removed, that would be endless. The Audience ended with this, that he must have a little Patience, 'till the Secretary whom he had sent into *England* should return.

Cardinal *Pole* much esteemed by the *English* Ambassador. *Coll. Numb.* 29.

Mason was then the Queen's Ambassador at the Emperor's Court: He in a Letter on the 5th of *October*, writ towards the End of it (the rest being a long Account of the War between the Emperor and the *French* King,) concerning the Cardinal, (which will be found in the Collection;) that he was sent by the Pope on two Designs, the one to mediate a Peace between those two Powers; the other to mediate a Spiritual Peace, as he called it, in the Kingdom of *England*: But seeing no hope of succeeding, either in the one, or the other, he began to despair: And if he did not quickly see some appearance of Success in the last, he would go back to *Rome*, a Sorrowful Man: and here *Mason* runs out, either to make his Court to the Queen, or to the Legate, or that he was really possessed with a very high Opinion of him, which seems the more probable, as well as the more honest Motive: He says, "all the World adores him for his Wisdom, "Learning, Vertue, and Godliness. God seems to dwell in him; "his Conversation, with his other Godly Qualities, was above the "Ordinary Sort of Men. It would be a strong Heart, that he would "not soften in half an Hours Talk.

He writes to King *Philip*. *Coll. Numb.* 30.

At this Time the Cardinal wrote a long Letter to King *Philip* in *Latin*: He tells him he had been now for a Year knocking at the Gates of the Palace, and no Body opened to him: Though he is the Person that was driven from his Country into an Exile of above 20 Years continuance, because he was against shutting the Queen out of that Palace, in which he now lived with her: But he comes with a Higher Authority, in the Name of the Vicar of the Great King, and Shepherd, Saint *Peter*'s Successor, or rather Saint *Peter* himself; who was so long driven out of *England*: Upon this he runs out into a long Allegory, taken from Saint *Peter*'s being delivered out of Prison, from *Herod*'s cruel Purpose, and coming to the Gate of *Mary*, where though his Voice was known, yet he was kept long knocking at the Door; *Mary* not being sure that it was he himself. He dresses this out with much Pomp, and in many Words, as a Man that had practised Eloquence much, and had allowed himself in Flights of forced Rhetorick; liker indeed to the Declamation of a Student in Rhetorick, than the Solemn Letter of so great a Man on such an Occasion. It is true that this way of Writing had been early practised, and had been so long used, even by Popes themselves, that these Precedents might to warrant him to Copy after such Originals. At

At last the Queen sent the Lord *Paget* and Lord *Hastings* to bring him over: Their Letter upon their coming to the Emperor's Court is dated from *Brussels* the 13th of *November*. In it they give an Account of their Waiting upon the Emperor with the King and Queen's Complements. The Emperor had that Day received the Sacrament, yet they were admitted to Audience in the Afternoon: He expressed great Joy when he heard them give an Account how Matters were in *England*, and rouscd himself up in a chearful manner, and said, That among many great Benefits, he was bound to thank God for this as a main One, that he now saw *England* brought back to a good State. He had seen what the Kingdom had once been, and into what Calamities it fell afterwards: And now he thanked God for the Miracles shewed to the Queen, to make her the Minister to bring it again to its ancient Dignity, Wealth and Renown. He also rejoiced that God had given her so soon such a certain Hope of Succession: These Tidings of the State of her Person, with the Report of the Consent of the Noblemen and others touching the Cardinal, and their Obedience and Union with the Catholick Church, were so pleasant to him, that if he had been half dead, they would have revived him: He promised them all Assistance, as they should come to need it.

1554.

The Queen sent to bring him over to *England*.

Coll. Numb. 21.

From the Emperor they went to the Cardinal, who welcomed them with great Joy, and with Expressions full of Duty and Thankfulness to the Queen. Here they enlarge on his Praises: "They call him "the Man of God, full of Godliness and Vertue; and so eminently "humble, that he was contented to come into *England* in such sort as "the Queen had commanded; not as a Legate, but as a Cardinal, and "an Ambassador sent to the Queen: and they assured the Queen, "that touching the Matter of Possessions, all things should pass on "the Pope's behalf so, that every Man there shall have Cause to be "contented. *Pole* took leave of the Emperor on the 12th; he was to set out in slow Journeys, his Body being then too weak for great Ones; in six Days he was to be at *Calais*, where they had ordered every thing to be ready for his Transportation.

It seems by this that the Queen reckoned on it, as sure, that she was with Child: tho' in that, after the Hopes of it were published with too much Precipitation, she found her self so much mistaken, that it was believed the Grief and Shame of it, both together, had an ill Effect on her Health and Life.

The Queen believed her self to be with Child.

About this time there was a very abusive Libel, printed in the Form of a Letter as writ by *Bradford* to the Queen; in which it was said, "That it was believed the Queen intended to give the Crown to the "King, hoping that then he would keep Company with her more; "and live more Chast, contrary to his Nature; for peradventure after he was Crowned, he would be content with one Whore; whereas he had then three or four in a Night: and these not Ladies, but "Common Prostitutes. One *John Capstoke* the Printer was discovered; he was condemned to be imprisoned, and to have his Ears nailed to the Pillory and cut off; yet he was pardoned. The Consideration is not mentioned; it may be easily imagined it was no small one, probably enough it was upon the Discovery of some of those whom they were seeking out for the Slaughter.

Rymer. *T.* 15.

1554.

Cardinal *Pole* carries his Powers beyond the Limits set him.

I have nothing to add to what I wrote formerly, with relation to this Parliament, and the Reconciliation made in it: No doubt *Pole*, according to the Powers in his *Breve*, desired the Queen would name such Persons to whom the Favour of Confirming them in their Possessions should be granted; but it seems they durst not venture on any Discrimination, lest that should have made the excepted Persons desperate. So it is evident, that the confirming of all without exception, was, if not beyond his Powers, yet at least a Matter of such Importance, that he ought to have consulted the Pope upon it; and to have stayed, till he had new and special Orders to pass it in so full a manner, as he did. But still it is plain by the Message sent to *Rome*, that he made the Council at least, to apprehend that it was necessary to send thither for a Confirmation of what he had done; without any Limits, upon Powers that were expresly limited, and reserved to a Confirmation.

Some preach for Restoring the Abbey-Lands.

On the 12th of *December*, *Mason* wrote from *Brussels*; and after he had given in his Letter an Account of what passed in the Diet, upon a Letter written to it by the *French* King: He also writes, "That one of the Emperor's Council had told him, that his Master was displeased to hear that a Preacher was beating the Pulpit Jollily (I use his own Words) for the Restitution of the Abbey-Lands: Upon this he writes, That if it be so meant by the Prince, and the Thing be thought convenient, he did his Duty: but if it was not so, it was a strange thing, that in a well-ordered Commonwealth, a Subject should be so hardy as to cry thus to the People, to raise Storms next Summer, against what they were then doing in Winter; and if the Thing were to be talked of, it ought to be to the Prince and Council, and not to the People: He reflects on the unbridled Sermons in the former Times, that they were much misliked: So he hoped, that in a good Government that should have been amended. He thought the Person that preached this might be well put to Silence; for he being a Monk, and having vowed Poverty, possessed a Deanry and three or four Benefices. He tells them he had heard by the Report of other Ambassadors, that *England* was now returned to the Unity of the Christian Church. He should have been glad that he might have been able to confirm this by some certain Knowledge of it; but it was Ordinary for the Ambassadors of *England* to know the least of all others, of the Matters of their own Kingdom. A Custom of a long Continuance, of which I have heard great Complaints made of a later Date. On the 25th of *December* he wrote, that according to his Orders, he had let the Emperor know the Apprehensions the Queen had of the Progress of her Big-belly: and that all was quiet, and every thing went on happily in *England*. Upon this the Emperor fell into a free Discourse with him of the Difference between Governing with Rigor and Severity; and the governing in such sort, that both Prince and People might *Sentre entendre & sentre aimer*, mutually understand and mutually love one another. This, as it is at all times, a noble Measure of Government; so it was more necessary to offer such an Advice, at a time in which it was resolved to proceed with an unmerciful Rigor, against those whom they called Hereticks. The Queen seemed to be

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so sure, that she was Quick with Child, that the Privy-Council wrote upon it a Letter to *Boner*, and ordered him to cause *Te Deum* to be sung upon it. With such a Precipitation was this desired Piece of News published.

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Some small Favour was, at King *Philip*'s Desire, shewed to some. The Archbishop of *York* was released, upon a Bond of 20000 Marks for his Good Behaviour. How far he recanted, or complied, does not appear: One Thing may be reasonably concluded; That since no more mention is made of the Complaint put in against him, for keeping another Man's Wife from him, there is no Reason to think there was any Truth in it. For there being so particular a Zeal then on foot, to disgrace the Marriage of the Clergy, so flagrant an Instance as this, in a Man put in so Eminent a Post, would not have been pass'd over, if there had been any Colour of Truth, or Proof for it. On the 27th of *January*, *Hopkins*, Sheriff of the City of *Coventry*, was put in the *Fleet* for Ill Religion. On the 19th of *February*, some small Regard was had to *Miles Coverdale*, as being a Foreigner; for he was a *Dane*: He had a Passport to go to *Denmark*, with Two Servants, without any unlawful Let or Search.

Jan. 18. 1554/5. The Archbishop of *York* set at Liberty.

On the 29th of *January*, Cardinal *Pole* gave Deputed Powers to the Bishops, to Reconcile all Persons to the Church, pursuant to the first Breve he had from the Pope; by which the Reconciliation was made very easy; every one being left at his Liberty to chuse his own Confessor, who was to enjoin him his Penance: Upon which, the Clergy, both Regulars and Seculars, were to be entirely restored, confirmed in their Benefices, and made capable of all further Favours: But those who were accused, or condemned for Heresy, were only to be restored to the Peace of the Church, for the Quiet of their Consciences. All Canonical Irregularities were also taken off; all publick Abjurations, or Renunciations, were, at Discretion, to be either moderated, or entirely forgiven; with a Power to the Bishop, to depute such Rectors and Curates, as he shall think fit, to Absolve and Reconcile all Lay-Persons to the Church. That sent to the Bishop of *Norwich*, is still upon Record, and was collated with the Register, and sent me by Dr. *Tanner*. With this, I have likewise put in the Collection, the Method in which it was executed. First, the Articles of the Visitation are in it, in *English*; then follow Rules, in *Latin*, given by the Cardinal, to all Bishops, and their Officials. The most material of these is, "That all who were "empowered to Reconcile Persons to the Church, were required to "enter into a Register, the Names of all such as they should Re-"ceive: that it might appear upon Record, who were, and who "were not Reconciled; and to proceed against all such, as were not "Reconciled: In particular, they were to insert *Thomas Becket*'s "Name, and also the Pope's, in all their Offices.

Coll. Numb. 33. *Coll. Numb.* 34.

Now came on the Burning of Hereticks. Many had been kept above a Year and a Half in Prison, when yet there was no Law against them: And now a Law was made against them, which it could not be pretended that they had transgressed. But Articles were objected to them, to which they were, by the Ecclesiastical Law, obliged to make Answer: and upon their Answers, they were con-

demned.

1554. demned. *Sampson*, in a Letter to *Calvin*, wrote on the 23d of *February*, "That *Gardiner* had ordered Fourscore of the Prisoners to "be brought before him, and had tried to prevail on them, both by "Promises and Threatnings, to return, as he called it, to the Uni- "on of the Church: But not one of them yielded, except *Barlow*, "that had been Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Cardmaker*, an Arch- "deacon there. So this proved ineffectual. How far these yielded, does not appear.

Letters sent from *Zurick*. The Reformers when tried by *Gardiner* were firm.

It was resolved to begin with *Hooper*; against whom, both *Gardiner* and *Boner* had so peculiar an Ill Will, that he was singled out, of all the Bishops, to be the first Sacrifice. A Copy of his Process and Sentence was sent me by Dr. *Tanner*, which I have put in the Collection. On the 28th of *January*, He was brought before *Gardiner*, in his Court in *Southwark*, and is called only *John Hooper*, Clark. *Gardiner* set forth, "That the Day before, he had been "brought before him, and others of the Privy-Council, and exhort- "ed to confess his Errors and Heresies, and to return to the Unity "of the Church; a Pardon being offered him for all that was pas- "sed; but that his Heart was so hardened, that he would not ac- "cept of it: So he was then brought, to answer to certain Arti- "cles; but he had again the Offer made him, to be received into "the Bosom of the Church, if he desired it. He rejected that; "and, as the Acts of the Court have it, he did impudently break "out into some Blasphemies. The Articles that were objected to him, were Three: "1. That He, being a Priest, and of a Reli- "gious Order, had married a Wife, and lived with her; and did, "both by Preaching and Writing, justify and defend that his Mar- "riage. To which he answered, acknowledging it was true; and that he was still ready to defend it. 2. That Persons married, "might, for the Cause of Fornication or Adultery, according to the Word of God, be so divorced, that they might lawfully Marry again. To this he likewise answered, confessing it, and saying, "That he was ready to defend it, against all who would oppose it. "3. That he had publickly taught and maintained, That in the Sa- "crament of the Altar, the True and Natural Body and Blood of "Christ, are not present under the Accidents of Bread and Wine; "so that there is no Material Bread and Wine in it. To which his Answer is set down in *English* Words; "That the very Natural "Body and Blood of Christ, is not Really and Substantially in the "Sacrament of the Altar: Saying also, That the Mass was of the "Devil, and was an Idol. *Gardiner*, upon this, ordered him to come again into Court the next Day; and then he did again try, by many Persuasions to prevail on him: But he continued still obstinate, and said further, "That Marriage was none of the Seven Sa- "craments; and if it was a Sacrament, he could prove there were "Sevenscore Sacraments. After all this, *Gardiner* gave Sentence, and deliver'd him over to the Secular Arm. Upon which, the Sheriffs of *London* took him into their Hands, as their Prisoner: But it was resolved to send him to *Glocester*, there to receive his Crown of Martyrdom. And there was a particular Order sent along with him to *Glocester*; in which he is designed "*John Hooper*, that was cal-

Coll. Numb. 35.

Hooper, the first Bishop that suffer'd, barbarously used.

"led Bishop of *Worcester* and *Glocester*, who was judged to be a "most obstinate, false, detestable Heretick, and did still persist ob- "stinate, and refused Mercy, tho' it was offered to him: He was "sent to be burned at *Glocester*, to the Example and Terror of those "whom he had seduced. Order is also given, to call some of Re- "putation in that Shire, to assist the Mayor and the Sheriffs of that "City. And because this *Hooper* is, as all Hereticks are, a vain- "glorious Person; and if he have Liberty to speak, he may per- "suade such as he has seduced, to persist in the miserable Opinions "that he hath taught them; Therefore strict Order is given, that "neither at his Execution, nor in going to the Place of it, he be "suffered to speak at large; but that he be led quietly, and in Si- "lence, for avoiding further Infection. This will be found in the Collection. But tho' his Words could not be suffer'd to be heard, yet the Voice of his Sufferings, which were extremely violent, had probably the best Effect on those who saw both them, and his Constancy in them. He had been above a Year and a Half in Prison, under much hard Usage. He sent his Wife out of *England*, to deliver himself from that which might raise too great Tenderness in him, especially if he had seen her ill used, which the Wives of the Clergy were in danger of daily. He wrote several Letters to *Bullinger* from the Prison, but was so watched, that he durst not enter into any Particulars. Most of his Letters were Recommendations of some, who were then flying out of *England*: He, in them all, expressed much Constancy and Patience: And he was preparing himself for that, in which he reckoned his Imprisonment would soon end. He had no other Prospect, but of Sealing the Truth with his Blood. He was very glad, when he knew his Wife had got safe to *Frankfort*; where She lived, and wrote several Letters to *Bullinger* in a very clean and natural Stile of *Latin*: They do chiefly relate to her Husband's Condition.

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Coll. Numb. 36.

Among several Letters that *Hooper* wrote, during his Imprisonment, to *Bullinger*, I find one that is so full, and shews so clearly the Temper of that Holy Man in his Imprisonment, that I have put it in the Collection. He had written several Letters to him, that it seems fell into ill Hands, and so came not to *Zurick*, as they were directed; as he found by *Bullinger*'s last Letter, that some of his were also intercepted. "That last which he had, was directed to "him, to be communicated to all his Fellow-Prisoners: He pro- "mised, that he would take care to send it round among them. "The Wound that the Papacy had received in *England*, was then en- "tirely healed: The Pope was now declared the *Head of that* "*Church*. The Prisoners, who had been shut up for a Year and a "Half, were daily troubled by the Enemies of the Gospel: They "were kept asunder from one another, and treated with all man- "ner of Indignities; and they were daily threatned with the last "Extremities, which did not terrify them.

Coll. Numb. 37.

"They were so inwardly fortified, that they despised both Fire "and Sword. They knew in whom they believed; and were sure "they were to suffer for Well-doing. He desires the Continuance "of their Prayers, let God do with them what seemed good in his

1554. " Eyes. He sent over to him Two Books that he had written, the " one of True Religion, and the other of False Religion, which he " had dedicated to the Parliament, as an Apology for the Reformation. He gives them Liberty to correct them as they thought " fit; and desired, that they might be quickly printed; for they " were well approved by the Pious and Learned about him. He " desires they may not be frighted from doing it, by the Apprehensions of any Harm that might happen to himself upon that Account: He committed himself to God, who was his Defence and " his Guard, thro' Jesus Christ; to whom he had entirely dedicated " himself. If God would prolong his Life, he prayed it might be " to the Glory of his Name; but if he would put an End to this " short and wicked Life, which of these soever it pleased God to order, his Will be done. This is dated from his Prison, the 11th of *December* 1554. It appears that *Hooper*'s Wife was a *German*; so his Sending her in Time out of *England*, was a just Expression of his Care of Her.

On the 18th of *March*, some Sacrifices being to be made in *Essex*, " Letters were written by the Council to the Earl of *Oxford*, " and the Lord *Rich*, to be present at the Burning of those obstinate " Hereticks, that were sent to divers Parts of that County. And on the 1st of *April*, Informations being brought, that there were Preachers at Work in several Parts of the Kingdom, a General Order was sent to all Sheriffs, to seize on them. When that Madman, *William Thomas*, called otherwise *Flower*, or *Branch*, was seized on, for wounding a Priest in the Church, they found a Cloth about his Neck, with these Words, *Deum time*, *Idolum fuge*; Fear God, and fly from Idolatry. He was seized on by Sir *Nicholas Hare*, and Sir *Thomas Cornwall*: They had Letters of Thanks from the Council for their Pains. They were ordered first to Examine him, then to send him to the Bishop of *London*, to proceed against him for Heresy; and to the Justices of Peace, to punish him for the Shedding of Blood in the Church: And if he persists in his Heresy, Order is given, that he be executed in the latter End of the Week; but that his Right Hand should be cut off the Day before.

Persons appointed to carry the News of the Queen's being Delivered.

On the 16th of *May*, some Persons were named, and their Appointments ordered, who should be in Readiness to carry the News of the Queen's Delivery to Foreign Princes. The Lord Admiral was appointed to go to the Emperor; and was allowed Four Pound a Day, and Two Hundred Pound for Equipage. The Lord *Fitzwater* was to go to the *French* Court, and was to have 200 Marks for Equipage. Sir *Henry Sydney* was to go to the King of the *Romans*, and to have 500 Marks: And *Shelley* was to carry the News to the King of *Portugal*, and to have 400 Marks. This was repeated on the 28th of *May*. The Money was ordered to be ready, for the immediate Dispatch of those Envoys. And on the 29th of *May*, Orders was given, that the Persons named should be ready to go when warned. On the 1st of *June*, a Letter was ordered to the Bishop of *London*, to proceed against some, who were suspected to be of Evil Religion. And on the 3d of *June*, Letters were written

ten to the Lord *Rich* to assist at the Execution of some Hereticks at *Colchester, Harwich,* and *Meaintru*; a Letter was also written to the Earl of *Oxford*, to send his Servants to attend on the Lord *Rich* at those Executions. It is not easy to guess whether the many Letters written upon those Occasions, were to prevent Tumults, because they apprehended the People might Rescue those Victims out of the Sheriff's Hands, if he had not been well guarded; or whether it was to celebrate those Triumphs over Heresy, with much Solemnity; which is commonly done in those Countries where the Inquisition is received. At the same Time Entries are made in the Council Books of the Examinations of several Persons for spreading false Rumors.

1554.

On the 9th of *June*, Letters were written to the Lord *North*, and others, to put such obstinate Persons as would not Confess to the *Torture*, and there to order them *at their Discretion*: And a Letter was written to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to the same Effect: Whether this pretended Obstinacy was a concealing of Hereticks, or of the Reporters of false News, does not appear: But whatever the Matter was, the putting People not yet Convict, by that which the Civil Law called a half Proof (*Semiplena Probatio*) to the *Torture*, because they were thought obstinate, and would not confess, and the leaving the Degree of the Torture to the *Discretion* of those appointed for their Examination, was a great Step towards the most Rigorous Part of the Proceedings of Inquisitors. On the 12th of *June*, Orders were given for making out Writs for the Burning of Three Persons condemned for Heresy in *Sussex*. On the 13th of *June*, Letters of Thanks were ordered to Sir *Henry Tirrel*, and Mr. *Anthony Brown*, for their assisting at the Execution of Hereticks. And on the 15th of *June*, Letters of Thanks were ordered to the Earl of *Oxford*, and the Lord *Rich*, on the same Account. On the 17th of *June*, Letters of Thanks were written to those in *Cambridge*, who had committed some Priests to Prison: But they are ordered to release them, if thoroughly Penitent. And on the 18th of *June*, a Letter was written to the Bishop of *London*, informing him that Four Parishes in *Essex* did still use the *English* Service: He is required to examine into this, and to punish it, and to send some of his Chaplains to preach to them.

Orders for Torture at Discretion.

On that Day a Letter was written from *London* to *Peter Martyr*, telling him that it was given out that the Queen had said, she could not be happily delivered 'till all the Hereticks then in Prison were burned: For she continued still expecting to be delivered; and on the 24th of *June*, an Order was given to have a Passport ready for *Shelley*, that was to carry the News to *Portugal*. On the 27th of *June*, Letters were written to the Lord *Rich*, to give the Queen's Thanks to some Gentlemen of *Rochford* in *Essex*, *for coming so honestly of themselves to* Colchester, *and other Places, to assist the Sheriff at Executions.* At this Time a Condition was put in all Passports, and Licences, to go beyond Sea, that they shall avoid all Hereticks, and all Places infected with Heresy.

The Queen still looked to be delivered of a Child. *P. Mar. Loci. Com.* 1626. Fol. 769.

I shall here add a Passage, recorded by *Fox*, of a Declaration that was made to himself before Witnesses, in the Year 1568. A Woman told him that she lived near *Aldersgate*, and was delivered of a Boy

Fox P. 1450. A Practice that gives Suspicion of ill Designs.

1554. on the 11th of *June* 1555; and after she had born it, the Lord *North*, and another Lord, came to her, and desired to have her Child from her, with very fair Offers, as that her Child should be well-provided for; so that she should take no Care for it, if she would Swear that she never knew, or had such a Child: And after this some Women came to her, of whom, one they said was to be the Rocker. But she would in no Case part with her Child. This being at the Time that the Queen seemed to be every Day looking for her Delivery, may give some Suspitions, and puts us in Mind of the Words of the *Preacher*, *That which is, is that which has been.* On the 30th of *June*, Letters were written to the Gentlemen in *Kent*, to assist the Sheriff at the Execution of Hereticks in *Rochester*, *Dartford*, and *Tunbridge*.

On the 2d of *July*, upon an Information of a Commotion design-ed in *Sussex*, the Opinion of the Judges was asked about it; and some Judges were sent to proceed in it, according to Law. Great Occasion was taken from Foolish Discourses to allarm the Nation with the Apprehension of Plots, and the Blame of all was to be cast on the concealed Preachers, that were now hid in Corners, instructing the People at the Peril of their Lives: Twelve Persons were brought up out of *Sussex*, as guilty of a Conspiracy: But I find no more of that Matter. *Bird*, that had been Bishop of *Chester*, and was deprived for his Marriage, did now think fit to repent; and engaged so far, that *Boner* made him his Suffragan. He was Blind of an Eye, and being appointed to preach before the Bishop, he chose those Words for his Text, *Thou art* Peter: But whether his Conscience smote him, or his Memory failed, he could go no further: So in-stead of Matter of Triumph upon the Apostacy of such a Man, the Shame of such a dumb Action, turned the Triumph to the other side.

Plots pretend-ed.

On the 9th of *July*, a Letter was written to the Bishop of *London*, directing him, that the Three condemned Hereticks should be burnt at *Uxbridge*, *Stratford*, and *Walden*: And he was ordered to pro-ceed against the rest. At this Time *Pole* thought it became him to write to *Cranmer* to try how far a Piece of Highflown Rhetorick could work on him, though some think this Letter was written a very little while before *Cranmer*'s Execution; the Original is yet ex-tent. It does very little Honour to his Memory, being only a De-clamation against Heresy and Schism, against a Married Clergy, and Separation from the See of *Rome*, and the rejecting of *Transubstantia-tion.* In it all he proves nothing, and argues nothing, but supposes all his own Principles to be true and sure: He inveighs against the poor Prisoner with some seeming Tenderness, but with a great Acri-mony of Stile, and in an insulting Manner, like one that knew he might say what he pleased; and that there was no room for making Remarks and Answers to so poor an Epistle; which Mr. *Le Grand* has thought fit to translate into *French*, but I do not think it worth the while to put it in the Collection.

Card. *Pole's* Letter to *Cran-mer.*

On the 14th of *July*, the Archbishop of *York* was ordered to ap-pear, but no more is said concerning him. There was Intimations given of Commotions designed at Fairs, and Orders were sent to She-

riffs and Gentlemen to watch them: Informations were alſo brought of a Conſpiracy in *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*, and of another in *Dorſetſhire*. On the 6th of *Auguſt*, Thanks were written to the Earl of *Oxford* and the Lord *Rich*, with the other Juſtices of Peace in *Eſſex* for their Diligence; deſiring them to proceed in their Examination of the late intended Conſpiracy, and to bring the Offenders before them: If their Offence was found to be Treaſon, they were to ſuffer as Traytors: Or if their Guilt did not riſe up to that, they were to order them to be puniſhed according to the Statutes.

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On the 28th of *Auguſt*, Notice was given to the Sheriffs and Juſtices of Peace, that the King was going to *Flanders*. The Ambaſſadors ſent to *Rome*, did return about the middle of *September*; and in Council, on the 16th of *September*, the Biſhop of *Ely* produced the Pope's Bull, erecting *Ireland* into a Kingdom; and beſtowing on the Crown of *England*, the Title of *King of Ireland*. This was given to the Biſhop of *Dublin*, with an Order to publiſh it in *Ireland*: For that Inſolent Pope would not give them Audience upon their Powers from the King and Queen of *England*, and *Ireland*, pretending that none had a Right to aſſume the Title *King*, but as it was derived from him. So as a ſpecial Grace, he conferred that Regal Title on the Queen, and then admitted them to Audience, after he had made them ſtay a Month waiting for it at *Rome*. It ſeems they knew the Bigotry of the *Engliſh* Court too well to diſpute this Point. So they yielded it up very tamely, fearing that they ſhould be diſowned, if they had made any Oppoſition to it. But the main Errand they came upon, was to obtain a Confirmation of the Settlement of the Church-Lands, made in Parliament by Cardinal *Pole*: That was not only flatly refuſed, but a Bull was publiſhed, that in Effect, repealed it all.

Ambaſſadors ſent to the Pope, came back with a Bull, erecting *Ireland* into a Kingdom.

" It begins ſetting forth what Pope *Symmachus* decreed againſt the " Alienating of any Lands belonging to the Church upon any Pre- " tence whatſoever, or Farming out the Rights of the Church: He " laid an *Anathema* on all who ſhould be any way concerned in ſuch " Bargains; and gave an Authority to any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon to " recover all with the mean Profits; and this was to take Place in all " Churches. Pope *Paul* the 2d. had likewiſe condemned all Aliena- " tions of Church Goods, and all Farms of Leaſes beyond the Term of " Three Years, and had annulled all ſuch Agreements, Farms, or " Leaſes. Both the Parties, as well the Granter, as the Receiver of " ſuch Leaſes, were put under Excommunication; and the Goods " ſo alienated, were to revert to the Church. But theſe Prohibitions " notwithſtanding, of late Years ſeveral Perſons both of the Laity, " and of the Clergy, had poſſeſſed themſelves of Caſtles and Lands, " belonging both to the Church of *Rome*, and to other Cathedrals, " and even to Metropolitan Churches; and to Monaſteries, Regular " Houſes, and Hoſpitals, under the Pretence of Alienations, to the " evident Damage of thoſe Churches and Monaſteries, without ob- " ſerving the Solemnities required by Law in ſuch Caſes; and they " continue their Poſſeſſion, by which the Incumbents in thoſe " Churches are great Sufferers; and the Popes themſelves, who " were wont to ſupply the Poor who came to *Rome* out of theſe " Lands, are no more able to do that, and can ſcarce maintain them-

See the *Coll.* of the former Books *Numb.* 1. The Pope's Bull for reſtoring all Church Lands.

ſelves

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"selves and their Families; which turns to the Offence of God, the
"Reproach of the Clergy, and is Matter of Scandal to the Faithful.
"Therefore the Pope of his own Motion, upon certain Knowledge,
"and by vertue of the Plenitude of the Apostolick Power, does an-
"nul all the Alienations, or Impropriations, either perpetual, or
"Leases to the Third, or to a single Life, or beyond the Term of
"Three Years; or Exchanges and Farms of Cities, or Lands, or
"Goods, or Rights, belonging to the *Roman* Church; or to any
"Cathedral, Monastery, Regular House, or to any Ecclesiastical
"Benefice, with, or without Cure; to Seculars, or Regulars; Ho-
"spitals, and other Pious Foundations, by whomsoever made, tho'
"by Popes, or by their Authority; or by the Prelates of Cathe-
"drals, Monasteries, or Hospitals; or the Rectors of Churches,
"though Cardinals, that had been made without the Solemnities re-
"quired by Law, in what Form of Words soever they have been
"made, though confirmed by Oath, and established by a long Pre-
"scription: All these are, by the Apostolick Authority, rescinded,
"annulled, and made void, and the Possessors of such Lands are to
"be compelled by all Censures, and Pecuniary Pains, to make Sa-
"tisfaction for all the mean Profits received, or to be received; and
"all Judges are required to give Judgment conform to this Bull.
Dated the 12th of *July*.

Reflections made on it.

Thus the Pope, instead of confirming what the Legate had done, did in the most formal Terms possible, reverse and annul it all. Even Papal Alienations, or made by the Papal Authority are made void. The pretended Consent of the Convocation is declared null; and all Ratifications of what was at first illegally made, are annulled. By this also, not only the Possessors of Church Lands, but all the Tenants to any Estate belonging to the Church, who hold for Lives, or Years, beyond the Term of Three Years, may see in this Bull how that all that they now hold by those Tenures, is made void. No doubt the Ambassadors of *England* did all that in them lay, to have this Bull softned, or to have an Exception made for *England*: But that Pope was not to be moved, and perhaps he thought he shewed no small Favour to *England*, on the Queen's Account, in not naming it in this Bull: And in not fulminating on the Account of the late Settlement. Thus the Matter of securing the Abbey Lands by that fraudulent Transaction, is now pretty apparent.

Pope *Paul* was in the Right in one Thing, to press the setting up Courts of Inquisition every where, as the only sure Method to extirpate Heresy. And it is highly probable that the King, or his *Spanish* Ministers, made the Court of *England* apprehend, that Torture and Inquisition, were the only sure Courses to root out Heresy. It has appeared already what Orders were given about *Torture*, even to use it at *Discretion*; but another Step was made that carried this Matter much further.

Instructions had been given in *March*, 1555, to the Justices of Peace to have one or more honest Men in every Parish, secretly instructed to give Information of the Behaviour of the Inhabitants amongst, or about them. One of these was directed to the Earl of *Sussex*, who acted with a Superlative Measure of Zeal: He wrote on

on the 18th of *April*, this Year, to the Bishop of *Norwich*; complaining, that at a Town near him, there had been no Sepulcher, nor Creeping to the Cross before *Easter*. The Day after he wrote that Letter, it appears by another of his Letters, that *Ket*, who led the Insurrection in *Norfolk*, in King *Edward*'s Reign, and whose Body was hanged in Chains, had fallen down from the Gallows; and that Prophecies were spread about the Country, of what should follow when that should happen. He ordered the Body to be hanged up again, if it was not wasted; and he imprisoned those that gave out these Prophecies. He went on to greater Matters, and drew up an Account of the Obedience that the Justices had paid, to all the Instructions and Orders that had been sent them. I had a Volume of his Letters in my Hands some Years ago; but I wrote out of it only the Answers he returned to the 6th Article, in these Words: "It is agreed, that the Justices of the Peace, in every of "their Limits, shall call secretly before them, One or Two Honest "and Secret Persons, or more, by their Discretions; and such as "they shall think good; and command them, by Oath, or other-"wise, as the same Justice shall think good, That they shall secret-"ly learn, and search out such Person and Persons, as shall evil-"behave themselves in the Church, or idly, or despise openly by "Words, the King's and Queen's Proceedings; or go about to make "or move, any Stir, Commotion, or unlawful Gathering together "of the People; or that tell any Lewd or Seditious Tales, Rumors, "or News, to move or stir any Person or Persons, to rise, stir or make "any Commotion or Insurrection, or to consent to any such Intent "or Purpose. And also, that the same Persons so to be appointed, "shall declare to the same Justices of Peace, the Ill Behavi-"our of Lewd, Disordered Persons; whether it shall be for using "unlawful Games, Idleness, and such other light Behaviour of such "suspected Persons, as shall be in the same Town, or near there-"abouts: And that the same Informations shall be given secretly to "the Justices; and the same Justices shall call such accused Persons "before them, and examine them, without declaring by whom "they be accused. And that the same Justices shall, upon their "Examination, punish the Offenders, according as their Offences "shall appear to them, upon the Accusement and Examination, "by their Discretion, either by open Punishment, or by good Ab-"earing.

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Here was a great Step made towards an Inquisition: This being the settled Method of that Court, to have sworn Spies and Informers every where, upon whose secret Advertisements, Persons are taken up: And the first Step in their Examination, is, to know of them, for what Reason they are brought before them: Upon which, they are tortured, till they tell as much as the Inquisitors desire to know, either against themselves, or others. But they are not suffered to know, neither what is informed against them, nor who are the Informers. Arbitrary Torture, and now Secret Informers, seem to be Two great Steps, made to prepare the Nation for an Inquisition.

In

1554. In *September*, the Dutchess of *Suffolk*, who had married Mr. *Bertie*, went out of the Kingdom without a License : Upon which, a Commission was sent into *Lincolnshire*, to take an Account of her Estate. On the 19th of *September*, there was a Paper cast into a House near *Fulham*, with some Intimations of Ill Designs in *Essex*. The Master of the House brought it to the Council ; upon which, they sent Orders to that Countrey, to see what Foundation there was for such Suspicions. *Tracy* (probably the Son of him, concerning whose *Will* there was much ado made in King *Henry*'s Time) had been brought before the Bishop of *Glocester* ; and he, as was informed, behaved himself stubbornly towards him : Upon which, he was brought before the Council, and was required to declare his Conformity in Matters of Religion. He promised to do it ; and upon that, he was sent back to his Country. On the 23d of *September*, there was some Hopes given of the King's Coming back ; upon which, Sir *Richard Southwell* was sent to attend on him. On the 9th of *October*, the Governor of *Jersey* having examined one *Gardiner*, for speaking some indecent Words of the King, desired Orders how to proceed against him : Upon which, he was ordered to proceed according to the Statutes, if these took place in that Island : but if not, according to the Custom of the Place.

Cranmer proceeded against. On the 12th of *September*, *Brooks*, Bishop of *Glocester*, who was constituted Subdelegate to Cardinal *Puteo*, the Pope's Delegate, to try *Cranmer*, (it being, it seems, thought indecent, that *Pole*, who was to succeed him, should be his Judge) came to *Oxford*, with *Martin* and *Story*, who were the King and Queen's Commissioners, to demand Justice against *Cranmer* ; exhibiting Articles against him. *Cranmer* made a long Apology for himself. Among other Things, he said, " The Loss of his Promotion grieved him not : He thanked " God as heartily for that poor and afflicted State in which he was " then, as ever he did for the Times of his Prosperity. But that " which stuck closest to him, and created him the greatest Sorrow, " was, to think that all that Pains and Trouble, that had been ta- " ken by King *Henry* and himself for so many Years, to retrieve the " Ancient Authority of the Kings of *England*, and to vindicate the " Nation from a Foreign Yoke, and from the Baseness and infinite " Inconveniences of Crouching to the Bishops of *Rome*, should now " thus easily be quite undone : And that the King and Queen should, " in their own Realm, become his Accusers, before a Foreign Pow- " er. If he had transgressed the Law, they had sufficient Authori- " ty to punish him ; and to that, he would at all Times submit him- " self. They exhibited Interrogatories to him ; and he gave his Answer to them. In Conclusion, they required him to go to *Rome*, within Fourscore Days, to make his Answer in Person. He said, he was most willing to go, if the King and Queen would send him.

On the 16th of *October*, *Ridley* and *Latimer* suffered Martyrdom : But *Gardiner*, who was with Impatience waiting for the News, was, soon after he heard it, struck with an Illness, in which he languished for some Time. *Pilkington*, Bishop of *Duresm*, in a Sermon that he preached, said, *He rotted above Ground*, *so that it was scarce possi-*

possible to get any to come near him. He died on the 12th of *November.* On the 5th of *November*, Orders were given for to dispose of many Prisoners.

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Cranmer was now to be offered up. Some have thought, that upon his Attainder, the See of *Canterbury* was vacant; and indeed, the Chapter of *Canterbury* acted accordingly: But the Papal Authority being restored, he was still, according to the Papal Law, Archbishop, till by a Commission from *Rome*, he was judged an obstinate Heretick, and was thereupon deprived. When the 80 Days were out, a Mock Process was made at *Rome*; in which it was falsely said, that he did not care to appear; upon which he was declared *Contumacious*: And then a formal Sentence was given in the Pope's Name, *as sitting on the Throne of Justice, having before his Eyes God alone, who is the Righteous Lord, and judgeth the World in Righteousness.* With such specious Words was that grosly Unrighteous Judgment introduced. And upon that, a Letter came from *Rome* on the 14th of *December*, mentioning his being Condemned and Deprived, and delivering him over to the Secular Arm. The Deprivation must have passed some Days before: For, on the 11th of *December*, *Pole*'s Bulls were granted; in which, mention is made of the See's being vacant, by the Deprivation of *Cranmer.* The Writ for Burning him, mentions his being judged an obstinate Heretick by the Pope, and deprived by him; and that he had been degraded by the Bishops of *London* and *Ely*, by Commission from the Pope: So on the 24th of *February*, the Writ was sealed. I have nothing to add to the sad Narration I gave, both of his Fall, and of his Repentance, and his firm Constancy to the last, in that amazing Instance of Holding his Hand in the Fire, till it was almost burnt away; of which *Thuanus* gives a very particular Account, so that the Truth of the Fact cannot be disputed.

On the 13th of *March*, the Privy Council were concerned, when they heard his Paper of Recantation was printed. *Rydall* and *Copeland*, Two Printers, were required to deliver to *Cawood* the Queen's Printer, the Books of his Recantation to be burned by him. One Part of his Character may be added out of *Pole*'s Letter to him. In one place he says, he hears "it was pretended that he forced no Man "in Points of Religion, but behaved himself mildly towards all Per-"sons. And in another place he writes, "that it was said his Life "was unblameable. But tho' *Pole* throws that off, as of no Importance, yet upon his mentioning these good Characters, it may be depended on, that they were true. *Ridley*, in that Noble Letter that he wrote to *Grindall*, when they were every Day looking for their Crown, says of him, "That he then shewed, how well he "deserved the Great Character of the Chief Pastor and Archbishop "of this Church: To which he adds, of *Latimer*, "That he was "the Ancient, and True Apostle of Christ to the *English* Nation. In a word, if it had not been for *Cranmer*'s too feeble Compliance in King *Henry*'s Time, and this last inexcusable Slip, he might well be proposed as one of the Greatest Patterns in History. And if the Excesses to which some Opinions had formerly carried Men, did in some Particulars incline him to the Opposite Extreams, this must

be

1554. be reckoned a very pardonable Instance, of managing the Counterpoise without due Caution. He was a Pattern of Humility, Meekness and Charity. He had a true and generous Contempt of Wealth; and of those Shews of Greatness, that belong to a High Station. His Labours, in Searching into all Ecclesiastical Authors, both Ancient and Modern, are amazing to those, who have seen the Vast Collections that he writ out, on all Matters of Divinity, with his own Hand. But now, after a long Course of Vexation and Contradiction; and, in Conclusion, after a long and severe Imprisonment, he was put to a Cruel Death, by Persons whom he had served faithfully and effectually. For he had both served the Queen, and reconciled Her to her Father; and he had shewed a most particular Favour to *Thirleby*, and others, who concurred to finish this Tragedy. I have put all this Matter together; and now I must look back to Publick Affairs.

Proceedings in Convocation. There was a Convocation sat with the Parliament in *October*; and to the Middle of *November* 1555. *Christopherson* was chosen Prolocutor: And after *Boner* had confirmed him, he desired, that the Lower-House would name Eight or Ten Persons, to hear some Secret Propositions, that were to be made to them by the King and Queen, and by the Cardinal, concerning the Publick Good of the Kingdom, and of the Church. They, upon that, did chuse the Prolocutor, and Ten more: And to these the Bishop of *Ely* proposed, to offer the Queen a Subsidy, in Return for the great Favour She had shewed the Clergy, in Forgiving the First-Fruits and Tenths, and in Restoring to the Church all the Impropriations of Benefices, that were then, by the Suppression of the Monasteries, vested in the Crown: For all which, the Bishop of *Ely* proposed a Subsidy of Eight Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in Four Years. The last Session of the Convocation was on the 15th of *November*: And a *Memorandum* was inserted in these Words; "After this Convocation "was begun, there was a National Synod; the Clergy of *York* be-"ing joined with them. For which, the Cardinal thought it safe and fit to take out a License under the Great Seal. The First Session was on the 4th of *November*; and in this the Cardinal set himself so zealously to remove many Abuses, that *Mason* wrote, that many of the Clergy wished he were in *Rome* again.

The Earl of *Devonshire* went out of *England* this Summer. As he passed thro' *Flanders*, he waited on the Emperor; and, as *Mason* wrote, he owned that he owed his Liberty to him. The Queen sent, and offered her Mediation between the Emperor and the *French* King: The Emperor accepted it; but with very sharp Reflections on the *French* King.

There was in *April*, a Treaty of Peace between the Emperor and the King of *France*, set on Foot: In which the Queen was Mediator, and sent over both *Pole* and *Gardiner* to *Calais* in order to it. The Constable, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, were ordered to come from the Court; but the Pope's Death made it be thought more necessary to send that Cardinal to *Rome*: What further Progress was made in this does not appear to me, for I take it from a Letter of *Mason's*

son's to *Vannes*, then the Queen's Ambassador at *Venice*. It will be found in the Collection, the Original being in Dr *Tanner*'s Hands, who sent me this Copy. By this Letter it appears, that *Bolls* of *Cambridgeshire*, and S. *Peter Mewtas*, were there in Prison upon Suspicion, but nothing appeared against them. That Letter tells us, that the Princes of *Germany* were allarmed upon the Cardinal *Morone*'s coming to *Ausbourg*, apprehending probably that he came to disturb the Settlement, then made in the Matters of Religion in the Empire: But the Emperor had sent such Powers to his Brother *Ferdinand*, that his coming was like to have no Effect. He also tells in that Letter, that the Dean and Prebendaries of *Westminster*, were using all Endeavours to hinder the converting that Foundation into an Abbey: And that Dr. *Cole* was active in it, affirming that Monks had not their Institution from Christ as Priests had: But he saw the Court was resolved to have no regard to the Opposition they made. He adds, that the Duke of *Alva* was still in *England*, though he had sent his Baggage and Servants to *Calais*.

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Coll. Numb. 38.

Motions in the Diet of the Empire.

Mason writes News from the Diet, that Matters of Religion had not been quite settled, but all were to continue in the State in which they were then, 'till the next Meeting: And it was provided, that all Parties should live according to the Religion then accepted of them: The Emperor seemed resolved not to consent to this. He writes that the Allowance of the Marriage of the Clergy, and in particular of Bishops, had been earnestly demanded, but was utterly refused. On the 28th of *October*, he writes that two Monks of the *Charter-House* had desired the King's Letter that they might return to their House, and at least receive their Pension: The King answered, that as touching their House, since the Parliament was then sitting, it was not a proper Time to move it: But when he should come to *England*, he would help them the best he could: And as to their Pensions, he ordered *Mason* to write concerning that to Secretary *Petre*. On the 7th of *January* 155$\frac{5}{6}$ a Letter was written to the Mayor and Aldermen of *Coventry*, to chuse some Catholick Grave Man for their Mayor for that Year: A List of Three Persons was sent to them, and they were required to give their Voices for one of them. These were *John Fitz-Herbert*, *Richard Wheeler*, and one *Coleman*.

Compassion expressed to those who suffered, punished.

On the 14th of *January*, a Letter of a very singular Nature was written to the Lord Mayor, and the Sheriffs of *London*, "requiring "them to give such substantial Order, that when any Obstinate "Man, condemned by the Order of the Laws, shall be delivered "to be punished for Heresy, that there be a great Number of Officers, "and other Men appointed to be at the Execution; who may be "charged to see such as shall misuse themselves, either by comforting, "aiding, or praising the Offenders; or otherwise, use themselves "to the ill Example of others, to be apprehended and committed to "Ward: And besides, to give Commandment that no Housholder "suffer any of his Apprentices, or other Servants, to be abroad, "other than such as their Master will answer for. And that this "Order be always observed in like Cases hereafter. *Philpot*'s Martyrdom had been about a Month before this, and he being a Man highly esteemed, who went through all his Sufferings with Heroick

1554. Courage, and Christian Constancy, it is probable there was more than Ordinary Concern expressed by the People at his Sufferings; which drew this Inhuman Letter from the Council; for they had no Sacrifices at that Time ready to be offered.

While these Things past in *England*, the Scene abroad was considerably altered, by the Resignation of *Charles* the Vth, who delivered over his Hereditary Dominions to his Son *Philip*. He began that with the Dominions derived from the House of *Burgundy*; after that, he resigned up to him the Crown of *Spain*, and all that belonged to it: Upon that, Letters were written to the several States, and Cities of *Spain*, on the 17th of *January*. These were all in one Form: So that which was addressed to the City of *Toledo*, was sent over to the Queen, translated out of *Spanish* into *English*, which for the Curiosity of the Thing, I have put into the Collection.

Charles the Vth, the Resignation of *Spain*. *Coll. Numb.* 39.

In it, "he tells them that which he always denied to the *Germans*, "that for Religion's sake he had enterprized the War of *Germany*, "upon the Desire he had to reduce those Countries to the Unity of "the Church; that so he might procure an universal Peace to all "*Christendom*, and to assemble and assist at a General Council, for "the Reformation of many Things, that so with the less Difficulty "he might bring Home those who had separated themselves, and departed from the Faith. This he had brought to a very good Point, "when the *French* King allured the *Germans* to a League with him, "against their Oaths and Fidelity to the Emperor, and so they "made War on him both by Sea and Land; and then the *French* "King procured the coming of the *Turks* Army into *Hungary*, to "the great Damage of *Christendom*; upon which he was forced to "bring down an Army, to the great Prejudice of his own Person, "by his being obliged to keep the Field so long, that it had brought "on him painful Infirmities: He was upon that become so destitute "of Health, that he was not able in his own Person to endure the "Travel, and to use that Diligence that was requisite: which proved "a great Hindrance to many Things, of which he had a deep Sense: "He wished he had taken the Resolution he was now taking sooner: "Yet he could not well do it, by reason of his Son's Absence: For "it was necessary to communicate many Things to him. So he took "Order for his Marriage, and to bring him over to him, and soon after "that he resigned to him all his States, Kingdoms, and the Seigneuries of the Crown of *Castile* and *Leon*, with all their Appurtenances, which are more amply contained in Instruments which he "had signed of the same Date with this Letter. Trusting that he "with his great Wisdom and Experience, of which he had great "Proof in all that he had hitherto handled in his Father's Name, "would now Order and Defend the same with Peace and Justice. "He therefore having had large Experience of their Loyalty, Fidelity, and Obedience, did not doubt but that they would continue "to serve and obey him in the same Manner, and Sort, as if God "had taken him into his Mercy. Dated at *Brussels* the 17th of "*January* 1556.

Soon

Soon after that, he retired to the Place he had designed to spend the rest of his Days in; and, according to the Account given by my worthy Friend Dr. *Geddes*, there is great Reason to believe, that he applied himself to serious Reflections on Religion. No Prince knew better than he did, both the Corruptions, and the Practices, of the Court of *Rome*; and the Artifices and Methods by which two Sessions of the Council of *Trent* had been conducted. He must likewise have understood the Grounds upon which both the *Lutherans*, and the *Reformed* in *Germany*, built their Persuasions: He had heard them often set out: But the Hurry of Business, the Prepossession of Education, and the Views of Interest, had prejudiced him so far against them, that he continued in a most violent Enmity to them: But now that he was at full Leisure to bring all his Observations together, and that Passion and Interest had no more Power over him, there are great Presumptions to believe, that he died persuaded of the Doctrines of the Reformed Religion. *Augustin Casal*, a Canon of the Church of *Salamanca*, was his Preacher, and was esteemed the most Eloquent Preacher that *Spain* ever produced: He was taken up in the Year 1558, and with 13 more was publickly burned at *Vallidolid*, in the Year 1559. The Unfortunate Prince *Charles*, and his Aunt, Donna *Juana*, then Governess, looking on that Barbarous Execution. *Constantine Pontius*, a Canon of *Sevil*, who was his Confessor, esteemed a Man of great Piety and Learning, was likewise taken up by the Inquisition for being a Protestant: He died in Prison, probably enough by the Torture the Inquisitors put him to: But his Bones, with his Effigies, were burnt at *Sevil*: So were the Bones of the Learned *Egidius*, whom the Emperor had named to the Bishoprick of *Tortosa*, one of the Richest in *Spain*: And at the same Time 18 were burnt alive for being Protestants; of which the History of the Inquisition gives this Account, that had not the Holy Tribunal put a stop to those Reformers, the Protestant Religion had run through *Spain* like Wild-Fire. People of all Degrees, and of both Sexes, being wonderfully disposed at that Time to have embraced it: And the Writer of the Pontifical History, who was present at some of those Executions, says, that had those Learned Men been let alone but Three Months longer, all *Spain* would have been put into a Flame by them.

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Reasons to think he died a Protestant.

The most Eminent of them all was *Bartholomew de Caranza*, a *Dominican*, who had been Confessor to King *Philip* and to Queen *Mary*, and had been by her recommended to the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*. He had assisted *Charles* in the last Minutes of his Life. He was within a few Months after his Death, upon Suspicion of his being a Protestant, first confined by the Inquisition to his own Palace at *Tordelaguna*: And after he had been for Seven Years kept within that Confinement, he was carried to *Rome*, and kept Ten Years a Prisoner in the Castle of St. *Angelo*: And was at last condemned as one suspected of Heresy. That great Man had been sent by *Charles* as one of his Divines to the Council of *Trent*, where he preached, and wrote a Treatise of the Personal *Residence* of Bishops. These Things put together, make it highly probable, that *Charles* himself was possessed with that Doctrine that was so much spread among those who were then most about him. *Mezeray* tells us, " That at *Philip*'s Arrival in *Spain*, he

1554. "caused a great many to be burned for Hereticks in his own Pre-
"sence, both at *Sevil*, and at *Vallidolid*, both Seculars and Eccle-
"siasticks, Men and Women, and in particular the Effigies of his
"Father's Confessor: And if Reports may be believed, he intended
"to have made his Father's Process, and to have had his Bones burnt
"for Heresy; being only hindred from doing it by this Considera-
"tion, That if his Father was an Heretick, he had forfeited all his
"Dominions, and by Consequence he had no Right to resign them
"to his Son. This Digression will be forgiven me, I hope, both because it belongs to the main Design upon which I write, and since our Queen, was Queen of *Spain*, when this Persecution was first begun.

The Method in which the Queen put her Affairs.

There are in my Hands Two Papers concerning the Method in which the Queen ordered her Council to proceed; there is no Date put to them: But they were written, either soon after the King went beyond Sea, or perhaps about this Time; for now King *Philip* having the *Spanish* Monarchy put in his Hands, and being engaged in a War with *France*, the Queen had Reason to expect that her Dominions might feel the War very sensibly, as afterwards they did: And so it might seem necessary to put the Administration of her Affairs into a good Method. One of these Papers is writ in Cardinal *Pole*'s own Hand, and is a Memorial prepared for the Queen, of the Things that she was to recommend to her Council, for she had ordered them to attend on her. It is in the Collection. "First she was to put
"them in Mind of the Charge that the King gave them at his De-
"parture, which was to be rehearsed to them; and that is, perhaps,
"the following Paper: They were still to attend at Court, the Mat-
"ters they were to treat about being of great Weight; and they
"were to lay such Matters as were proposed in Council, before the
"King, that they might have his Pleasure, before they were to be
"Executed. They were in particular to know the Resolution of
"the Council, touching those Things that were to be proposed in
"this Parliament, and these were to be sent to the King that very
"Day: And since the King delayed his coming over, they were to
"consider whether it were not better to delay the Parliament 'till
"*Candlemass*, if there should be no Prejudice to her Affairs, that
"Money was so long wanted; for there was great need of it at pre-
"sent, for the setting out of Ships, both for the Emperor's Passage
"to *Spain*, and for the King's Return, for the Payments due at
"*Calais*, for the Debt owing to the Merchants, the Day of Pay-
"ment approaching, and for the Debt of *Ireland*: And she was to
"ask of her Council an Account concerning all these Things: She
"was likewise to charge them to call in her own Debts, as the best
"way to clear what she owed to others: And she was to offer them
"all Authority for doing it effectually; and to require them that at
"the End of every Week, she might know what came in that Week,
"and what Order was taken for the rest. And that all those who
"have any Commission to execute any Matter, shall at the End of
"every Week inform the Council, what Progress they have made
"that Week: And that the Council should never begin to treat of
"any Matter in the Second Week, 'till they were informed of what

Coll. Numb. 40.

"was done in the former Week." Thus She was to be taught what She was to say to them: Upon which they, who did not know how weak a Woman She was, might imagine that She understood her own Affairs well, and thought much of them: Whereas the poor bigotted Woman, was only, as a Machine, made to Speak and to Act as She was prompted, by those who had the Management of her: For, of her self, She seemed capable to think of nothing, but how to Destroy the Hereticks, and to Extirpate Heresy.

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The other Paper is in *Latin*, and seems to be that which the King had left behind him. It is also in the Collection. "He named in "it a Select Committee, to whom the Special Care of Matters of "State, of the Revenue, and the weighty Affairs of the Kingdom, "were to be referred. These (in a modern Term) were the Cabi-"net-Council; and the Persons were, the Cardinal, (in all great "Matters, when he could conveniently come) then the Lord Chan-"cellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Earl of *Pem-*"*broke*, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord *Paget*, *Rochester* the Comptrol-"ler, and *Petre* the Secretary. Every one of these was constantly "to attend, to Determine in all Matters of State and Revenue, and "to make Honourable Payment of all Debts, and to do every Thing "in which the Honour and Dignity of the Crown was concerned. "They were also earnestly prayed, to lay all Differences, or Quar-"rels among themselves, aside; that so they might amicably, and in "the Fear of God, deliver such Things in Council, as might tend "to the Glory of God, and the Honour and Good of the Crown "and Kingdom. And when there is Occasion for it, they were ei-"ther to come to the Queen, or to send some of their Body, to in-"form Her of every Thing that came before them: And at least "Thrice a Week, they were to give her an Account of all their "Consultations and Actings. In particular, they were to consider "when the Parliament was to meet, and what Things were to be "proposed, and done in it, and to digest all that in Writing. On "*Sundays*, they were to Communicate such Things to the whole "Council, as should be thought convenient to be laid before them. "They were to take special Care for the Payment of Debts, for the "Retrenching of Expence, and for the Good Management of the "Queen's Estate, Revenues and Customs, and for the Administra-"tion of Justice. Such were the Orders laid down: How they were executed, does not appear.

Coll. Numb. 41.

Proceedings against Hereticks.

The Queen her self never came to Council, and the Cardinal very seldom. Sometimes they were very few that attended at that Board; often, not above Three or Four. And now I return, to give an Account of what I find in the Council-Book. On the 19th of *January*, a Letter of Thanks was ordered to the Lord *Willoughby*, and others in *Lincolnshire*. At first, upon the Condemnation of Hereticks, Notice was given to the Council, before the Execution, to see if a Pardon should be offered them: But they found so few, if any, inclined to accept of it, that they did not think fit to expose the Queen's Pardon to any further Contempt: So those Persons are required to proceed thereafter, against all such as should be condemned before them, according to the Laws, and not to stay for any

1554. any Order. On the 20th of *January*, Letters were written to the Sheriffs of *Warwickshire, Bedfordshire* and *Cambridgeshire*, ordering them, that tho' the Prisoners should be acquitted by Order of Law, yet to detain them in safe Custody, till they should hear from the Earl of *Sussex*. On the 14th of *February*, the Council was alarmed with this, That a Stage-Play was to be acted in *Shrovetide*; and that many were to run to it: So the Lord *Rich* was ordered to hinder the Acting of it, and to examine and report what he could learn concerning it. On the 16th of *February*, there was an Order sent to Sir *Henry Bedingfield*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to put Two to the *Torture*, and to *Pain them at his Discretion*. On the 19th of *February*, a Letter of Thanks was ordered to the Lord *Rich*, for Stopping the Stage-Play. He had put the Actors in Prison, but he gave a good Character of them: So he was ordered to set them at Liberty; but to have a Eye on all such Meetings. Several Enquiries were made at this Time, after Seditious Books: Many Examinations and Commitments were made on that Account.

On the 20th of *April*, one *Harris*, a Carpenter and *Gunner* at *Deptford*, was brought before the Council, for having said on *Maundy-Thursday*, "The Queen hath this Day given a great Alms; and "has given that away, that should have paid us our Wages. She "hath undone the Realm too; for She loveth another Realm bet-"ter than this. He confessed the Words, but asked Pardon, and was dismissed. It seems, about that Time, they expected the King's Coming over: For, on the 1st of *June*, the Lord-Admiral was ordered to attend on him. On the 21st of *June*, an Order was sent to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and to a Master of Requests, to put one to the *Torture*, if he thought it convenient. Information was given to the Queen, by *Wotton*, her Ambassador in *France*, that several Hereticks had fled over to *France*, and were well received there: In particular, that *Henry Dudley* (perhaps a Son of the Duke of *Northumberland's*) and *Christopher Ashton*, were Plotting there against the Queen. Upon that, a Letter was written to *Wotton*, to demand that they might be seized on, and sent at her Charge to the Frontier, to be deliver'd to her Officers. When the Draught of this was brought to Her to be Signed by Her, She, with her own Hand, interlined these Words; *Considering that when the King my Husband and He were Enemies, I neither did, nor would have done the like.*

Paper-Office.

The Pope sets on a new War after a Truce was sworn to, and dispensed with the *French* King's Oath.

Wotton wrote over, that the Hereticks took great Advantage from the new War, that the Pope engaged the *French* King to make on the King, after a Truce for Five Years had been agreed to, and sworn by both Kings. But the Pope sent a Legate to *France*, to persuade that King to begin the War. And tho' the Consciences of Princes are not apt to be very Scrupulous in the Observing, or Breaking their Treaties; yet a Treaty, made and confirmed by an Oath so very lately, it seems, made such an Impression on that King, that so great an Authority was to be interposed, to give a Colour for the Breaking it. Those called Hereticks, took great Advantages from this to infuse a Horror

Horror in People at the Papacy, since one who pretended to be the Vicar of the Prince of Peace, became thus an open, and a perfidious Incendiary.

1557.



This of the Pope's Dispensing with a Prince's Oath, gave so great a Distaste every where, that I do not remember an Instance, in which it was openly put in Practice since that Time. But the Protestant Princes of *Germany* do believe, as one of the greatest of them told me, that the Confessors of the Princes of that Communion, have secret Faculties, to dispense with their Breach of Faith: Which is so much the more dangerous, the more secretly it may be managed. On that Ground it was, that the Prince who told me this, said, that in all their Dealings with Princes of that Communion, they took their Word, but would never put any Thing to their Oaths: For they knew, that the Popish Princes reckoned they were bound by their Word, as they were Men, and Members of Human Society; but for their Oaths, they reckoned these being Acts of Religion, their Confessors had it in their Breast, to tell them how far they were bound to keep them; and when they were absolved from any Obligation by them. But we have seen in our Days, to the no small Reproach of the Reformation, that Princes professing it, have in an avowed manner shaken off their Leagues and Alliances, with this short Declaration, *That they reckoned themselves freed from them*: As if they had been Things of so little Force, that they might be departed from at Pleasure.

Pole's National Synod.

Pole was now, in his Synod, labouring to bring the Clergy to their Duty. On the 13th of *December*, *The Institution of a Christian Man*, was divided in Parcels, to be examined by them: And some were appointed, to prepare a *Book of Homilies*. On the 16th of *December*, a Translation of the *New Testament* was ordered, and parcelled out: The *Seven Sacraments* were also treated of. On the 20th of *December*, the Cardinal sent an Order to the Prolocutor, to intimate to all the Clergy, more particularly to all Deans, that they should confirm no Leases, that had been made of their Benefices: This seems to be done in Obedience to the Pope's Bull, formerly mentioned, that condemned all Leases for a longer Term than Three Years. There was offered to them a Schedule, of some Terms that were to be carefully considered in the Translation of the New Testament. On the 8th of *January*, that was again considered: Propositions were also made, for having Schools in all Cathedral Churches. Thus *Pole* found it necessary, to give some Instruction in the Matters of Religion to the Nation: For an earnest Desire of Knowledge in these Points, being once raised and encouraged, it was neither safe nor easy, quite to extinguish that, which is so natural to Man: And therefore, instead of discouraging all Knowledge, and bringing Men to the State of Implicit Faith, without any Sort of Enquiry, he chose to give them such a Measure of Knowledge, as might be governed, and kept within its own Bounds. There was in this Synod a Question moved; What should be done with such of the Clergy, as should refuse to say, or come to Mass? But I do not see what was determined upon it. Nor do I see what Reason

1557. was given them, for another Petition to the Queen, Lords and Commons, for Maintaining their Liberties and Immunities, nor what Effect it had.

Pro certiore bonorum Ecclesiasticorum quantitatis & qualitatis ratione habenda, maius temporis spatium requiri videbatur.

Pole prorogued the Synod to the 10th of *November*, and from thence to the 10th of *May*. The Reason given, is, Because the Bishops were in their Visitations, which could not be soon ended; since a large Space of Time seemed necessary, for their Taking an exact Account of the Quantity and Quality of all Ecclesiastical Goods. I suppose, this was the Procuring Terriers of the Lands, and Inventories of the Goods belonging to the Churches: For many Orders were given out, for Restoring such Plate and Furniture, as could be found, that had belonged to any Church.

A great Scarcity of all Things.

From the 10th of *May*, *Pole* prorogued the Synod to the 10th of *November*: The Reason given, is, for the great Want and Penury of Victuals. For, I find, the Dearth at this Time was very great. Wheat was at 4 Marks the Quarter; Malt, at 2 Pound 4 Shillings; Pease, at 2 Pound 5 Shillings: But the next Harvest proving plentiful, it fell as low as it had been high. Wheat was at 5 Shillings, Malt at a Noble, and Rye at 3 Shillings 4 Pence a Quarter.

On the 28th of *July*, the Council hearing that some naughty Books were sent over, and concealed in the Dutchess of *Suffolk*'s House, ordered the Bishop of *Lincoln* to search for them, and to send them up. On the 19th of *July*, the Council was alarmed with Reports of Conspiracies in *Suffolk* and *Essex*: So they sent Orders to enquire about them; and about a Zealous Man, that went about carrying Letters and Books over the Country; from whence he was called *Trudge-over*; so he was ordered to be sought for. On the 15th of *August*, a Letter was written to the Mayor, Jurats, and Commons at *Rye*, to Chuse one of the Queen's Servants, to be Mayor for the ensuing Year.

Prosecution of Hereticks.

On the 21st of *August*, a Letter of Thanks was ordered for the Earl of *Sussex*, for his Diligence in apprehending those who spread about Lewd and Seditious Reports; with whom he is desired to proceed according to the Laws: And as for those Lewd Priests that had been married, and were found still to repair to their Women; they tell him, They had written to the Bishop of *Norwich*, to cause them to be apprehended, and punished. And a Letter was at the same Time ordered for the Bishop of *Norwich*, to that Purpose. On the 23d of *August*, a Letter of Thanks was ordered to the Lord *Darcy*, for his apprehending some ill-disposed Persons, who used Conventicles, and Readings, about *Harwich*. He was to get them to be Fined according to their Quality, and as he thought fit; and to bind them to appear before the Bishop of *London*: And a Letter was ordered to the Bishop, either to reduce them to the Church, or to order them according to the Laws.

On the 4th of *September*, the Earl of *Sussex* had moved, that Offenders should be proceeded against by Martial Law: His Zeal is commended; and it was written back to him, "That these deserved "to be so used; but that is not thought best: They are to be pu-"nished as the Laws order. But when they have had their Punish-

"ment,

"ment, he shall cause them to be kept in Prison, and in Irons, 'till "they know themselves and their Duty. On the 15th of *September*, a Letter of Thanks was written to the Earl of *Sussex*, and the Justices of *Norfolk*, for their Diligence in punishing one *Thomas Long*.

1557.

Calais in Danger of falling into the Hands of the French.

At this Time they were called on to consider of the Danger *Calais* might be in: So a State of the Fortifications, and of what was necessary to maintain the Place, was laid before the Council: But the giving Orders in that Matter was delayed 'till the King should come over, of which they were in daily Expectation: For on the 17th of *September*, they understood that the Emperor, with his Two Sisters, had embarked on the *Tuesday* before; and that the King was to come to *Calais*, and from thence to *England*. Privy Seals were at this Time sent about every where, for a Loan of Money; But it came in very slowly. Some took the Privy Seal, but did not pay in the Money. There was about 1000 Privy Seals given out, at 100 *l.* a-piece. On the 6th of *October*, a Letter was sent to *Calais*, to search for some who had fled from *England* thither: It is directed to the Earl of *Sussex*; which makes it probable they were Hereticks: For in that Matter, his Heart was entirely as the Queen's Heart was. On the 7th of *October*, the Lady *Throgmorton* was before the Council, asking leave to send some Supply to her Husband, Sir *Nicholas*, who was then in *France*: The Cardinal had told her in the Presence of the Lord Chancellor, and others, that for this one Time, the Queen allowed of it, so it did not exceed 40 Crowns. It seems the way of Exchange was much beset, when so small a Supply, from so near a Relation, could not be conveyed without such an Application. On the 17th of *November*, a Letter was ordered for the Bishop of *London*, to receive a Companion of him who was call'd *Trudge-over*, to be ordered by him according to Law; and they complain to him, that a Man and a Woman of *Colchester*, that had been sent to him, charged with Heresy, were returned back discharged by him, but were now worse than they were before. In another Book that seems to be the Minutes of the Council, it is entred that 24 Persons were discharged by him, who were still rank Hereticks.

I find at this Time the Council was much employed in the Matter of the Privy Seals. Our Fleet was then so inconsiderable, that 14000 *l.* being ordered to be applyed to the Fleet, by the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Admiral, both for Repairing, Furnishing, and Victualling it, they reckoned that when that was done, 10000 *l.* a Year afterwards, would Answer what was necessary. On the 19th of *February*, one *Christopher Howe*, was ordered to be proceeded against for some detestable Words, not fit to be heard: So it was ordered that only such Parts of them should be opened, as might serve for Evidence to the Jury. On the 21st, Complaints were brought of a Jaylor who suffered Hereticks to go freely about. On the 24th, the Queen expected Hourly to hear of the King's Arrival; so the Lord Admiral and others were ordered to attend on him. An Ambassador came at this Time from *Russia*; he landed in the *North* of *Scotland*, and was well received, and nobly treated by the Lord *Wharton*; for which, Thanks were written to him. Here several

1557. Orders are entred concerning the Lord *Sturton*, and his Servants: Three of them were ordered to be hanged in Chains at *Mere*.

An Account of Lord *Sturton*'s Execution.

I had in my former Work, given a due Commendation to that which seemed to me a just Firmness in the Queen, not to Pardon the Lord *Sturton*, for so heinous a Crime, as the Murdering Father and Son in so Barbarous a Manner. But since I have lived long in *Wiltshire*, I find there is a different Account of this Matter in that Neighbourhood. The Story as it has been handed down by very Old People, is this. The Day before the Execution was appointed, there was a Report set about, that a Pardon, or a Reprieve, was coming down: Upon which the Sheriff came to the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was then at *Wilton*, for Advice. That Lord heard the Report, and was much troubled at it: So apprehending some Message might come to him from the Court, he ordered his Gates to be shut somewhat early, and not to be opened 'till next Morning. My Lord *Sturton*'s Son came down with the Order: But since the Gates were not to be opened, he rode over to his Father, who received the News with great Joy. In the Night the Sheriff left *Wilton*, and came so secretly to *Salisbury*, that *Sturton* knew nothing of it, and believed he was still at *Wilton*, where he knew he was the Night before. But when he was so far gone, that the Sheriff knew he could not come back in Time to hinder the Execution, he brought his Men together whom he had ordered to attend on him that Day: And so the Lord was executed before his Son could come back with the Order to stop it: I set down this Story upon a Popular Report, of which I have had the Pedigree vouched to me, by those whose Authors, upon the Authority of their Grandfathers, did give an entire Credit to it. So meritorious a Man as the Lord *Sturton* was, who had protested against every Thing done in King *Edward*'s Parliament, had no doubt many Intercessors to plead for him in this his Extremity. I leave this with my Reader as I found it.

On the 20th of *March*, the King came to *England*. Orders being sent into *Kent*, that the Gentlemen should attend upon him in their best Apparel: Thanks were afterwards written to them for their Readiness in furnishing him with Post-Horses. On the 17th of *April*, Proceedings are ordered to be made upon a Book that is called Lewd and Seditious: And the Countess of *Sussex* coming over at this Time, and bringing Letters which gave some Suspicion, she was sent to the *Fleet*. She had been for some Years separated from her Husband: She was ordered to be examined strictly; but upon this and many other Occasions, Particulars are not set forth, and only a general Mention is made of the Minutes put in the Chest.

There is besides the Great Council Book, another Council Book, which, I suppose, might be the Minute Book, which was perused by my Learned Friend, Doctor *Kennet*, and who communicated to me all the Extracts that he had made out of it, and some other Manuscripts, which I never saw. It seems, it was apprehended that the *French* designed a Descent in *Dorsetshire*: So Orders were sent to make Musters in that County, and to have them in readiness, in Case of an Invasion, or a Rebellion: And 300 Men were sent over to *Calais*, with Orders concerning the Fortifications.

On

On the 14th of *June*, Complaint was made of some naughty Plays and lewd Books. The Council was often alarmed with these Plays; but it does not appear whether there was any Thing in the Plays with relation to Religion, or the Government; or whether it was, that they apprehended some Mischief from the Concourse of the People that those Representations brought together. One Sir *Thomas Cawwarden* was committed to the *Fleet*, for his Misbehaviour to the State: He was ordered to be kept a close Prisoner, with only one Servant, since he had made no manner of Submission, and had not acknowledged his Offence: but what this Offence was does not appear to me. On the 29th of *June*, Orders were given for sending 2000 Men to *Calais*, with Directions to distribute them to the Places about, that wanted a Reinforcement the most. 860 of them were ordered for *Guisnes*, and a Letter was written to the Mayor and Jurats of *Calais*, to continue their Mayor for another Year. On the 3d of *July*, the Cardinal made an Offer of 100 Men to serve the Queen: He was ordered to Levy them immediately, and to send them to *Dover*. 200 Foot, and 600 Horse more, were ordered in all hast for *Calais*: And Assurance was given, that more should quickly follow. There were then great Apprehensions of Disorders on the Borders of *Scotland*, which were wholly in the Hands of the *French*.

1557. The Allarms oft given of Plots.

Boner at this Time gave the City of *London* a most dismal Spectacle, a little removed from the City, perhaps for fear of a Tumult, at *Stratford*, where Thirteen Persons, Eleven Men, and Two Women, were burnt in one Fire. He had condemned Sixteen to be thus Sacrificed: But Cardinal *Pole* heard there was some hope of working on Three of them; so there came an Order to put them in his Hands: And he by the 26th of *July*, prevailed so far on Two of them, that a Pardon was granted to those Two who had been condemned by the Bishop of *London*, but were prevailed on by the Cardinal to abjure (a very extraordinary Thing, as is mentioned in the Pardon) and had received them into the Communion of the Church, " and " had upon that interceeded with the King and Queen for their Par- " don, which they, as true Sons of the Church, did willingly imi- " tate, and embraced this Occasion of shewing their Zeal. I cannot tell what became of the Third Person, whom he had taken out of *Boner*'s Hands.

A severe Prosecution.

Cardinal *Pole* saved Two Persons.

Rymer MSS.

Exemplo licet rarissimo.

But here I must lessen the Character of the Cardinal's Mildness towards Hereticks: For on the 28th of *March* this Year, he sent Orders to proceed against the Hereticks in his Diocese; and on the 7th of *July*, he sent a *Significavit* of some Hereticks to be delivered to the Secular Arm.

I find likewise by other Evidences, suggested to me by the Laborious Mr. *Strype*, that *Pole* was not so mild as I had represented him. *Parker* in his *British Antiquities*, which *Strype* believes assuredly he can prove that it was written by him; he calls him *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Carnifex & Flagellum*; The Whip and the Executioner of the Church of *England*: And *Calfhil*, a Canon of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*, in a Letter he wrote to *Grindall* Bishop of *London*, mentions the Proceedings of the Visitors sent to *Oxford* by *Pole*; who were *Brooks*, Bishop of *Gloucester*; *Cole*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s; and *Ormanet*;

1557. he sent them thither, not only to restore the Pope's Authority, but diligently to enquire if there were any who neglected the Pope's Ceremonies; and if there were any found, that were under the least Susuicion (*levissima Suspicio*) they were without any delay to eject them: He writes there was nothing Eminent in *Ormanet*, but intolerable Insolence; nothing could be imagined more Arrogant than he was. They raged, as he adds, against a great many in the University; and burned in the open Market-Place an infinite Number of Bibles, and other Books. The like Severity was practised at *Cambridge*; of which Mr. *Strype* promises an Account in the Life of *Whitgift*, now ready for the Press.

The Nation began to grow every where weary of the Cruel Executions of so many Hereticks: The great Promoter of these Barbarous Proceedings was the Earl of *Sussex*. He died in *March* this Year: For his Son *Thomas*, who succeeded to him in his Honour, was then Deputy of *Ireland*; and on the 1st of *April*, Order was given for a New Patent to him, by the Title of the Earl of *Sussex*.

The Nation abhorred this Cruelty.

At one Time Complaints were brought of the Sheriffs of *Kent*, *Essex*, *Suffolk*, and *Staffordshire*, and of the Mayor of *Rochester*, and the Bailiff of *Colchester*; that when some Persons being condemned for Heresy, were delivered to them by their Ordinaries, they instead of Proceeding to a present Execution, had delayed it: So Letters were ordered to them, requiring them to signify what it was that had moved them to stop the usual Proceedings. Information was also given of some lewd and seditious Words, spoken by some of the Queen's Houshold; upon which they were sent to Prison: And Orders were given to prosecute them. On the 3d of *August*, Thanks were ordered to be given to Serjeant *Brown* for his Proceedings with *Trudge-over*; and Orders were given for the disposing of his Head and Quarters. On the 7th of *August*, Sir *John Butler*, Sheriff of *Essex*, was fined 10 *l.* because his Deputy had respited the Execution of a Woman, condemned for Heresy, that should have been executed at *Colchester*; and he was to Answer for his Deputy's Fault. This perhaps is the same with that which was mentioned on the 28th of *July*. Many were ordered to be proceeded agaist for writing and spreading lewd and seditious Books. It seems the Lord *Rich* continued to give the Council notice, before they proceeded to any Executions in *Essex*, and so laid the Odium of the Severity on the Council, for shewing no Pity: So on the 6th of *August*, they wrote to him to proceed according to Law, and not to give them any more Trouble on those Occasions. Complaint was made on the 10th of *August*, of a bad Choice that the Town of *Calais* had made of a Mayor for the ensuing Year; especially in so Critical a Time. They were told that by such an Election, they might have their Charter to be brought in Question. On the 12th of *August*, Orders were sent to *Canterbury*, to proceed without delay against those who acted there a lewd Play that was sent up.

A great Coldness in those Matters at *Bristol*.

On the 15th of *August*, the News came of the great Defeat given *French* at St. *Quintins*: So an Order was sent to the Bishop of *London*, to publish that at St. *Paul*'s Cross. On the 24th of *August*, Letters were ordered to be written to the Mayor and Aldermen of

Briftol, requiring them to conform themfelves, in frequenting Sermons, Proceffions, and other Ceremonies, at the Cathedral: And not to abfent themfelves, as they had done of late, nor to expect that the Dean and Chapter fhould come with their Crofs, and in Proceffion, to fetch them out of the City; which was a Thing unfeemly, and out of Order. On the 2d of *September*, News came of the Taking of St. *Quintin's*; upon which, an Order was fent to the Lord-Mayor of *London*, to have Bonfires at Night, and to come the next Day to High-Mafs. On the 6th of *September*, an Order was fent to the Lord-Mayor of *London*, to apprehend thofe who had acted a Play, called, *A Sack-full of News*; but there was an Order fent foon after, to fet them at liberty. On the 6th of *October*, News came that Peace was made between the Pope and the King; upon which, the Council ordered High-Mafs to be at St. *Paul's*; and the Lord-Mayor was required to be there, and to have Bonfires over the City. The Council was, for fome Time, wholly taken up with the Matter of the Loan, and the Privy-Seals: And tho' the Government had certain Notice of the Defign of the *French* upon *Calais*, yet no Parliament was called, by which Money, and every Thing elfe that was neceffary to the Preferving it, could have been furnifhed. But the Spirit of the Nation was now much turned; and Compaffion began to rife towards thefe poor People, that were thus facrificed to the Cruelty of the Priefts, and the Bigotry of a weak peevifh Woman, fo that they would not venture on Calling one; but tried other ineffectual Methods of Raifing Money; which increafed the Jealoufy of the Nation, more than it added to the Queen's Treafure.

1557.

Boner call'd on by the Council to be more fevere.

Boner was again quickned, by another Letter, to proceed againft Hereticks: Upon which, he fent down Dr. *Chedfey* to *Colchefter*: Who, in a Letter that he wrote to *Boner*, on the 21ft of *April* 1558, tells him, That while he was Sitting at *Colchefter*, Examining Hereticks, he received a Summons to appear before the Council: But he defires, that *Boner* would make his Excufe, fince he was on the Great Work of finding out Hereticks, Anabaptifts, and other unruly Perfons, fuch as the like was never heard.

There is alfo in the Minute-Book, an Entry of the Letter of the 1ft of *Auguft* 1558, written on *Benbridge's* Account; who, when he was ready to be burnt, offered to Recant; upon which, the Sheriff of *Hampfhire* ftayed the Execution: For that he was chid; but a Letter was written to the Bifhop of *Winchefter*, to examine whether his Converfion was entire and fincere.

And now I have no more Light from the Council-Book: For that Authentick Volume goes only to the End of the Year 1557; the laft Paffage I find in it relating to Religion, being on the 15th of *December*: Then they wrote a Letter to the Bifhop of *London*, and fent with it the Examination of *John Rough*, a *Scottifh* Minifter, whom they had fent to *Newgate*, and required him to proceed againft him according to the Laws. It may be, perhaps, thought, that I have taken out of it nothing, but what related to Proceedings againft Hereticks: but that is, becaufe there is fcarce any thing elfe in it; for I have taken out of it every Thing that related to the Government, or that was in any fort Hiftorical. But the Council knew

what

1557. *what it was that the Queen's Heart was set on, and what would please Her most; and so they applied their Care and Diligence chiefly to that.*

There was a strange Spirit of Cruelty, that run thro' the Body of the Clergy: It was animated by the Government, and shewed it self in so many dismal Instances, in all the Parts of the Nation, that it struck People with Horror. This, joined with the intolerable Haughtiness of the King, and the shameful Loss of *Calais*, brought the Government under a universal Hatred and Contempt. In a Book corrected, if not written by the Lord *Burleigh*, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, entitled, *The Executions for Treason*, the Sum of those who suffered in this wretched Reign, is thus reckoned. "Four "Hundred Persons suffer'd publickly in Queen *Mary*'s Days, besides "those who were secretly murdered in Prison: Of these, Twenty "were Bishops, and Dignified Clergymen: Sixty were Women; "Children, more than Forty: Some Women big with Child; one "bore a Child in the Fire, and the Child was burned.

It does not appear, that the Bishops, or Clergy, shewed any great Inclination, to entertain *Pole*'s Project for the Reformation of Abuses; or that they were at much Pains, in the way of Instruction, to reduce the People. All that I find in this way, is, that *Boner* set out an Instruction for his Diocese, in the Year 1555. The People had heard so much of the Second Commandment, that he did not think fit to leave it quite out, as is done in most Catechisms of the Church of *Rome*: But yet he durst not venture on giving it honestly; therefore, instead of the Words, *Nor worship them*; he gave it thus, *Nor adore them with God's Honour*. *Watson*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, did in *June* 1558, put another out for his Diocese. It seems, he was in a high Degree of Favour with the Cardinal; since, notwithstanding the Zeal he expressed against Plurality of Benefices in One Person, he was allowed to hold the Deanery of *Duresm in Commendam*, when he was promoted to *Lincoln*. The License is in *January* 1557; in which it is said, that the Cardinal consented to it.

Paper-Office.

The first publick Occasion, that the ill-natured Pope found to express his Displeasure at *Pole*, was, upon the Death of *Day*, Bishop of *Chichester*. The Pope would not suffer *Christopherson*, the New Bishop, to be preconized in *Pole*'s Name, but did it himself, as *Karn* wrote over on the 10th of *April*. *Karn*, after that, on the 15th of *June*, wrote to the Queen, that the Pope had ordered Cardinal *Morone* to be imprisoned on the Account of Religion. Four Cardinals were sent to examine him. *Karn* adds, that he was in high Reputation at *Rome*, for his Sanctity: And he believed him a good Catholick, and a Holy Man.

Rymer.

The Papal Provisions in this Reign.

The Stile in which all the Bishops Bulls, during this Reign, did run, was, That the Pope, by his Apostolical Authority, did provide the Person to the See, and set him over it. Upon which, the Bishop so named did renounce every Clause in his Bull, that was in any sort prejudicial to the Crown: And the Renunciation being so made, the Custody of the Temporalties was given to the Bishop Elect. In the Bulls, no mention is made either of the Queen's

Recommending, not of the Chapter's Electing. *Rymer* has gathered the Bulls for *Exeter*, *Bangor*, St. *Asaph*, *Carlisle*, *Chester*, *Peterborough*, and *Lincoln*, besides those for *Canterbury* and *York*; and they all run in the Stile of Papal Provisions. Nor does he mention a *Conge d'Elire*, except for *Chester*, *Winchester*, *Carlisle*, *Lincoln*, *Chichester*, and *Peterborough*. There is something particular in the Restitution of the Temporalties of *Carlisle* to *Oglethorpe*: It is added, That he was to pay 400 Marks. I do not comprehend, what could be the Reason of this Singularity.

1558.

There was another Convocation in *January* 155⅞. *Harpsfield* was chosen Prolocutor. On the 28th of *January*, *Boner*, as the Cardinal's Commissary, proposed some Heads of Reformation; and the Lower-House desired Leave to offer their Propositions. On the 4th of *February*, a Subsidy was agreed to of Eight Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in Four Years; and on the 9th, he told the Bishops, that the Lower-House had agreed to it. Complaint was made of a Want of Priests, to Serve the Cures: In order to remedy this, and to provide a Supply for the Smaller Benefices, it was proposed, that no Priest should be taken up to Serve in the Wars. 2. That the Bishops might have Authority to unite Small Benefices, which the Priest should Serve by Turns. 3. That the Parishioners of Chappels of Ease, might be obliged to come to the Parish-Church, till Curates could be provided. 4. That Bishops might be authorized by the Pope, to Ordain *extra Tempora*. There was also some Consideration had, about the Furnishing of Arms; and a Decree passed, for the Provision of them, after the same Rate that the Laity had agreed to. But then the Convocation was prorogued, first to the 11th of *November*, and then to the 17th; on which Day the Queen died.

Proceedings in Convocation.

But now to open the State of the Nation: *Calais*, and the Places about, were lost; and the Nation was so exhausted, that the Supporting the Government was no easy Thing. The Persons most in Favour with the Two Kings of *France* and *Spain*, were Two Clergymen, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and the Bishop of *Arras*, soon after promoted to be a Cardinal. They saw, that the Continuance of the War made it reasonable on both Sides, not to put a Stop to the Progress of Heresy; tho' it had not that Effect in *England*: They therefore, at an Interview, projected a Peace; that so both Kings might be at full Leisure to extirpate Heresy out of their Dominions.

A General Treaty of Peace was opened.

In order to this, *France* was willing to make great Restitutions: Only, from the first Opening of the Treaty, they declared very positively, that they resolved never to part with *Calais*. A Treaty was opened; and the Earl of *Arundel*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and Dean *Wotton*, were sent to Treat in the Queen's Name. I shall here only give the Abstract of Two Papers, which I found relating to this Matter.

The first is, the Council's Letter to the Ambassadors, written on the 8th of *November*; which is in the Collection. The Ambassadors saw no Hope of the Restoring of *Calais*; so they had moved the Council, to lay the Matter before the Parliament. "It was "not

Paper-Office.

Small Hope of having *Calais* restored.

Coll. Numb. 42.

1558. "not thought convenient, to break it to the whole House: It was "thought best to begin with the Nobility; and some of the best "and gravest Sort. But before they made that Step, they thought "it necessary to ask the Queen's Mind: She thought it was best "to lay it first before the King. Upon which, they sent the Am-"bassadors with a Letter to the King; and resolved to stay till his "Answer came. They write, that the Queen was still sick, and "weak: they hoped for her Amendment; but they were driven to "fear, and mistrust the worst. In a Postscript, they tell them, "they had received the Ambassadors Letters of the 4th, by which "they saw the *French* were resolved not to restore *Calais*: And "that the King told them, that his Commissioners had almost agreed "with the *French* in all other Matters; but he would agree to no-"thing, unless the Queen was satisfied. The Council ordered the "Ambassadors to lay before the King, the Importance of leaving *Ca-"lais* in the Hands of the *French*; and how much it would touch "the Honour of the King and Queen, that so many Restitutions "being to be made on both Sides, this alone should not be restored. "The Subjects of this Realm would certainly be very uneasy at "this. The War was begun at the King's Request, and for his "Sake. If to other of the King's Allies, Places are to be restored, "that were taken from them some Years ago; what then can be "judged, if a Peace is concluded, without this Restitution? Yet, "on the other Hand, if there is an Agreement in all other Matters, (which is like a giving up of the Point) "much were to be endu-"red for the Wealth of *Christendom*. In these Matters, the Ambas-"sadors were ordered to deal plainly with the King, and to study "to know his Mind; since the *French*, keeping these Places, might "be as great Prejudice to his *Low-Countries*, as to *England*. They "desire a plain and speedy Answer, that they might know what to "offer to the Nobility and Parliament, with Relation to this "Matter.

The Answer to this belongs to this Reign; tho' it was written on the Day after the Queen died, signed by the Three Ambassa-dors. It is in the Collection. "They had written formerly, that "the *French* King had said, he would hazard his Crown, rather "than restore *Calais*: Yet, for all those high Words, they did not "quite despair. The Commissioners of both Kings had broke up "their Conferences, and returned to their Masters, to give an Ac-"count of what they had done, and to receive their final Orders. "The Ambassadors believed, that if the King insisted positively on "the Restitution of *Calais*, that this might induce the *French* to "agree to it: Whereas, if the King and his Ministers spoke but "faintly of that Matter, they were sure, the *French* would still re-"fuse to do it. Therefore they did not think fit to use any Words "to the King, to make him imagine, that the Queen, or the King-"dom, would consent to a Peace, without the Restoring of *Calais*: "because their Instructions were express in that Point. The King "continued to say, that he would make no Peace, unless the Queen "should be satisfied: So that if She and her Council continued to "insist

Coll. Numb. 43.

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" insist on that Point, they did believe the *French* would restore it,
" rather than lose the View they had of Peace. And whereas the
" Council wrote to them, that if all other Things were near agreed,
" much were to be endured for the Peace of *Christendom*; yet that
" all others should have Restitution, and that poor *England* should
" only bear the Loss, was hard; Especially so great a Loss: And
" they were so far from thinking that the leaving *Calais* to the *French*,
" would purchase a sure Peace, that they thought on the contrary,
" that nothing shewed more evidently, that the *French* did not intend
" to continue the Peace, with *England* especially, than their keep-
" ing of *Calais*. The *French* could easily annoy *England* on the
" side of *Scotland*: The Dauphin being then Married to the Queen
" of *Scots*: And what the *French* pretend to by that Marriage, was
" not unknown to them. (This probably was to claim the Crown of
" *England* upon the Queen's Death) Now if the *French* kept *Calais*,
" the *English* could neither hurt their Enemies, nor assist their Friends,
" or be assisted by them so easily, as when that Place was in their
" Hands. *England* would be shut out from the rest of *Europe*: The
" very Knowledge of the Transactions abroad would come late to
" them, and that Place would be a Scourge for *England*, as it was
" before *Edward* the IIId took it; which made him come with his
" Son, and but with a small Army from *Normandy* into *France*,
" and to March through *Picardy* to besiege it, the Enemy pursuing
" him with a greater Army; but he Fought through them, 'till at
" last he Fought them at *Cressy*, where, though the *French* were Three
" to One, yet he totally defeated them, and continued the Siege
" 'till he took it. So the *French* having *Scotland* on the one Hand,
" and *Calais* on the other, it was easy to apprehend what might fol-
" low on this. The *French* would sign any Terms with them to
" keep that Place. These would be only Parchment and Wax.
" They knew how many Parchments King *Francis* sealed to King
" *Henry*; and the present King to King *Edward*. They saw the
" Effects they had, and if a War should follow between *England*
" and *France*, they were not sure that *Spain* would join with *Eng-*
" *land*: Whereas now the King could not Honourably make any
" Peace without us: And he himself said he would not: So they
" did not think *Christendom* should have a good Peace, if *Calais* were
" left to the *French*: And it was certainly more the Interest of *Eng-*
" *land* to continue the War in Conjunction with the King, than to
" make a Peace, letting it go, and then be forced to begin a New
" War, and to have all the Burden of it lie upon *England*. All
" this they thought themselves bound to lay before the Council. The
" Bishop of *Ely* adds, that he was with the Commissioners by the
" King's Order, they had not yet agreed concerning the Matters of
" *Corsica* and *Siena*; the *French* have likewise demanded the Restitu-
" tion of *Navarre*: So that some thought the Treaty would be
" broken off without concluding in a Peace. The Earl of *Arundel*
" adds, that after they had gone so far in their Letter, he received
" a Letter from the Bishop of *Arras*, dated the 17th, in which he
" writes thus; The Bishop of *Ely* has told you on what Terms we
" were in this Purgatory, at his leaving us. The *French* told us

1558. " *Yesterday that they would condescend to every Thing rather than* " *yield in the Matter of Calais*; *or let that Place go out of their* " Hands. And we on our Part told them, that without full Satis- " faction to the Kingdom of *England*, we would not Treat with " them in any sort. And we parted so, that there is more Appear- " ance of a Rupture than of a Conclusion of the Treaty. But after all, our Ambassadors doubted much whether it would break off only on the Account of *Calais*. If they were in doubt about it, while the Queen was yet alive, it may be easily supposed that her Death put them out of all doubt concerning it.

A particular Relation of the Occasion of the Queen's Death.

And now I am come to the Conclusion of this Inglorious Reign. *Campana* gives a different Account of the immediate Occasion of the Queen's Death, from what is to be found in other Authors. He tells us that King *Philip*, seeing no hope of Issue by her, and that she was in an ill state of Health, designed a Marriage between the Duke of *Savoy* and the Lady *Elizabeth*: The Queen had a very bad Opinion of her Sister, suspecting she had ill Principles in Religion. King *Philip* thought the Duke of *Savoy* would be a firm Friend to him, and a constant Enemy to *France*. But he could never bring the Queen to hearken to this: Yet now that she was declining very fast, he sent over the Duke of *Feria* to propose the Match to the Privy Council, without any regard to the Queen; or to the Opposition she might make to it. And he ordered him to use all possible Means to bring it to a Conclusion. The Queen resented this highly; and when she saw it was designed to force her to it, she fell into an extreme Melancholy. The Privy Council did not entertain the Motion; and the Queen dying in a few Days, an End was put to it: For though I find the Duke of *Feria* was in *England*, upon Queen *Elizabeth*'s coming to the Crown, it does not appear that he made any Proposition of that Matter to her. What Truth soever may be in this, the Nation was now delivered from a severe and unhappy, though short Reign: In which, Superstition and Cruelty had the Ascendant to such a Degree, that it does not appear that there was any one Great, or Good Design ever set on Foot, either for the Wealth, or Glory of the Nation. The Poor Queen delivered herself up to her Peevish and Fretful Humours, and to her Confessor: And seemed to have no other Thoughts, but about the Extirpation of Heresy, and the Endowing of Monasteries. Even the War, that commonly slackens Vigorous Proceedings, had not that Effect here. Her inexorable Hatred of all she accounted Hereticks, was such, that I find but one single Instance of a Pardon of any condemned of Heresy: And that was upon the Cardinal's Intercession. God shortened the Time of her Reign for his Elects Sake: And he seemed to have suffered Popery to shew it self in its true and natural Colours, all over both False and Bloody; even in a Female Reign, from whence all Mildness and Gentleness might have been expected; to give this Nation such an evident and demonstrative Proof of the Barbarous Cruelty of that Religion, as might raise a lasting Abhorrence and Detestation of it.

It was visible that the Providence of God made a very remarkable Difference in all Respects, between this Poor short and despised Reign, and the Glory, the Length, and the Prosperity of the Succeeding Reign. So that as far as we can Reason from the outward Characters of Things, the one was all over Mean and Black, while the other shined with a Superior Brightness, to the Admiration of all the World. It wanted no Foyl to set it off, being all over Lustre and Glory. But if that was wanting, the Base and Contemptible Reign that went before it, could not but add to its Brightness.

1558.

A Parallel of Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign.

One amazing Character of Providence in her Death, and in the Great Successor that came after her, was, that at the Time that the Two Ministers, being both Ecclesiasticks, of the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, were designing a Peace, with the View of destroying Heresy upon the Conclusion of it; their Project was entirely blasted in so Critical a Minute: First by the Death of Queen *Mary*, and the Succession of Queen *Elizabeth*; and next by the unlooked-for Death of the King of *France* in *July* after: So that not that only the Design totally miscarried, but *France* fell under the Confusions of a Minority; under which, that they call'd Heresy gathered great Strength: And the Cruelty of the *Spanish* Government occasioned the Revolt of the *Netherlands*; while the Glorious Queen of *England* protected and assisted both so effectually, that King *Henry* the IVth owned his being supported by her in his lowest State, was the Chief Means that brought him to the Possession of the Crown of *France*: And the *United Provinces* had their main Dependance on the Protection and Assistance that they had from her. So mercifully did God deal with this Nation, by removing that Queen, that he had set over it in his Wrath, and so graciously did he Watch over the Reformation, that in the very Time, in which the Enemies of that Work, reckoned it was to be rooted out, he raised up a Glorious Instrument, that not only revived it among us, but by a kind and tender Influence watched over it, and protected it every where. So I now turn to View the Auspicious Beginnings of that Blessed Reign.

BOOK

BOOK VI.

Of the Beginnings of Queen Elizabeth's *Reign.*

1558.

NO Prince ever came to the Throne in a more clouded State of Affairs than this Queen did: The Nation was engaged in a War, both with *France* and *Scotland*. The Queen had no Ally, but King *Philip*: And though ſhe was ſenſible of her particular Obligations to him, yet being reſolved to make Alterations in Religion, ſhe knew ſhe could depend no longer on him, when once theſe ſhould be begun. The Duke of *Feria*, then his Ambaſſador in *England*, took all Occaſions to let her underſtand, that his Maſter was the *Catholick King*, and that therefore he muſt Protect that Religion. The Papiſts whom ſhe found in the Miniſtry, poſſeſſed her with Fears of Rebellions at Home, and of Wars from Abroad, if ſhe ſet herſelf to alter Religion. Thoſe ſhe brought into her Councils, in Conjunction with the Papiſts, chiefly *Bacon* and *Cecil* had been ſo accuſtomed to comply with what they condemned in Matters of Religion, that they brought themſelves to bear what they did not approve: And they apprehended great Danger if they ſhould proceed too quick in thoſe Matters.

Her Inclinations in Religion cautiouſly managed.

The Queen's Inclinations to the Reformation were univerſally relied on: Her Education and Knowledge; her bad Uſage during the former Reign; and her Title to the Crown, that was grounded on a Marriage, made in Defiance to the Pope, led all People to conclude, that what ſlow Steps ſoever ſhe might make in it, ſhe would certainly declare for it, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw ſhe could be ſafe in doing it. Upon this, ſome, whether out of a Forwardneſs of Zeal, or on Deſign to Encourage her, began early to pull down Images, and to make Changes: But on the other Hand, the Prieſts apprehending what was like to follow, begun at the ſame Time to allarm the People: Some broke out into Seditious Words, to animate the People againſt all Changes: And the Pulpits being all in their Hands, they had free Scope there to give the Allarm: Some went further, and called her Title to the Crown in Queſtion; and ſet up the Pretenſions of the Queen of *Scotland*, Of theſe, the Induſtrious Mr. *Strype* has gathered many Inſtances, that ſhewed on the one Hand their Seditious Tempers; and on the other Hand, the great Mildneſs of the Government, different from the Cruelty of the former Reign. To put a ſtop to theſe, ſhe did by one Proclamation prohibit all Preaching; and by another, all Alterations by private Hands.

As her Ministers advised this Caution in Matters of Religion, so they persuaded her to digest the Loss of *Calais*, and to come into a Peace with *France* and *Scotland*.

1558.

They likewise thought of New Alliances. In order to this, *Mount* was brought into *England* again; and had secret Instructions given him by *Cecyl*, to go to all the Princes of *Germany*, to know how far the Queen might depend on their Assistance; and to receive the Advices that the Princes offered, with Relation to the Affairs of *England*, and in particular, concerning a proper Marriage for the Queen. He found them ready to receive the Queen into the *Smalcaldick League*; chiefly, if the Reformation that was intended, might be made upon their Model. The Match they all proposed, was with *Charles* of *Austria*, the Emperor *Ferdinand*'s Second Son, Brother to *Maximilian*, the King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*; who was known to be a Protestant: For tho' he complied in the outward Acts of the Popish Worship, yet he had a Minister in his Court, whom he heard frequently Preach. Both the Elector *Palatine*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, assured *Mount*, that *Charles* designed, as soon as he durst, for fear of his Father's Displeasure, to declare himself of their Religion. He said to one of these Princes; "I love the "Religion that my Brother holds, and approve of it, and will, by "the Grace of God, profess it openly. He told him, that his Fa-"ther suspected this; and had pressed him to take an Oath, that he "would never change his Religion. He refused that; but said to "his Father, that he believed, as he did, all that was in the New "Testament, and in the Orthodox Fathers. Upon which, the Em-"peror said, I see this Son is likewise corrupted. They thought this Match would be a great Strengthning of the Queen: It would engage the whole House of *Austria* in the Protestant Religion, and unite the whole Empire in an Alliance with the *Queen*. This was writ to the Queen in the Year 1559; but in the Copy I saw, the particular Date is not added.

Mount sent to *Germany*.

A Match with *Charles* of *Austria* advised.

Cotton Libr. *Galba*, 11.

The News of the Queen's coming to the Crown no sooner reached *Zurick*, than all those who had retired thither, resolved to return to *England*. They had been entertained there both by the Magistrates and the Ministers, *Bullinger*, *Gualter*, *Weidner*, *Simler*, *Lavater*, *Gesner*, and all the rest of that Body, with a Tenderness and Affection, that engaged them to the End of their Lives, to make the greatest Acknowledgments possible for it. The first of these was, in all Respects, the Chief Person of that Society, with whom they held the closest Correspondence. *Peter Martyr* was likewise there, and was treated by them all with a singular Respect, even to a Submission. *Jewel* was first formed by him at *Oxford*, and so continued to his Death in a constant Commerce of Letters with him, writing always to him by the Title of *Father*. I saw a great Volume of those Letters, as I passed thro' *Zurick* in the Year 1685; so I was desirous to have the Volume sent me; but I found, that by their Rules, that could not be done. I also understood, that there were several Letters relating to our Affairs, scattered thro' several other Volumes; so Professor *Otto* did kindly, and with much Zeal, undertake to get them to be Copied for me. The Person who managed and

The Reformers return to *England*.

1558. and procured this for me, was that Pious and Learned Professor at *Geneva, Alphonsus Turretin*, born to be a Blessing to the State he lives in. He has given the World already, on many Occasions, great Instances of his exquisite Learning, and of a most penetrating Judgment, having made a vast Progress in a few Years; in which, a feeble and tender Body, tho' it is a great Clog that gives his Friends many sad Apprehensions, yet cannot keep down an exalted Mind, from many Performances, that seem to be above both his Years and his Strength. But how valuable soever these Qualities are, yet his Zeal for the Great Things of Religion, and his Moderation in Lesser Matters, together with a sublime and exalted Piety, is that which I observed in him, even when he was scarce out of Childhood, and have, with a continual Joy and Delight seen the Advances of it ever since. This grateful Account of him, I owe, not so much to his Friendship, (tho' I owe a great deal to that) but to his rare and singular Worth. By his means, I procured Copies of the Letters, that our Reformers continued to write, chiefly to *Peter Martyr*, *Bullinger*, and *Gualter*: And with them I have a solemn Attestation, under the Seal of that Noble Canton, of their being true Copies, carefully collated with the Originals; which I have put at the End of the Collection. If there had not been many Interruptions in the Series of those Letters, they are so particular, that from them we should have had a clear Thread of the History of that Time: But many of them are lost; and they are wanting on some of the most Critical Occasions. I shall make the best Use of them I can, as far as they lead me.

They were well received by the Queen.

Coll. Numb. 44.

Horn and *Sands* went first to *England*: So *Jewel*, who was following them, writes from *Strasburg*, on the 26th of *January* 1559, to *Peter Martyr*; and adds, "that they were well received by the "Queen; that many Bishopricks were void; *Christopherson* was "certainly dead: That *White*, whom *Martyr* knew well, had preach-"ed the Funeral-Sermon, when Queen *Mary* was buried: The Text "was, *I praised the dead more than the living*: In which he charged "the Audience, by all means, not to suffer any Change to be made "in Religion. Inveighing against the Fugitives, that might perhaps "return into *England*, he said, Whosoever should kill them, would "do a Deed acceptable to God. Upon this he writes, That both "the Marquis of *Winchester*, and *Heath*, Archbishop of *York*, seem-"ed highly displeased at it. He adds, That *Boner* was obliged to "restore to *Ridley*'s Executors, all his Goods that he had violently "seized on, and was confined to his House. I have seen a Copy of *White*'s Sermon. In it he commends Queen *Mary* for this, that She would never be called *Head of the Church*: Tho' the Falsehood of that is on Record, in the Writs that were sealed for above a Year after She came to the Crown. He runs out with great Fury against Heresy: *Geneva* is, in particular, named the Seat of it. He says, Queen *Mary*'s Death was like the Death of an Angel, if they were mortal. He insinuates his Fears of *flying in the Winter, on the Sabbath*, or *being with Child*; all which he represents as Allegorical. Yet he has some decent Words of the Queen; and says, they were



IOHAN: IEWELLUS Epus Sarisburiensis
A.D. 1562. Obiit A.D. 1572. Ætatis 40.

were to comfort themselves for the Death of one Sister, in the other that survived.

1559.

Gualter wrote to one *Masters*, who was the Queen's Physician, and was well known to him, on the 16th of *January*. "He congratulates the Happy Change of their Affairs. He wishes (I translate his Words strictly) that they would not hearken to the "Counsels of those Men; who when they saw that Popery could "not be honestly defended, nor entirely retained, would use all "Artifices, to have the outward Face of Religion to remain mixed, "incertain, and doubtful: So that while an Evangelical Reformation is pretended, those Things should be obtruded on the Church, "which will make the Returning back to Popery, to Superstition, "and to Idolatry, very easy. I write not these Things to you, he "adds, as knowing that there are any such among you; but I "write, from a Fear that there may be some such. For we have "had the Experience of this for some Years in *Germany*, and know "what Influence such Persons may have. Their Councils seem, to "a Carnal Judgment, to be full of Modesty, and well fitted for "carrying on an Universal Agreement: And we may well believe, "that the Common Enemy of our Salvation, will find out proper "Instruments, by whose means the Seeds of Popery may still remain among you. A little after he writes, That he apprehends, "that in the first Beginnings, while Men may study to avoid the "giving some small Offence, many Things may be suffered, under "this Colour, that they will be continued but for a little while; "and yet afterwards, it will scarce be possible, by all the Endeavours that can be used, to get them to be removed, at least not "without great Strugglings. Dr. *Masters*, in Answer to this, tells him, He had laid his Letter before the Queen, and that She had read it all. He promises to use his best Endeavours, for carrying on a Sound Reformation. This plainly insinuated their Fears, of somewhat like what was designed by the *Interim* in *Germany*.

Those of *Zurick* advise a thorough Reformation.

Coll. Numb. 45.

Francis, Earl of *Bedford*, had gone out of *England* in Queen *Mary*'s Time, and had stayed some Time at *Zurick*: He had expressed a true Zeal for the Reformation, and a particular Regard for the Divines there; of which, a Letter in the Collection gives a clear Account: And upon that they wrote often to him, and pressed him vehemently, to take care in the first Beginnings, to have all Things settled upon sure and sound Foundations.

The Earl of *Bedford* had stay'd some Time at *Zurick*, and wrote to them.

Coll. Numb. 46.

On the 24th of *January* the Convocation was opened; but the Bishops, in Obedience to the Queen's Proclamation against Preaching, did not think fit to open it with a Sermon. Those who I find are marked as present, are, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Lincoln*, *Worcester*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and the Abbot of *Westminster*: These appeared personally. And the Bishops of *Ely*, *Peterborough* and St. *Asaph*, sent their Proxies. But no mention is made of the Bishops of *Bath* and *Wells*, St. *David*'s, *Landaffe* and *Exeter*. All the other Sees were then vacant; *Canterbury*, *Salisbury*, *Norwich*, *Chichester*, *Hereford*, *Glocester*, *Oxford*, *Bangor*, *Bristol*, and *Rochester*; Ten in all. *Harpsfield* was chosen Prolocutor. He asked, What they had to do, and what was to be done, to Preserve

Proceedings in Convocation.

1559. Religion? The Bishops answered, they must pray the Queen, that no New Burden might be laid on the Clergy in this Parliament. This was to prevent the Demand of a new Subsidy, the former not being yet paid. In the 7th Session, the Prolocutor offered to the Bishops the Five Articles, mentioned in my History. These they had drawn up, for the Discharge of their Consciences, and they desired the Bishops to be their Leaders in this Matter. The Bishops received their Paper, and promised to offer it next Day to the House of Lords. In the next Session, the Prolocutor and Clergy came up, and asked the Bishops, if they had delivered their Paper to the House of Lords? *Boner* answered, That they had delivered it to the Lord-Keeper, the Mouth of that House; who, to all Appearance, received it kindly, or thankfully, (*gratanter*), but gave them no Answer. The Clergy desired the Bishops, to get an Answer from him, or at least to know his Pleasure before their next Meeting. In the 9th Session, the Bishops told the Clergy, that they had not yet found a fit Opportunity, to obtain an Answer from the House of Lords. On the 10th Session, *Boner* told the Clergy, That all their Articles, except the last, which was, " That the Authority " of Treating and Defining, in Matters of the Faith, of the Sacra- " ments, and of Ecclesiastical Discipline, belonged to the Pastors of " the Church, and not to the Laity; were approved by the Two Universities. After this came only perpetual Prorogations, from Day to Day, without any Business done, till the 9th of *May*, in which the Convocation was dissolved: So this was the last and feeble Struggle, that the Popish Clergy made in Convocation.

The Bishops oppose the Reformation in the House of Lords.

The Bishops stood firm in the House of Lords; where there were none of the other Side to answer them, few of the Temporal Lords being very Learned. They seemed to triumph there; and hung so upon the Wheels, that there was a slow Progress made. On the 20th of *March*, *Jewel* writes to *Peter Martyr*, " That after a Jour- " ney of 51 Days, from the Time he left *Zurick*, he got to *Lon-* " *don*; where he was amazed to find the Pope's Authority was " not yet thrown off: Masses were still said; and the Bishops con- " tinued still insolent. Things were beginning to mend a little. A " publick Disputation was then resolved on: And he adds, that the " Queen spoke with great Esteeem of *Peter Martyr*. The Inferior " Sort of the Populace was both ignorant and perverse. He tells " him, *Brooks*, Bishop of *Glocester*, whom he calls an *Impure Beast*, " was newly dead; and cried out, as he was dying, that he was " damned.

Coll. Numb. 47.

Jewel, in a Letter to *Bullinger* from *London* on the 22d of *May* 1559, which is in the Collection, after great Acknowledgments of his Obligations to him, and to all *Zurich*, " Thanks him for quick- " ning them to act with Zeal and Courage. There was need of it; " for besides those who had been always their Enemies, the Deserters, " who had left them in the former Reign, were now their most bit- " ter Enemies. Besides this, the *Spaniards* had corrupted the Morals " of the Nation to a great Degree. They were doing what they " could, and all Things were coming into a better State. The " Queen

Coll. Numb. 48.



NICOLAUS BACONUS Custos Mag: Sigilli A.D. 1559. Obiit A.D. 1578.

" Queen did very Solemnly refuse to be called *Head of the Church.* 1559.
" She thought that Title was only due to Christ. The Universities
" were strangely corrupted by *Soto*, and another *Spanish* Monk. It
" was scarce Credible how much Mischief they had done in so little
" Time. He tells him, that the Lord *Bedford* had asked him, what
" would be the most acceptable Present that he could send to him
" and his Brethren? He answered, Nothing could be so acceptable
" to them, as his expressing a Zeal for promoting the Gospel, and
" against Popery. That Lord assured him, he would do that Faith-
" fully; which, as he writes, he was doing very Sincerely. He
" writes also, how that several Princes were making Addresses to the
" Queen for her Marriage; but many suspected her Inclinations lay
" to one *Pickering*, a Worthy and Pious Man; and one of a most
" Noble Figure, as to his Person. He refers him for other Things
" to his Letters to *Peter Martyr.* On the 6th of *April*, *Jewel* wrote
a particular Account of the Disputation, which though it is upon the Matter, the same that is in my History, yet since it is both a Confirmation of it, and has some Circumstances that are New, I have put it in my Collection: " He tells him that *Cole* treated the Reformers
" with many Reproaches, and much Scorn: And called them Sedi-
" tious Incendiaries. He delivered his Speech with great Emotion,
" Stamping with his Feet, and putting himself as in Convulsions: He
" said the Apostles divided their Work into Two Provinces, the
" *Western* and the *Eastern*: The First, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* had
" given to them, where the Worship was to be all in *Latin*: The
" *Eastern* Division fell to the other Apostles; where all was to be
" performed in *Greek*. This he introduced with Pomp as a Thing
" certain. He affirmed that it was not fit the People should under-
" stand the Publick Worship; for Ignorance was the Mother of De-
" votion. The Paper prepared by the Reformers was read Gravely
" and Modestly by *Horn*: So that all who were present, he Names
" the Earl of *Shrewsbury* in particular, acknowledged the Victory
" was clearly on their Side: By this, and by what hapned the 2d
" Day, the Popish Cause sunk much in the Opinion of the People.

Coll. Numb. 49.

On the 28th of *April*, in another Letter, which is in the Collection, He tells *Peter Martyr* how earnestly the Bishops contended in the House of Lords. " *Vecknam* defended Monastick Orders, from the
" Sons of the Prophets; and the *Nazarites* among the *Jews*; and
" said, Christ and his Apostles were Monks. None struggled more
" vehemently than *Thirleby*. He saw a Design at Court of Seizing
" on the Bishop's Manors, and Assigning Parsonages to them instead
" of them; but he Laments most of all, that no Care was taken of
" Schools, or of promoting Learning. The Universities were in a
" most miserable Condition. The Earl of *Bedford* pressed the Queen
" to send for *Peter Martyr*: She said she would do it: But as much
" as *Jewel* desired to see him, he writes, that he would not advise
" his coming over, if he was not sent for with such an Earnest and
" Honourable Invitation as he deserved to have. He saw many of
" the Queen's Ministers were in hope to enter into the *Smalcaldick*
" League. And one who had been a Bishop, possessed them with an
" Opinion, that if *Martyr* were brought over, that would obstruct

Coll. Numb. 50.

1559. " the other Design: He expresses an ill Opinion of that Person, " but does not Name him: It must have been either *Barlo*, *Scory*, or *Coverdale*; for these were all the Bishops of the Reformation, that were then alive: *Coverdale*, as being a *Dane*, is the likest to have been engaged in the *Lutheran* Opinion: He concludes his Letter, that those who had returned from their Exile, were yet in great Misery, no Care being taken of them.

He complains of want of Zeal, and an excess of Caution.

His next is on the 10th of *April*, " He Laments the Want of Zeal " and Industry in promoting the Reformation; far short of what the " Papists shewed in Queen *Mary*'s Time. Then every Thing was " carried on violently, without staying either for Law, or Precedent. " But now every Thing is managed in so Slow, so Cautious, and " Prudent a Manner; as if the Word of God was not to be received " upon his own Authority: So that as Christ was thrown out by " his Enemies, he is now kept out by his Friends. This Caution " made that the Spirits of those that favoured them were sunk, while " their Enemies were much exalted upon it. Yet he acknowledges " that though no Law was made abrogating the Mass, it was in ma- " ny Places laid down. The Nobility seemed Zealous in their Ha- " tred of Popery. The Queen had indeed softned her Mass much; " but there were many Things amiss that were left in it. If she " could be prevailed on to put the Crucifix out of her Chapel, it " would give a general Encouragement: She was truly Pious, but " thought it necessary to proceed by Law, and that it was Dangerous " to give way to a Furious Multitude.

Cox, on the 20th of *May*, wrote to *Weidner*, another Divine of *Zurich*, whom he calls a Venerable Old Man. " He tells him that " they found the short Reign of Queen *Mary* had such Effects in hard- " ning the Minds of the People in their Superstition, that it would " not be easy to change the Nation. Great Opposition was made to " every good Motion, by the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* in the House of " Lords; for there was none there that could maintain Arguments " against the Bishops: But the Divines who were returned from their " Exile, were called to Preach at Court before the Queen; where " they plainly affirmed that the Pope was Antichrist, and that their " Traditions were Blasphemies. Some of the Nobility came every " Day over to them, and many of the People, but not one of the " Clergy: They stuck all together as a Body that was not to be moved. " He tells him the Event that the Publick Disputation had; and that " now King *Edward*'s Laws were to be revived. Thus, says he, " God has regarded the low Estate we were in, and with his Father- " ly Compassion has pittied us; and taken off the Cross we lay un- " der. God grant these his Great and Inestimable Benefits may ne- " ver be forgotten by us: But he Laments, that while there was so " great a Harvest, there were so few Labourers.

All Business was brought to a good Conclusion in Parliament. The King of *France*'s unlooked-for Death, had given such a Change to the Face of Affairs abroad, that the Queen and her Ministers seemed to be animated with more Courage than had appeared hitherto. Of this there is a Letter of *Jewel*'s in the Collection. In the Beginning of *August*, it appears from another Letter in the Collection, that

Coll. Numb. 51.

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Preachers were sent to many different Parts: "Many *Northern* 1559.

" Counties were assigned to *Sands*. *Jewel* had a large Province;
" he was to make a Circuit of about 700 Miles, through *Berkshire*,
" *Gloucestershire*, *Somersetshire*, *Devonshire*, *Cornwall*, *Dorsetshire*,
" and *Wiltshire*. The Popish Bishops made a very poor Addresś to
" the Queen, persuading her not to change the State of Religion,
" to which she answered very resolutely: And they, rather than
" Abjure the Pope once more, which they had often done before,
" were resolved now to relinquish their Bishopricks. It was plain
" they had no Religion among them; yet now they pretended Con-
" science. They were full of Rage, and one of the Artifices they
" used at that Time to keep the People from receiving the Reforma-
" tion, was the giving out of Prophecies, that this Change would be
" short-lived. Howsoever the Queen had Courage: So he thanks
" God for the State to which their Affairs were then brought. Mat-
" ters went well in *Scotland*; *Knox* was preaching in many Places
" of the Country well guarded; the Monasteries were every where
" pulled down, and all the Superstitious Stuff that was in them, was
" destroyed. The Young King of *France* took among his Titles,
" both *England* and *Scotland*. He understood it was designed to
" make himself Bishop of *Salisbury*, but he was positively resolved to
" decline it. In the Letters sent me from *Zurich*, I fine none of
Grindall's on this Occasion: But Mr. *Strype* in his Life has informed
the World, that *Grindall* when he knew he was designed to be a
Bishop, wrote to *Peter Martyr* for his Opinion in several Matters.
I shall give the Substance of his Letter: "He did not approve of
" the Queen's taking away the Estates of the Bishopricks, and giving
" them Parsonages instead of them: He thought this was the Patri-
" mony of the Inferior Clergy; so he did not see how they could
" be supplied, if these were given to the Bishops. He had also a
" Doubt concerning the Popish Vestments: At another Time he
" asked his Advice whether the Popish Priests upon their changing
" again, should be received and continued in their Functions? Or
" whether such of them as had been concerned in the late Cruelty,
" ought not to be prosecuted for that?

Peter Martyr's Advices to *Grindall*.

To all this *Peter Martyr* answered, "That for the taking away
" the Bishops Estates, and giving them Parsonages for them, they
" could neither hinder, nor help it: But they ought out of them
" to support the Clergy, that laboured in those Parishes: For the
" Habits, he confessed he did not love them: For while he was a
" Canon in *Oxford*, he never would use the Surplice. He thought
" they ought to do what they could to get them to be laid aside;
" but that if that could not be done, he thought he might do more
" good even in that Particular, by submitting to it, and accepting a
" Bishoprick, which might give him an Interest to procure a Change
" afterwards. As for the Popish Priests, he advised the forgiving
" all that was past; and the receiving them according to the Pra-
" ctice of the Primitive Church, in the Return of the *Arians* to the
" Orthodox Body. But they were to watch over them, and to in-
" struct and examine them with more Care: This Answer came too
late; for *Grindall* was consecrated before he got it; but it was, no
doubt,

1559. doubt, a great Satisfaction to him, to find that a Person whom he esteemed so highly, approved of the Resolution that he had taken: In which it was probable *Jewel's* Opinion, of whom they had all a high Esteem, might contribute to settle him; for though he disliked the Use of those Vestments, and treats the Insisting so much on it with great Contempt; yet on the other Hand, he blames those who laid too much Weight upon that Matter, and so looked on it as a Thing of more Importance than truly it was.

They all rejoyced in the Happy Turn of Affairs then in *Scotland*, the much greater Part of that Nation declaring themselves openly, and zealously against Popery.

The Beginnings of the Reformation in the Parliament of *Scotland*.

Here I shall insert an Account concerning *Scotland*, of what happned in the Reign of King *Henry*; but that came not to my Knowledge, 'till the Impression of this Volume was advanced to the Reign of Queen *Mary*. The *Scottish* Nation was so well disposed towards the Reformation, that immediately upon King *James* the Vth's Death, which was in *December* 1541, there appeared a wonderful Inclination among them to be better informed in Matters of Religion. Cardinal *Beaton* to prevent this, had got a Will to be forged in the Name of the deceased King, constituting him Regent: But as that was discovered to be a Forgery, so the Nobility had no Regard to it, but owned the Earl of *Aran* to be the Second Person in the Kingdom; and that he was next to the Young Queen, and the Heirs of her Body, the Heir of the Crown. So they took the Oaths of Allegiance to the Queen, as their Sovereign; and to the Earl of *Aran* as their Governor 'till the Queen was of perfect Age: And upon that the Cardinal was secured.

A Parliament was summoned to meet in *May* 1542, in which the Regency of the Earl of *Aran* was of new confirmed on the 13th of *May*; and all the Subjects were required to obey him in all Things pertaining to that Office, conform to the Acts formerly made, which were again ratified by that Parliament. They also ratified the Oaths that had been taken to him by some Lords Spiritual and Temporal; and all who were present, were required to confirm these Oaths, by Solemn Oaths in full Parliament; which they all did by the holding up of their Right Hands, swearing that they would be True and Obedient to the Lord Governor, and serve him with their Persons, Kindred, Friends, and Goods, and no other, during the Queen's Non-age.

On the 15th of *May*, they ordered an Authentick Publication to be made of all they had done under the Great Seal; and they all affixed their Seals to the Instrument made to confirm this Settlement. On the same Day a Council was named; Six of these was the Number that was at the least necessary to concur with the Governor. The Cardinal was not one of them: The Archbishop of *Glasgow*, who was Lord Chancellor; with the Bishops of *Aberdeen*, *Murray*, *Orkney*, *Ross*, and *Brichen*; and the Abbots of *Dunfermlin*, and *Cowper*, were for the Ecclesiastical State. The Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley*, *Murray*, *Argyle*, *Bothwell*, *Marshall*, *Cassilis*, and *Glencairn*; and the Lords *Erskin*, *Ruthuen*, *Maxwell*, *Seton*, and *Methuen*, for the Nobility; with some other Commoners of the Boroughs: After

whom, the Treasurer, the Secretary, the Clerk of Register, the Justice Clerk, and the Queen's Advocate are named. It seems they intended that no Peers should be created, but with the Concurrence of the Parliament: For the Governor, with the Advice and Consent of the Estates of Parliament, made the Lord *Stewart* of *Ochiltry*, a Peer, to have Vote and Place in Parliament. In the same Record, mention is made of the Draught of an Act offered by the Lord *Maxwell*, to the Lords of the Articles, in these Words.

1559.

It is statute and ordained, that it shal be lawful to all our Soveraign Lady's Lieges, to have the Holy Writ of the New Testament and the Old, in the Vulgar Tongue, in Inglis *or* Scotts, *of a good and tru Translation; and that they shall incurre no Crime, for the having, or reding of the same. Provided always, that no Man dispute, or hold Opinions, under the Pains contained in the Acts of Parliament.*

The Lords of Articles found this reasonable; and thought, that the Bible might be used among all the Lieges of the Realm, in our Vulgar Tongue, of a good, true, and just Translation; because there was no Law shewed to the contrary. And therefore they agreed, that none should incur any Crime for having, or reading it, nor be accused for it; but added the *Proviso*, that was added to the Draught offered to them.

The Use of the Scriptures in the Vulgar Tongue much opposed:

But the Archbishop of *Glasgow* did, in his own Name, and in the Name of all the Prelates of the Realm, that were present in Parliament, when the Act came to be read in full Parliament, *dissent* (simpliciter) *to it, as being One of the Three Estates of the Parliament: And they opponed them thereto, unto the Time that a Provincial Council might be had of all the Clergy of this Realm, to advise and conclude thereupon; if the same be necessary to be had in the Vulgar Tongue, to be used among the Queen's Lieges, or not; and thereafter to shew the utter Determination, that shall be done in that Behalf.* Upon this, he demanded an Instrument to be made, according to the Forms in that Kingdom. But notwithstanding this Opposition, the Act passed. For in the same Record, there is an Order entred, as signed by the Governor, requiring the Clerk of Register, to cause the Acts passed in Parliament, to be proclaimed; *And in special, the Act made for having the New Testament in Vulgar Tongue, with certain Additions.* In the Copy sent me, this bears Date the 19th of *March*, but I believe it should be *May*; since the Matter was not before the Parliament till *May*. I have set down all this Matter, almost in the Words of the Record of Parliament, that was sent me.

But granted.

In the same Record, the Instructions are set down, that were given to the Ambassadors, that were sent to Treat concerning the Queen's Marriage, with *Edward* then Prince of *Wales*: In which it appears, that they thought it necessary, if their Sovereign went out of the Kingdom, even after She was of perfect Age, yet that the Governor of the Realm should continue to exercise his Authority all the Days of his Life: And that after his Death, the nearest Lawful Person of the Blood should succeed to the said Office, by a

Large

1559. Large and Ample Commission ; of which, they order a Form to be devised.

The free Use of the Scriptures, was a great Step to let the Nation look into the Nature of the Christian Religion: And the Clergy foresaw well the Consequences, that would naturally follow upon it ; so it was no wonder, that this was opposed so zealously by them. It was a great Piece of Foresight, to Secure the Nation, by having a Governor with full Powers still residing amongst them. In the subsequent Treaty with *France*, there was not that Care nor Precaution used : But at the Conclusion of the Marriage, the *French* proceeded in so perfidious a manner, as to give a Warning to all, who in future Times should Treat with that Court. For on the 4th of *April* 1558, (a Fortnight before the Articles of the Marriage were settled, which was on the 19th of *April*) the Young Queen being then but little more than Fifteen, a Secret Act was pass'd ; In which, after She had set forth the Ancient Alliance between the Two Crowns, and the Honourable Entertainment that She had received from the present King of *France* ;

A perfidious Proceeding of the Court of *France*.

" She, to Confirm and Establish the Affection between the Two " Kingdoms, and in order to Unite the Kingdom of *Scotland* to the " Crown of *France*, in case She should die without Heirs of her " Body, had made some Dispositions in Favour of the Crown of " *France*, which She intended should have their full Effect: Yet " She, by a Communication with the Deputies sent from *Scotland*, " saw into the Secret Designs of some, who were practising to the " Effect, that in Default of Heirs of her Body, the Crown should " descend to some Lords of the Country ; depriving her by that " means, to her great Regret, of the Power of Disposing of it. " Yet since She could not at that Time openly oppose them, for certain just Causes of Fear ; and considering that She was out of her " Kingdom, and had no Strong Places in it at her own Disposal ; " and that great Troubles might arise, if what She was then doing " should be publickly known ; especially considering the present " War with the Kingdom of *England* : She therefore did protest, " that what Consent, or Agreement soever She should make to the " Articles and Instructions sent over by the States of her Kingdom, " with Relation to the Succession, in case She should die without " Heirs of her Body ; She intended still, that the Disposition then " made in Favour of the Crown of *France*, should have its full " and entire Effect, notwithstanding any Agreement She had made, " or should yet make, conform to these Instructions, as a Thing con- " trary to her Will and Intention. Upon which, She demanded an Act from the Keeper of the Great Seal, *Bertrandi*, who was made a Cardinal that Year.

Recueil des Traites, To. 2. p. 508.

This Instrument was signed by her, and by the Dauphin ; and is printed in that Great Collection of the Treaties of *France*, that was published Twenty Years ago. It opens a Scene of Treachery ; that how much soever the Design was suspected, (as will appear by the Paper, of which an Account will be given in the following Relation) yet it was never certainly known, till they themselves have made their

their own Shame thus known to the World. But at that Time, this was so carefully concealed, that *Francis* the IId sent a formal Obligation under his Great Seal; by which he bound himself to the Duke of *Chatelberault*, to maintain his Right of Succeeding to the Crown of *Scotland*, in case the Queen should die without Heirs of her own Body. The Original Obligation is still preserved in *Hawdton*. The Queen's Secret Act was as ill grounded in Law, as it was perfidious in it self: For certainly, what Power soever our Princes, with the Concurrence of their Parliaments, have to Limit the Succession to the Crown, our Princes themselves cannot, by any private Act of their own, alter the Succession, or dispose of it at Pleasure. But to return to that, which has led me into this Digression.

1559.

The Knowledge of Religion, that the free Use of the Scriptures brought the Nation to, had such an effect, that the Reformation was every where desired; and the Vices and Ignorance of the Popish Clergy, gave all People an Aversion to them. This was long connived at even by the Queen Mother, during her Government: But now that She thought all was sure, She threw off the Mask, and declared her self an open Enemy to those whom She had courted hitherto, and seemed to favour. Upon this, there was a great and a sudden Turn. Popery was the Object of all Men's Hatred: The Churches were purged from Idolatry and Superstition: The Monasteries were broke into; and many Acts of hot and irregular Zeal, were complained of in all the Corners of the Kingdom.

One Thing is not a little to the Honour of *Knox*, and his Followers, in that Tumultuary Reformation, that the Multitude was so governed, even amidst all that Popular Heat, that no Blood was shed, and no Man was killed in it: Which being positively delivered by * *Lesley*, Bishop of *Rasse*, that must be looked on as a Testimony beyond Exception.

* *Nobilium qui Hæreseas obstringebantur crimine, humanitas non est reticenda, quod eo tempore paucos Catholicos de Religionis re mulctarint exilio, pauciores carcere, morte nullos.* Leslæus de Rebus Scot. l. 10.

But since the Affairs of *Scotland* have not hitherto been so clearly represented, as I find them stated in some Original Papers, that I fell on in the *Cotton* Library; I will give a full Account of them, as far as those Papers do guide me.

There is a long Representation drawn up, of the Breach of Faith, and of the Violation of their Laws, during the Government of the Queen Regent of *Scotland*: At the End of which, there is a Petition to the Queen, signed by the Great Lords of that Kingdom, in which both Papists and Protestants concurred. And in order to obtain that Concurrence, the Matters of Religion are not insisted on; but the continued Course of a perfidious and illegal Administration, is charged on the Queen Dowager. So that from this it appears, that the War was not begun, nor carried on upon the Account of Religion, but upon the Pretence of Publick and National Rights. I have put it in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 53.

" They begin it to show, that the Arms that they were forced
" to fly to, was no Rebellion. They run the Matter back to the
" first Proposition, for Carrying their Queen into *France*: Which,
" they say, was obtained, partly by Corruption with Money, partly
" by Authority, and partly by fair Promises: Yet before that was

1559. " agreed to, a Treaty was made by the Parliament, and ſworn to, " as well as ratified by the Great Seals of the King, and Dauphin " of *France*, That *Scotland* ſhould be governed by their own Laws, " and by the Nobility and People of *Scotland*: That all Offices " ſhould be given to them; and, That no Gariſons of the *French* " ſhould be admitted to Settle in the Kingdom. Great Practice was " made after that, to bring the Parliament to conſent, that their " Queen ſhould marry the Dauphin: And to obtain that, the Suc- " ceſſion to the Crown was declared to belong to the Duke of *Cha- " telberault* and his Heirs, after the Heirs of the Queen's Body. " New Oaths were then taken, and Charters given under the Great " Seal of *France*, and under their Queen and the Dauphin's Seal, " that *Scotland* ſhould be governed by a Council of Natives: The " Caſtles were alſo to be put in ſure Hands. Duplicates of theſe " were lodged in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and with the Duke of " *Chatelberault*. Upon this, an Embaſſy was ſent to *France*, of " Two Biſhops, Two Earls, and Four Lords; and the Marriage was " concluded. They were upon that dealt with, to endeavour, that " the Crown of *Scotland* might be given to the Dauphin. They " refuſed to undertake that; and believed, that it could not be " brought about. The Word upon that was changed. And it was " deſired only, that the *Matrimonial Crown* might be ſent him; (which was afterwards explained in the Act of Parliament that granted it, that he ſhould be King of *Scotland* during Life.) " The " Lords were ſuffer'd to return: But when they came to *Diep*, One " Biſhop, Two Earls, and Two Lords died in one Night. The " Three that were left, came home much amazed, believing that the " others had been poyſoned.

Here I muſt add another Particular, relating to that Deputation. In the Council-Book, that goes from *April* 1554, to *January* 1558, that was caſt by and neglected, many Leaves being cut out of it, and was firſt diſcover'd by a Nephew of mine, whom I deſired to ſearch their Regiſter for me; it appears, that on the 13th of *December* 1557, there was a Tax laid on the Kingdom, to be paid in before *Eaſter*, for the Expence of that Embaſſy, of 15000 Pounds *Scots* Money, that is 1250 *l.* Sterling; which was to be Levied by the ſame Proportion that all the Taxes were then Levied; of which there are ſeveral Inſtances in that Book: The One Half was Levied on the Spiritualty; and Two Thirds of the other Half was on Eſtates in Land, and the other Third was Levied on the Boroughs. This ſhews, that the Eſtates of the Spiritualty were then reckoned, by a ſettled Proportion, the full Half of the Kingdom. The Perſons deputed, were, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Biſhop of *Orkney*, and the Prior of St. *Andrews*, (afterwards Earl of *Murray*) the Earls of *Caſſiles* and *Rothes*, and the Lord *Fleming*; with the Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, and of *Montroſs*. When I wonder'd how ſo ſmall a Sum could anſwer the Expence of ſo great an Embaſſy, on ſuch an Occaſion; he ſhewed me, That either the Value of Money, or, which is the ſame Thing, the Value of Things to be purchaſed by Money, is almoſt incredibly changed now, in the Courſe of

of 160 Years; of which he gave me this Instance; the Tun of Wine was then by Act of Parliament to be Sold at 20 *Livres*; or in *Sterling* Money, at 1 *l.* 13 *s.* 4*d.* and in the retailing it, their Pint, which is 4 *English* Pints, was to be sold at 4 Farthings, their Peny having 6 Farthings; so that reducing this to *English* Measures, 3 Quarts of Wine were to be sold at a Peny. This I thought was a small Digression, which the Reader would not be ill pleased to find laid in his Way. To return to the *Scotch* Memorial.

1559.

" The Queen Dowager took Two Methods to gain her Point: " The one was, to shew Favour to all those who had received no " Favour of the Duke during his Government, because they were " in the Interest of *England*; whereas he was at that Time in the " Interest of *France*: The other was, she offered them a Permission " to live according to their Conscience in Religion; in Conclusion, " the Queen Dowager brought the Parliament to give the *Matrimonial Crown* to the *Dauphin*; but with this Condition, that the " Duke's Right should not be impaired by it.

When all this was obtained, the Queen forgot all her Promises: " She began with the greatest of the *Scottish* Lords then in Office; " the Earl of *Huntly*, who was then Lord Chancellor, and the Duke's " particular Friend: She took the Great Seal from him, and gave it " to one *Rubay*, a *French* Advocate: She also put the Earl of *Huntly* " in Prison, and set a great Fine on him, and left him only the " Name of *Chancellor*. She made another *Frenchman* Comptroler, " who had the Charge of the Revenue of the Crown: And she put " all *Scotchmen* out of the Secrets of the Council, committing these " only to *Frenchmen*. She kept in several Places Garisons of *Frenchmen*, who lived on Discretion. She gave them no Pay. She sent " the Revenue of the Crown to *France*; and brought over some base " Money that was decried in *France*, and made it current in *Scotland*. " She also set up a Mint for coyning base Money, with which she " paid the Soldiers. She tried to get the Castle of *Edinburgh* " into her Hands, but that failed her. She gave such Abbeys as fell " void, to *Frenchmen*, as to her Brother the Cardinal of *Guise*, and " others: And for the Space of Three Years, she kept all that fell void " in her own Hands, except such as were of any Value; and these " she bestowed on *Frenchmen*. Nor did she ever follow the Advice " of those Lords, who upon her first entring upon the Government, " were named to be of the Council. Many Intercessions were made " to her upon these Proceedings, by the Nobility: Sometimes Companies of them joined together; and sometimes they applied to her " more privately, for they foresaw that they could not be born " long.

" The Queen Dowager set herself next to a Practice, which of " all others was both the most Dangerous, and the most Dishonourable, to set aside the Duke and his House: Pains was taken to engage the Lord *James*, and other Lords in it, who had no Friendship for the Duke; to whom the Queen Dowager promised that " she would bear with their Devotion in Religion, if they would " join with her against the Duke, in Favour of the *French*. This " encouraged them to do those Things, by which they incurred the

1559. " Censures of the Church; and were by Reason of a Law not much
" known, brought in Danger of the Guilt of Treason: So Process
" was ordered against them: And upon that, the Queen Dowager
" tempted them to engage in the *French* Interest: But that not pre-
" vailing, they were declared Traytors. The rest of the Nobility
" being allarmed at this, the Queen Dowager brought out her
" *French* Garisons, and dispos'ed of their Estates, and entered into
" St. *John*'s Town, in a Warlike Manner: She changed the Magi-
" strates, and left a Garison in the Town. The Whole Nation was
" allarmed at this, and were coming together in great Numbers. But
" she not having Force enough to Conquer the Nation, sent for the
" Duke, and the Earl of *Huntly*, and employed them to quiet the
" Country; promising that every Thing should be redressed in a
" Parliament that should be held next Spring, with many other more
" particular Promises: Upon this Assurance, these Lords quieted the
" Country: While this was a doing, the Duke's Eldest Son being
" then in *France*, was sent for to Court, but he had secret Adver-
" tisements sent him, that it was resolved to proceed against him to
" the utmost Extremity for Heresy: Upon which he kept out of the
" Way, 'till an Order was sent to bring him in Dead, or Alive:
" Upon that he made his Escape; but they seized on a Younger Bro-
" ther of his, of the Age of 15, and put him in Prison.

" In *Scotland* the Nobility had separated themselves, trusting to
" the Faith that the Duke had given them, that all Things should be
" kept quiet 'till the Parliament. But some Companies coming out
" of *France* to *Leith*, the Queen Dowager ordered that Town to be
" fortified, and put 22 Ensigns of Foot, with one Troop of Horse
" in it. The Nobility upon that charged the Duke with Breach of
" Faith, who could do no more but press the Queen to forbear to
" give such Cause of Jealousy; but all was to no Purpose. The
" Town was fortified; all the Ammunition she had, was carried into
" it, and the *French* continued still to be sending over more Forces.
" The Duke, with the Nobility, represented to the Queen Dowager,
" that it was now plain she designed a Conquest: But she despised
" all their Requests, for by this Time the *French* thought they were
" so strong, that they reckoned it would be a short Work to subdue
" *Scotland*. There were but Two or Three mean Lords, *Bothwell*
" and *Seaton*, that kept Company with the Queen Dowager,; yet
" even these signified to their Friends, that their Hearts were with
" their Country-men: Upon all this, the Duke, with the rest of
" the Nobility, and with the Barons, and Burgesses of the Realm,
" seeing an Imminent Danger to the Whole Nation, and no Hope
" of Remedy at her Hands, began deeply to consider the State of
" the Kingdom: Their Sovereign Lady was married to a strange
" Prince out of the Realm, and wholly in the Hands of *Frenchmen*;
" without any Council of her own Natural People; and they con-
" sidered the Mortality of her Husband, or of herself without Issue.
" The Queen Dowager, Sister to the House that ruled all in *France*,
" persisted in ruining the Liberties of her Daughter the Queen's
" Subjects, on Design to knit that Kingdom for ever to *France*;
and

1559.

" and so to execute the Old Malice of the *French* on the Crown of " *England*, of which they had already assumed the Title.

" They upon all these Grounds, were constrained to constitute a " Council, for the Government of the Kingdom, and for the Use of " their Sovereign, to whom they had signified the Suspension of the " Queen Dowager's Authority; maintaining, that being sore op- " pressed with *French* Power, they had, as natural Subjects, suffici- " ent Strength for that; tho' they are not able to stand against the " Power of *France*, but partly for the Right of their Sovereign; and " partly for the Antient Rights of the Crown, they have been forced " to spend their Whole Substance; yet they cannot longer preserve " themselves from being conquered by the Power sent over from " *France*; a greater Force being promised to be sent next Spring. " They therefore lay the Whole Matter before the Queen of *Eng-* " *land*'s Ministers then upon their Borders; and commit their Cause " to her Protection; desiring nothing but that their Country may " be preserved from *France*, together with the Rights of their Sove- " reign, and of the Whole Nation.

To this they add a Petition, " That the Numbers of *French* Sol- " diers then within the Kingdom, might be removed speedily; that " so they might Live quietly, and be suffered to offer to the King " and Queen, such Articles as were necessary for the Peace and Good " Government of the Kingdom, without Alteration of their Antient " Liberties: This was signed by the Earl of *Aran*, as he was then " called, but that was his Father's Title; for he had no Higher Title in *Scotland*: The Son therefore signed *James Hamilton*. It was also signed by the Earls of *Argyle*, and *Glencairn*; by Lord *James*, afterwards created Earl of *Murray*; and by the Lords *Boyd*, *Uchiltry*, *Maxwell*, and *Ruthen*; and by a Son of the Earl of *Huntley*'s; and a Son of the Earl of *Athol*'s; both these Families being at that Time Papists. And thus by the Tenor of this Whole Paper, it appears that Religion was not pretended to be the Cause of the War.

Upon the suspending the Authority of the Queen Regent, I will here add a particular Reflection, which will shew what Archbishop *Spotswood*'s Sense was, when he first wrote his History of that Transaction. He gives an Account of the Opinion that *Willock* and *Knox* delivered, when they were called and required to give it, which they did in Favour of that Suspension: For which he Censures the Opinion it self, in these Words. *Howbeit the Power of the Magistrate be limited, and their Office prescribed by God, and that they may likewise fall into great Offences; yet it is no where permitted to Subjects to call their Princes in Question; or to make Insurrection against them. God having reserved the Punishment of Princes to himself.* Yet in a fair Manuscript of that History, written with great Care, as for the Press, this Whole Period was first penned quite in another Strain; *Allowing the States of the Kingdom a Right to restrain their Prince, when he breaks through Rules; only censuring Clergymens medling in those Matters*: This is scored thro', but so that it is still legible, and *Spotswood* interlined with his own Hand the Alteration; according to which, his Book was printed. This Manuscript belonged to me,

and

1559. and 42 Years ago, I presented it to the Duke of *Lauderdale*, and shewed him that Passage, on which he made great Reflection. I cannot find out in whose Hands that Manuscript is fallen; but whosoever has it, will, I hope, justify me in this Particular; for tho' I am not sure, as to the Words, yet I am very sure they are to this Purpose.

When this Representation and Petition was brought to the Queen, *Cecil* drew up a State of the Matter, which will be found in the Collection; putting this as the Question, *Whether it was meet that* England *should help* Scotland *to expel the* French, *or not?*, For the Negative he "says, it was against God's Law, to Aid any Subjects against their Na-"tural Prince, or their Ministers: It was also Dangerous to do it: "For an Aid secretly given, would be to no Purpose: And "an Aid publickly given, would draw on a War: And in that "Case, the *French* would come to any Composition with the *Scots*, "to join with them against *England*: Since they will consent to "any Thing, rather than suffer *Scotland* to be united to the Crown "of *England*: He adds, It may also be apprehended that the Empe-"ror, the King of *Spain*, the Pope, and the Duke of *Savoy*, with "the Potentates of *Italy*, will join with the *French* King, rather "than suffer these Two Kingdoms to be joined in one Manner of "Religion; and many within both Kingdoms will not approve of "this. But in Opposition to all this, he concludes for assisting the "*Scots*.

Coll. Numb. 54.

"He lays it down for a Principle, that it is agreeable to the Laws "of God, and of Nature, that every Prince and State should defend "it self; not only from Perils that are seen, but from those that "may probably come after: To which he adds, that Nature and "Reason teach every Person Politick, or other, to use the same Man-"ner of Defence, that the Adversary useth of Offence. Upon these "Grounds, he concludes that *England* might, and ought to assist "the *Scots* to keep out the *French*: And so earnest was that great "Statesman in this Matter, that he prosecutes it very copiously.

"His first Reason is that which the *Scots* would never admit, but "he might think it proper to offer it to an *English* Council; "that "the Crown of *England* had a Superiority over *Scotland*, such as "the Emperor had over *Bohemia*, or *Milan*. He next shews that "*England* must be in great Danger from the *French*, if they became "the absolute Masters of *Scotland*. Upon this he runs out to shew "that the *French* had been long Enemies to *England*; that they had "been false, and double in all their Treaties with them these 700 "Years: And that the last Peace was forced from them by their "Poverty. That *France* could not be Poor above Two Years; nor "could it be long without War; beside the Hatred that the House "of *Guise*, who then governed the *French* Councils, bore to *Eng-"land*. They call in Question the Queen's Title, and set up their "own against it; and at the Treaty of *Cambray*, they set that Pre-"tension on Foot; but it was then stopt by the Wisdom of the Con-"stable; yet they used means at *Rome*, to get the Queen to be de-"clared Illegitimate: Upon which the Bull was brought into *France*: "And at the Solemnities, in which the King was killed, the Arms

 "of

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" of *England* and *Ireland* were joined with the Queen of *Scots* " Arms. The present Embroilment in *Scotland*, is the Stop that " now restrains them from carrying these Pretensions further: But as " soon as they can, they will certainly set them on foot: And the " Assaulting *England* by the way of *Scotland* is so easy, that it is " not possible to avoid it, but by Stopping the Progress of that Con- " quest. A War by the way of *Scotland*, puts *France* in no Dan- " ger, tho' it should miscarry; but *England* is in the utmost Dan- " ger, if it should succeed. He concludes, That as the Matter was " of the last Importance, so no Time was to be lost; since the Pre- " judice, if too long delay'd, would be irrecoverable.

What further Steps were made in the secret Debating of this Point, does not appear to me, but by the Conclusion of the Matter. For the Queen sent Forces, under the Command of the Duke of *Norfolk*, to the Borders of *Scotland*: What followed upon that, is set out fully in the Common Historians, and from them in my former Work.

But a Copy of the Bond of Association, into which the Lords and others in *Scotland* enter'd, (the Original of which remains still in the Possession of the Dutchess of *Hamilton*) will set out more particularly the Grounds that they went on. It is in the Collection: And it sets forth, " That they promised faithfully, and in the Pre- " sence of God, that they would, to the utmost of their Power, set " forward the Reformation of Religion, according to God's Word; " that the true Preaching of it, might have a free Passage thro' the " whole Kingdom; together with the Administration of the Sacra- " ments. And that they, considering the Misbehaviour of the *French* " among them, and the intolerable Oppression of the Poor by their " Soldiers, maintained by the Queen Dowager, under Colour of Au- " thority, together with the Tyranny of their Captains, and the ma- " nifest Danger of becoming their Conquest, to which they were " then reduced, by Fortifications on the Sea-Coast, and other At- " tempts; do promise to join with the Queen of *England*'s Army, " then come in to their Assistance, for driving out those their Op- " pressors, and for Recovering their Ancient Liberty; that so they " may be ruled by the Laws and Customs of their Country, and " by the Natives of the Kingdom, under the Obedience of the " King and Queen their Sovereign. And they promise, that they " shall hold no private Intelligence with their Enemies, but by the " Advice of the rest, or at the least of Five of their Number. And " that they shall prosecute this Cause, as if it were the Cause of " every one of them in particular; and hold all who with- " stand it, as their Enemies; and that they will prosecute them as " such, according to the Orders of the Council; to whom they re- " fer the Direction of the whole Matter, promising in all Things to " submit to their Arbitration.

Coll. Numb. 55.

This was first Subscribed at *Edinburgh* on the 27th of *April*, in the Year 1560; and is Signed by the Duke of *Chatelberault*, the Earls of *Arran*, *Huntly*, *Argyle*, *Mortoune*, and some others, whose Hands are not legible; and by the Lords *Salton*, *Ruthen*, *Boyd*, *Ogilby*, *Uchiltre*, the Abbot of *Kinloss*, and the Commendator of

Kilwin-

1559. *Kilwinniny*: About 140 more Subscribed it. This was the Bond that was Signed by those, who were at that Time at *Edinburgh*: And it is probable, that many other Bonds of the same Nature were Signed about the same Time, in other Parts of the Kingdom; but they have not been so carefully preserved, as this has been. The Earl of *Huntley*, tho' he continued still a Papist, signing it, shews, that either the ill Usage he had met with from the Queen Dowager, had shaken him in his Religion, or that Provocation and Interests were then stronger in him than his Principles. But I leave my Conjectures, to go on with the History.

The great Progress of Superstition in Q. *Mary*'s Reign.

Coll. Numb. 56.

On the 2d of *November*, *Jewel* being returned from the Circuit, which he was ordered to make, wrote, (in a Letter to *Peter Martyr*, to be found in the Collection) " That the People were much " better disposed to the Gospel, than it was apprehended they could " be: But he adds, that Superstition had made a most extraordina- " ry Progress in Queen *Mary*'s short Reign. The People were made " believe, they had in many Places Pieces of the true Cross, and of " the Nails, with which Christ was crucified: So that the Cathe- " dral-Churches were Dens of Robbers; and none were more vio- " lent and obstinate, than those who had been before of their Body; " as if, by that, they would justify their Falling off from them. " They had turned them all out. *Harding* went away, and would " not change again. *Smith*, who had been a violent Opposer of *Pe-* " *ter Martyr* in *Oxford*, fled towards *Scotland*; But was taken on " the Borders, and brought back; and had abjured a Fifth Time, " and was then become a violent Enemy to the Papists. In another Letter he tells him, " *Smith* was married; and that being hated and " despised by all Sides, he was forced to keep a Publick House. *Jewel* wrote, " That if they had more Hands, Matters would go " well: But it was hard, to make a Cart go without Horses. He " was glad to hear *Peter Martyr* was sent for. But he owns he had " his Fears still, that tho' Things were begun well, they would not " end so well. He adds, *We are Islanders in all Respects*. *Oxford* " wanted him extremely. The Queen was then Courted, both by " the King of *Sweden*, and by *Charles* of *Austria*. It was then given out, that *Sweden* was full of Mines of Gold, and only wanted Skill and Industry to work them: But he writes, " Perhaps the " Queen meant to marry one nearer at Hand: (He gives no other Hint in that Letter, to let it be understood of whom he meant: probably it was *Pickering*; as appears in another Letter.) He concludes, " That tho' Religion did make a quick Progress in *Scotland*, " yet that the *French* did not despair of bringing that Kingdom " back to their Obedience, and of Restoring their Religion in " it.

The Revenues of Bishops lessen'd, that they may be more diligent in their Duty.

On the same Day he wrote to *Simler*, who had congratulated him upon the News they had of his being to be promoted to a Bishoprick. He wrote, " That there was yet nothing but a Nomination " of him. He adds, We hope our Bishops shall be Pastors, Labour- " ers, and Watchmen. And that they may be better fitted for this, " the Great Riches of Bishopricks are to be diminished, and to be

" redu-

" reduced to a certain Mediocrity: That so being delivered from " that King-like Pomp, and the Noisiness of a Courtly Family, " they may live in greater Tranquillity, and may have more Lei- " sure to take care of Christ's Flock with due Attention.

1559.

On the 5th of *November*, he wrote, " That he found Debates " raised concerning the Vestments, which he calls the Habit of the " Stage, and wishes they could be freed from it. He says, they " were not wanting to so good a Cause: But others seemed to love " those Things, and to follow the Ignorance of some Priests, who " were stupid as Logs of Wood, having neither Spirit, Learning, " nor Good Life to commend them; but studied to recommend " themselves by that Comical Habit; while no Care was taken of " Learning, or of Breeding up of Youth. They hoped to strike the " Eyes of the People with those ridiculous Trifles. These are the " Relicks of the *Amorites*: That cannot be denied. He wishes, that " at some Time or other, all these may be taken away and extirpa- " ted, to the very deepest Roots. He complains of a Feebleness in " the Councils: They still talked of bringing *Martyr* over; but he " feared, that we looked too much toward *Saxony*, to expect that. " Some among them, he says, were so much set on the Matter of " the Habits, as if the Christian Religion consisted in Garments: " But we (says he) are not called to the Consultations concerning " that Scenical Apparel: He could set no Value on those Fopperies. " Some were crying up a Golden Mediocrity; he was afraid it would " prove a Leaden one.

Coll. Numb. 57.

Jewell's Opinion of the Disputes concerning the Vestments.

On the 16th of *November* he wrote, in a Letter to be found in the Collection, " That the Doctrine was every where purely preach- " ed. There was in many Places too much Folly, concerning Cere- " monies and Masks. The Crucifix continued still in the Queen's " Chapel. They all spake freely against it, but till then without " effect. There was a secret Piece of worldly Policy in this, which " he did not like. He complains of the uncertain, and Island-like " State of their Affairs: All was loose at present. He did not see " in what they would settle; and did not know, but he should be " obliged to return back to *Zurick* again.

Coll. Numb. 58.

The Queen kept a Crucifix in her Chapel.

In *December* and *January*, the Consecration of the Bishops came on. But here a Stop lies in my way. For some Months, the Thread of the Letters to *Zurick*, by which I have been hitherto guided, is discontinued. At this Time, an Ambassador came over from *Ferdinand* the Emperor, with Letters dated the 11th of *February* 1560, proposing a Match between his Son, Arch-Duke *Charles*, and the Queen. He had writ of it to her before, but thought fit to follow these Letters with a formal Embassy. The Originals are yet extant. The Queen wrote an Answer in Form, and signed it: But, it seems, that was, on some Considerations, not thought fit to be sent: For the Original is in the Paper-Office. It will be found in the Collection.

Bishops consecrated.

The Emperor proposes to the Queen a Match with his Son *Charles*.

Cotton Libr. *Galba*, 11.

Coll. Numb. 59.

" The Queen wrote, That examining her own Sentiments in that " Matter very carefully, She did not perceive any Inclination to change " her Solitary Life; but found her self more fixed to continue still " in it. She hoped the Emperor would favourably receive, and

She excuses her self.

1560. 

"rightly understand what She wrote to him. It might indeed seem "strange, considering her Age and her Circumstances: But this was "no new Resolution, nor taken up on the sudden, but was the ad-"hering to an old settled Purpose. There had been a Time, in "which her accepting some Honourable Propositions, might have de-"livered her out of very great Dangers and Troubles: On which "She would make no other Reflections, but that neither the Fear of "Danger, nor the Desire of Liberty, could then move her, to bring "her Mind to hearken to them. She will not, by a plain Refusal, "seem to offend him; yet She cannot give Occasion, by any of "her Words, to make him think, that She accepts of that, to which "She cannot bring her Mind and Will. Dated the 5th of *January* 1559. Signed, Your Majesties Good Sister and Cousin, *Elizabeth*: Counterſigned, *Rog. Aſcham.*

A Conference concerning the Queen's Crucifix.

Coll. Numb. 60.

The First Letter of *Jewel*'s, after his Consecration, is on the 4th of *February* 1560. It is in the Collection. He tells *Peter Martyr* "they were then engaged in the Question about the Lawfulness of "having Images in Churches, (which he calls *Lis Crucularia.*) It "could scarce be believed to what a Degree of Folly some Men, who "were thought to have a right Judgment of Things, were carried in "that Matter. There was not one of all those whom he knew, that "was drawn to be of that Mind, besides *Cox*. There was to be a "Conference concerning it the Day following. *Parker* and *Cox* on "the one hand, and *Grindal* and he on the other hand, were to de-"bate it in the Hearing of some of the Council: He could not but "laugh within himself, when he thought what grave and solid Rea-"sonings would be brought out on this Occasion. He was told, "that it was resolved on to have Crucifixes, of Silver or Tin, set up "in all Churches; and that such as would not obey this, would be "turned out of their Bishopricks: If that was true, he would be "no longer a Bishop. *White*, Bishop of *Winchester*, *Ogletborp* of "*Carlisle*, *Bain* of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and *Tonstal* of *Duresme*, "were lately dead. In another he writes, That *Boner* was sent to "the *Tower*, and that he went to see some Criminals that were kept "there, and called them his *Friends* and *Neighbours*: But one of "them answered, Go, you Beast, into Hell, and find your *Friends* "there; for we are none of them. I killed but one Man upon a "Provocation, and do truly repent of it; but you have killed many "Holy Persons, of all sorts, without any Provocation from them, "and are hardned in your Impenitence.

The Zeal in singing Psalms.

On the 5th of *March* he writes, "That a Change appeared now "more visibly among the People. Nothing promoted it, more than "the Inviting the People to Sing Psalms. That was begun in one "Church in *London*, and did quickly spread it self not only thro' "the City, but in the Neighbouring Places: Sometimes at *Paul*'s "Cross, there will be 6000 People Singing together. This was ve-"ry grievous to the Papists: The Children began to laugh at the "Priests, as they passed in the Streets; and the Bishops were called "Hangmen to their Faces. It was said, *White* died of Rage. He "commends *Cecyl* much.

Sands,

Sands, Bishop of *Worcester*, wrote in a Letter on the 1st of *April*, 1560, which will be found in the Collection, "That after he returned "from executing the Injunctions and Preaching in the *North*, he "was pressed to accept of the Bishoprick of *Worcester*: He saw if he "absolutely refused it, the Queen would have been highly offended. "He found it more truly a Burden, than an Honour. The Doctrine "of the Sacrament was pure, to which he and his Brethren were re-"solved to adhere firmly, as long as they lived. There was yet a "Question concerning Images: The Queen thought that was not "contrary to the Word of God, and it seemed convenient to have a "Crucifix, with the Blessed Virgin, and Saint *John*, still in her "Chapel. Some of them could not bear this: We had, says he, "according to our Injunctions taken away all the Images that we "found in Churches, and burned them. We see Superstitious Peo-"ple plainly Worship this Idol: Upon this, he had spoken freely to "the Queen; with that she was so displeased as to threaten to de-"prive him: She was since that Time more softned, and the Images "were removed: But the Popish Vestments were still used; yet he "hoped that should not last long. He laments much that *Peter* "*Martyr* was not sent for. It was easy to guess what it was that "hindred it; it was the Pretence of Unity, that gave Occasion to "the greatest Divisions.

1560.

Sands, Bishop of *Worcester*, much offended at the Image in the Queen's Chapel.

Coll. Numb. 61.

Parkhurst came into *England* in the End of the Year 1559. He went to his Church of *Cleve* in *Gloucestershire*, and kept out of the Way of the Court. He writes, that many Bishops would be glad to change Conditions with him. He heard he had been named to a Bishoprick, but he had dealt earnestly with some Great Men to spare him in that: When he came through *London*, both *Parker*, and a Privy Councellor, had pressed him to accept of one, but he could not resolve on being Miserable.

Sampson had been with the other Divines at *Zurich*, and was reckoned by them both a Learned, and a Pious Man: While he was coming to *England* with the rest, he was informed that a Bishoprick was designed for him; so he wrote while he was on his Journey to *Peter Martyr* for his Advice, as will be found in the Collection, "in this, whether it was lawfull to swear to the Queen, as Supreme "Head of the Church under Christ. He thought Christ was the "Sole Head of the Church, and no such Expression of any Inferior "Head was found in the Scripture. He thought likewise, that the "want of Discipline made that a Bishop could not do his Duty. "Many Temporal Pressures lay upon Bishops, such as First Fruits "and Tenths, beside the Expence of their Equipage and Attendance "at Court: So that little was left for the Breeding up of Youth, for "the Relief of the Poor, and other more necessary Occasions, to "make their Ministry acceptable. The whole Method of electing "Bishops was totally different from the Primitive Institution. The "Consent either of the Clergy, or People, was not so much as asked. "Their Superstitious Dress seemed likewise unbecoming: He wrote "all this only to him, not that he expected that a Bishoprick should "be offered him, he prayed God that it might never happen. He "was resolved to apply himself to preach, but to avoid having any "share

Sampson's Exceptions at his being made a Bishop.

Coll. Numb. 62.

1560. " share in the Government, 'till he saw a full Reformation made in " all Ecclesiastical Functions, both as to Doctrine and Discipline, " and with Relation to the Goods of the Church. He desires his " Answer as soon as was possible.

Peter Martyr answered his Letter on the 1st of *November*; but what it was, can only be gathered from *Sampson*'s Reply to it. He received it on the 3d of *January*, and answered it on the 6th, 1560. It is in the Collection. " They were then under sad Apprehensions, " for which he desires their Prayers in a very solemn Manner. They " were afraid least the Truth of Religion should either be overturned, " or very much darkned in *England*. The Bishops of *Canterbury*, " *London*, *Ely*, and *Worcester*, were consecrated: *Pilkinton* was de- " signed for *Winchester*; *Bentham* for *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; and " *Peter Martyrs Jewel*, for *Salisbury*.

Coll. Numb. 63.

" Things still stuck with him, he could neither have ingress, nor " egress: God knew how glad he would be to find an egress; let " others be Bishops, he desired only to be a Preacher, but no Bishop. " There was yet a General Prohibition of all Preaching: And there " was a Crucifix on the Altar still at Court, with Lights burning be- " fore it: And though by the Queen's Order, Images were removed " out of Churches all the Kingdom over, yet the People rejoyced to " see this was still kept in the Queen's Chapel. Three Bishops officiated " at this Altar; One as Priest, another as Deacon, and a Third as " Sub-Deacon, all before this Idol, in rich Copes: And there was " a Sacrament without any Sermon. He adds, that Injunctions " were sent to Preachers not to use Freedom in the reproving of Vice; " so he asks what both *Martyr*, *Bullinger*, and *Bernardin* thought of " this: Whether they looked on it as a Thing indifferent, and " what they would advise him to do, if Injunctions should be sent " out, requiring the like to be done in all Churches; whether they " ought to be obeyed, or if the Clergy ought not to suffer Depriva- " tion, rather than obey? Some among themselves thought that all " this was indifferent, and so might be obeyed: He understood that " the Queen had a great regard to *Bernardin Ochino*, so he desires " that he would write to her, to carry on the Work of God dili- " gently. He solemnly assures them, that she was truly a Child of " God. But Princes had not so many Friends to their Souls, as they " had to their other Concerns. He wishes they would all write to " her; for she understood both *Italian*, *Latin*, and *Greek* well. So " they might write in any Language to her: But if they wrote, " they must write as of their own Motion, and not as if any Com- " plaints had been writ over to them.

He refused a Bishoprick.

" On the 13th of *May*, he wrote again that a Bishoprick had been " offered to him, but that he had refused it: And he desires *Peter* " *Martyr*, to whom he wrote, not to Censure this 'till he knew the " whole State of the Matter: But he rejoyces that *Parkhurst* was made Bishop of *Norwich*: And by his Letter, it seems *Norwich* was the Bishoprick that was offered to him. *Parkhurst* wrote soon after his Promotion to *Martyr*, and assured him there was no Danger of setting up *Lutheranism* in *England*; only he writes, " We are " fighting about Ceremonies, Vestments, and Matters of no Moment.

Jewel

Jewel wrote to *Peter Martyr* on the 22d of *May*, "That the "Church of *Salisbury* was so struck with Thunder, that there was "a Clift all down for 60 Foot: He was not got thither; so he "could not tell whether Foolish People made Judgments upon this, "with relation to him, or not. He writes that *Boner*, *Fecknam*, "*Pole*, *Scory*, and *Watson*, were all put in Prison for railing at the "Changes that were made. The Queen expressed great Firmness "and Courage in maintaining the Establishment she had made in "Matters of Religion. He tells him that not only *Cecil* and *Knolls*, "desired to be kindly remembred to him, but *Petre* likewise, which "perhaps he did not look for.

1560.

On the 17th of *July* he writes to him, "That there was a Peace "made in *Scotland*, and that the *French* were sent away. *Scotland* "was to be governed by a Council of 12 Persons; only all greater "Matters were to be referred to a Parliament. He writes, that the "Duke of *Holstein* was come over to see the Queen, and was "nobly treated by her, and made a Knight of the Garter: The "King of *Sweden*'s coming over was still talked of. After *Jewel* had been some Time in his Diocese, he wrote to *Gualter* on the 2d of *November*, 1560, "That he now felt what a Load Government "was to him, who had led his Life in the Shade, and at Study: "And had never turned his Thoughts to Government; but he would "make up in his Diligence what might be otherwise wanting: The "Opposition he met with from the Rage of the Papists was in-"credible.

A Peace made in Scotland.

On the 6th of *November*, he wrote that *May*, Dean of Saint *Paul*'s, who was designed to be Archbishop of *York*, was Dead: It does not appear on what Views that See was so long kept void, after the rest were filled. *Parker* was much troubled at this, and wrote very earnestly about it to *Cecil*. The Letter will be found in the Collection. "There were great Complaints in the *North*: The People there "were offended to see no more Care had of them; and for want of "Instruction they were become rude: This was like to have "an ill Influence on the Quiet and Order of the Country. It was "perhaps so long delayed for the Advantage the Queen's Exchequer "made by the Vacancy: but if, for want of good Instruction, the "People should grow Savage, like the *Irish*, it might run to a far "greater Charge to reduce them. Why should any Person hinder "the Queen's Zeal to have her People taught to know, and to fear "God. If those hitherto named for the *North*, were not liked, or not "willing to go thither, he proposed that some of those already placed "migh be removed thither. And he named *Young*, Bishop of Saint "*David*'s, for *York*; and the Bishop of *Rochester*, *Guest*, for *Duresme*: "And if any Suspicions were had of any of their Practising to the "Prejudice of their Successors, there were Precedents used in for-"mer Times to take Bishops bound to leave their Churches in no "worse Case then they found them: He had pressed them formerly "with relation to those vacant Sees: He saw the Matter was still "delayed: He would never give over his Importunity 'till the Thing "was done; which he hoped he would instantly promote, out of "the Zeal he bore to Souls so dear to Christ.

Coll. Numb. 64.

Parker's Care in the *Northern* Sees.

 This

1560. The Popish Bishops made great Alienations.

This he wrote on the 16th of *October*; so it does not appear if the Design for *May* was then so well fixed as *Jewel* apprehended. The Hint in this Letter of the Practices of Bishops, was occasioned by the ruinous Leases that the Popish Bishops had made; for seeing the Change that was designed, they had by the Law at that Time so Absolute a Power over their Estates, having no Restraints laid on them, but those of their own Canons, that their Leases how Mischievous soever to their Successors, were good in Law. The New Bishops in many Places had scarce necessary Subsistence, or Houses left them, and were to be supported by Dignities given them in *Commendam*: And it was perhaps suggested, that they to procure a little better Subsistence to themselves, might be prevailed on to prolong, or confirm such Leases.

See more of this in the Annals of the Refor. Chap. 12. *Coll. Numb.* 65.

The Archbishop's Importunity had its Effect: For in *February* thereafter, *Young* was removed to *York*; and *Pilkinton*, a Learned and Zealous Man, was made Bishop of *Duresme*. And thus the Sees of *England* were filled. *Jewel* in a Letter soon after to *Peter Martyr*, in *February* 1560, which will be found in the Collection: "Wishes "that all the Remnants of former Errors, with all the Rubbish, and "even the Dust that might yet remain, might be taken away: He "wishes they could have obtained it. It seems by this, that their "Wishes had not prevailed. The Council of *Trent* was then to be "opened again, but the Queen was resolved to take no notice of it. "He gives an Account of his Apology that was then set out. This has been so often printed, and is so well known, that it is not necessary to enlarge more upon it: As it was one of the First Books published in this Reign, so it was written with that Strength and Clearness, that it together with the Defence of it, is still to this Day reckoned one of our best Books. In that Letter he writes of the Countess of *Lenox*, the Mother to the Lord *Darnly*, "That she was "a more violent Papist than even Queen *Mary* her self. Her Son was "gone to *Scotland*, and it was believed he might marry the Queen "of *Scotland*: The Earl of *Hartford* had a Son by the Lady *Catharine Gray*; some called him a Bastard, but others affirmed that "they were married. If that was true, then according to King *Henry*'s Will, he must be the Heir of the Crown. But he adds, *Ah!* "*Unhappy we, that cannot know under what Prince we are to live.* "He complains that Schools are forsaken, and that they were under "a great want of Preachers. The few they had were every where "well received: He writes in another Letter, that in Queen *Mary*'s "Time, for want of good Instruction, the *Anabaptists* and *Arians* "did much increase; but now they disappeared every where.

Jewel's Apology published.

The Popish Clergy, when they saw no appearance of any new Change, did generally comply with the Laws then made; but in so untoward a Manner, that they made it very visible that what they did was against both their Heart and their Conscience. This put the Bishops on receiving many into Orders, that were not thoroughly well qualified; which exposed them to much Censure. They thought that in that Necessity, Men of good Hearts, that loved the Gospel, tho' not so Learned as might be wished for, were to be brought into the Service of the Church: But Painswas taken, and Methods were laid

3 down,

down, to breed up a more knowing Race of Men, as soon as was possible. 1560.

I turn now, to shew how the Affairs of Religion went on, particularly with Relation to *Scotland*, of which mention was made in some of *Jewell's* Letters.

But before I open this, I will give an Account of Two Instruments sent me from *Scotland*, that came not to my Hands, but since the Pages 280 and 281 were printed off; yet they are so important, that as I have put them in the Collection, so I will give a short Account of them here. On the 19th of *April*, Fifteen Days after the Queen of *Scotland* had passed that secret fraudulent Protestation, formerly mentioned, when the Articles of the Marriage were mutually signed, it was not only provided, that the Crown of *Scotland*, in case She should die without Children, should descend to the Duke of *Chatelherault* and his Heirs; the Instrument it self being published in the *French* Collection: But the Dauphin did, on the same Day, set his Seal to a Charter still preserved at *Hamilton*, setting forth the Faith and Engagements that the King his Father had formerly made, to Secure to the Earl of *Aran* the Succession to the Crown of *Scotland*, in case the Queen should die without Children; to which he promises he will pay all Obedience. He confirms and ratifies that Promise, for himself, and his Successors; Promising in Good Faith, (*Bona Fide*), that in that Case, he will not only suffer that Lord to Enjoy that Crown, but that he will Assist and Maintain him in it.

Coll. Numb. 66.

The Promise made by his Father, King *Henry*, to which this refers, bears Date the 17th Day of *June*, *Anno* 1549; and was sent over to *Scotland*, in order to the getting of Queen *Mary* to be sent to *France*. By it the King promised, in the Word of a King, That in case the Queen should die without Children, he would assist the Earl of *Aran*, in the Succession to the Crown, against all that should oppose him. These Instruments I have put in the Collection, as lasting Memorials of the Fidelity and Sincerity of that Court; to give a just Precaution to Posterity in future Ages: By which it will appear, how little Contracts, Promises, and Publick Stipulations are to be depended on: Where a Secret Protestation, lodged in a Clandestine manner, is set up to make all this void; which, I hope, will not be soon forgotten, or neglected.

But to return from this Digression, which, tho' a little out of its Place, seemed too Important to be omitted.

The Distraction that *France* was in, made it not easy to them to carry on the War of *Scotland*, by reason of the Charge, that the Sending Forces to so great a Distance put them to: Whereas it was but a short March to the *English*, to go to the Assistance of the Lords of *Scotland*; so they were willing to make up Matters the best they could by a Treaty. Commissioners were appointed to Treat on both Sides. In the mean while, the Queen Regent of *Scotland* died: So *Cecyl* and *Wotton*, who were employed by the Queen in that Treaty, apprehending the *French* might, upon this Emergent, study to gain more Time, wrote to the Queen for positive Orders.

The *French* grew weary of carrying on the War in *Scotland*.

1560. A Letter was written to them on the 15th of *June*, Signed by Five Privy-Counsellors; which is in the Collection, taken from the Original. By it it appears, that this Treaty was then a Secret, which they saw must soon break out; so the Persons employed in *Scotland*, advised the Acquainting King *Philip* with it, because they looked on it as brought very near a total Agreement. To this the Queen's Council agreed. Those in *Scotland* apprehended, that perhaps the *French* would, upon the Regent's Death, go away, and leave the Kingdom, without coming to any Agreement. If they should do so, they did order them to advise with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and the Lords of *Scotland* in League with them, how the *French* may be forthwith expelled the Kingdom, without any Loss of Time. For by all the Advertisements they had, they understood that the *French* intended to gain Time, as much as was possible. If the *French* desired to have some of their Collegues in the Town, to assist them in Managing the Treaty, that was by no means to be granted: But if they desired the Assistance of such *Scottish* Men, as were of their Faction; and if their Friends in *Scotland* consented to it, that seemed reasonable. The rest of the Letter relates to one *Parrys*, an *Irishman*.

Coll. Numb. 67.

It was brought to a good end.

The Treaty, by Reason of the Weakness of the *French* Force, was soon brought to a Conclusion. The *French* were to be sent away in Three Weeks. An Assembly of the States was to meet, and to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom: It was to be governed by a Council of Twelve Persons; of whom the King and Queen were to name Seven, and the States to chuse Five: And by these, all Affairs were to be governed, they being made accountable to the Parliament. The last Article was, "That the King and Queen should not use the Title, " or Arms of *England* and *Ireland* any more.

When Matters were brought to a Settlement in *Scotland*, the *Scots* sent up the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencairn* to the Queen. Their Message will best appear, from the Instructions which will be found in the Collection, Copied from the Original, that is still preserved, and in the Possession of the Dutchess of *Hamilton*: By which, "the " Estates of Parliament, considering how the Two Kingdoms lay " joined together; and reflecting on the Inconveniences that they " and their Ancestors had suffer'd by continual Wars, and on the " Advantages of a perpetual Friendship between them; therefore " they did order a Proposition of Marriage, to be made to the " Queen of *England*, with the Earl of *Aran*; who, after his Fa- " ther, in Default of Succession of the Queen's Body, was the " next Heir of the Crown of *Scotland*. And they resolved, that " an Embassy should be appointed, to make the Proposition in the " Honourablest Manner that could be devised. They also order " Thanks to be given to the Queen, for the Good Will She has on " all Occasions expressed for their Kingdom; which She had parti- " cularly declared of late, by the Support She had given them for " their Relief; by the Means of which, they enjoyed their pre- " sent Quiet. And they were also ordered to move the Queen, to " send strict Commands to her Wardens, and other Officers on the " Borders, to suppress all broken Men, and to restrain all Thefts.

Coll. Numb. 68.

These Instructions were appointed to be Sealed, and Subscribed by Six of every Estate; and that was to be held as Valid, as if all the Estates had Sealed and Subscribed them.

1560.

This Order of Parliament is Signed by the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, the Bishops of *Dunkeld*, *Galloway*, *Dumblane*, *Argyle*, and the Elect Bishop of the *Isles*: And by as many Abbots and Priors; the Prior of St. *Andrews*, afterwards Earl of *Murray*; the Abbot of *Arbroth*, afterwards Marquis of *Hamilton*; the Abbots of *Newbotle*, and *Culros*; the Commendator of *Kilwinning*, and the Prior of *Lochlevin*. So many of the Ecclesiastical State of both Ranks concurring, shews, that they rejoiced in the Deliverance that they had from the Servitude, under which the *French* had almost brought them.

Signed by the Three Estates.

These Instructions are also Signed by the Duke of *Chatelherault*, who subscribed only *James*; and by the Earls of *Argyle*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Crawford*, and *Sutherland*; and by the Lords, *Erskine*, *Gordon*, *Salton*, *Hay*, *Uchiltry*, *Innermeth*, *Boyd*, *Lindsay*, *Gray*, and some others, whose Names cannot be read. And by Eight Provosts of Boroughs. But no Seals are in this Noble Instrument; so probably it was an Authentick Duplicate, that was deposited in that Family, to remain as an undoubted Proof, of the Right of Succeeding to the Crown of *Scotland*, if the Queen had left no Issue of her own Body.

To this an Answer was given, which I have put in the Collection, from the Draught of it in *Cecyl*'s Hand. "The Queen received "the Hearty Thanks that the Three Estates sent her, very kindly; "and was glad the Assistance She had given then, was so well ac-"cepted by them. She was so well satisfied with the Effects it had, "that if the like Cause should happen, in which they might need "Aid from her, She assures them it shall not be wanting. The "Queen did perceive the Difference, between the Benefits bestow-"ed by her Father, on many of the Nobility of that Nation, which "were supposed to be to the Prejudice of the Kingdom, and so had "not the Success expected: And those they had received from her, "which were directed to the Safety of the Realm: So the Diversity "in the Bestowing them, had made this Diversity in the Accep-"tation of them.

Coll. Numb. 69.

The Queen of *England*'s Answer to it.

"She received that Proposition of Marriage, as a Mark of the "good Intention of the Estates, for Knitting the Kingdoms in Ami-"ty; in Offering to her the best and choicest Person that they had, "tho' not without danger of the Displeasure of the *French* King. "But the Queen was not disposed presently to Marry; tho' the Ne-"cessity of the Kingdom might, perhaps, constrain her afterwards "to it. Yet She desired, that the Earl of *Aran* might not forbear "to marry on her Account: But that the Amity between the Two "Kingdoms might remain firm; since it was so necessary to their "Preservation, tho' no Marriage were made upon it. The Queen "had heard a very good Report of the Earl of *Aran*, and thought "him a Noble Gentleman of great Worth, and did not doubt, but "he would prove to be such. In the last place, The Queen desired "the States would reflect on former Practices among them, and

1560. "would continue in a good Agreement among themselves, and not "fall into Factions. And She concluded with a Promise, that on "her Part, no Reasonable Thing should be neglected, that might "tend to the Common Defence of both the Realms, against any "Common Enemy.

The Death of Francis the IId.

Things went on pursuant to this Treaty; to which it was not thought the *French* would have any Regard, when their Affairs should be in a better Condition. The Apprehensions of that were soon at an end. In *December* 1560, the Union which that Kingdom had with *France*, was totally broke, by the Death of *Francis* the IId.; so that *Mary*, Queen of *Scotland*, had nothing left, but her own Strength to depend upon. The Treaty of *Leith* being in all other Points executed, the Queen ordered both *Throckmorton*, her Ordinary Ambassador in *France*, and the Earl of *Bedford*, whom She had sent over Extraordinary, to demand Queen *Mary*'s Ratification of that Treaty. Which I shall open more particularly, because upon this Occasion, that Jealousy was raised between the Two Queens, that ended so fatally to the one. The Queen of *Scots* used many Shifts, to excuse her not doing it.

Collect. Numb. 70.

In a Letter of *Throckmorton*'s, of the 16th of *April*, which is in the Collection; he tells the Queen, "That having pressed the "Queen of *Scots* to it; She said, She had not her Council about "her, particularly the Cardinal of *Lorain*, her Uncle, by whom "She was advised in all her Affairs: Nor had She heard from her "Council in *Scotland*. She promised, that when She heard from "them, and had advised with her Council about her, She would "give an Answer that should satisfy the Queen. But her Natural "Brother, the Lord *James*, being come over to her, the Queen "had commanded *Throckmorton*, to demand again the Confir-"mation of the Treaty. Upon which, the Ambassador sent a "Gentleman to know her Pleasure, when he should wait on her, "to receive it from her Hand. This, as he wrote to her, was de-"sired by the Queen, as a Mean to make them live hereafter in all "Love, Peace, and Amity together. And nothing could so de-"monstrate that Queen's Intention, to entertain this, as the Esta-"blishing that Knot of Friendship between them, for both their "Quiet and Comfort, which was at that Time the only Refuge of "them both." Of this he sent the Queen, his Mistress, a Copy.

Coll. Numb. 71.

On the First of *May*, Mr. *Somer*, whom the Ambassador had sent to *Nancy*, where the Queen of *Scotland* was at that Time, came back with her Answer: Which is in the Collection; it being the only Original Paper, that ever I saw in her Hand. Dated from *Nancy*, the 22d of *April* 1561.

The Queen of *Scotland* did not ratify the Peace.

"She writes, She was then leaving that Place; so she could give "no Answer 'till she came to *Rheims*, where she intended to be at "the King's Coronation: And she says that Lord *James* was only "come to do his Duty about her, as his Sovereign Lady, without "any Charge or Commission whatsoever. This *Throgmorton* sent to the Queen, together with a Letter from the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to the

the ſame Purpoſe, which he alſo ſent her in a Letter, which will be found in the Collection; in which he writes, " That though *Somer* " had uſed the beſt Means he could, to put the *Scottiſh* Queen in " Mind of the Promiſe ſhe had made to the Earl of *Bedford*, and to " *Throgmorton* himſelf, yet he could get no other Anſwer from her. The Ambaſſador was ordered by the Queen not to be preſent at the Coronation: So he did not know when, or where, he ſhould ſee her; for it was ſaid ſhe did not intend for ſome Time to come into the Neighbourhood of *Paris*: He therefore propoſed to the Queen to ſend a Letter of Credit by Mr. *Somer* to that Queen; and with it to order him to go and demand her Anſwer. By that Queen's Diſcourſe with Lord *James*, it ſeemed ſhe did not intend to give a plain Anſwer, but ſtill to ſhift it off: But he thought the Queen inſiſting on it by a Perſon ſent Expreſs to ſtay for an Anſwer, ſhe would be able to judge from thence what Meaſures ſhe ought to take. The Queen of *Scotland* had ſaid to the Ambaſſador, that ſhe intended to give Lord *James* a Commiſſion, with a Charge to look to the Affairs of *Scotland* during her Abſence: And he, when he took leave of her, left one to bring that after him: But that Perſon was come with Letters from that Queen, but with no Commiſſion: And he underſtood by him that ſhe had changed her Mind, and would give no ſuch Commiſſion, 'till ſhe ſhould come to *Scotland* herſelf: Nor would ſhe diſpoſe of any Thing 'till then. This was eaſily ſeen to be on Deſign to let all People underſtand on what Terms they might expect Benefices, Grants, or other Favours from her.

Coll. Numb. 72.

She is Jealous of Lord *James*.

The true Reaſon why ſhe would not employ Lord *James*, was becauſe ſhe found ſhe could not draw him from his Devotion to the Queen; nor from his Reſolution to obſerve the late Treaty, and League between *England* and *Scotland*: And it is added, that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* ſaw he could not draw him from his Religion, though he uſed great Perſwaſions to prevail on him. Upon theſe Accounts, the Ambaſſador wrote over, " That he ſaw he might be " much depended on: So he adviſes the Queen to conſider him as " one that may ſerve her to good Purpoſe, and to uſe him liberally " and honourably. He had made great Acknowledgements of the " good Reception he met with as he came through *London*: So he " on many Accounts deſerved to be both well uſed, and much " truſted. The Queen of *Scotland* had great Expectations from the " Popiſh Party; and from the Earl of *Huntley* in particular. He gives " in that Letter, an Account of a great Tumult that had then hapned at " *Paris*, upon occaſion of an Aſſembly of Proteſtants for Worſhip in " a private Houſe, in the Suburbs. The Rabble met about the " Houſe, threatning Violence: Upon which thoſe within, ſeeing " Perſuaſions had no effect, fired and killed 7 or 8 of them. The " Court of Parliament ſent an Order to ſuppreſs the Tumult, and " diſperſe the Multitude. This was plainly contrary to the Edict " lately made: But the Ambaſſador apprehended that greater Diſ- " orders would follow: And that I may end all this Matter at " once,

1561.

The Duke of Guise studied to divert the Queen from assisting the Prince of Conde.

Coll. Numb. 73.

I find in a Letter of *Jewel's*, that is in the Collection, that the Duke of *Guise* sent to the Princes of *Germany*, to divert them from assisting the Prince of *Conde*; assuring them that he himself was very moderate in the Points of Religion, and had very favourable Thoughts of the *Ausburg* Confession: He studied also to persuade the Queen, that the War which was then breaking out in *France*, was not for Religion; but was a Conspiracy against the Government: Which he hoped she as a Queen would not assist. At the same Time the Queen of *Scotland* sent the Queen a present of a Diamond of Value, with some very fine Verses made by *Buchanan* then in her Court. She also in her Letters, vowed a perpetual Friendship with her, and wrote that she would pass through *England*. Yet the Queen saw through all this, and was not diverted by it from assisting the Prince of *Conde*. Upon this the Duke of *Guise* did openly charge all the Disorders in *France* on her, as the Principal Author of them: By this the Mask was thrown away, and these Jealousies broke out into an open War. *Jewel* wishes the Queen had begun it sooner, and that the Princes of *Germany* would follow her Example; now that she was engaged, and had sent one to engage them likewise.

But in vain.

By that Time the Queen of *Scotland* had got by Sea into her Kingdom: She alone had her Mass, which was put down all the Kingdom over.

There was this Year an extraordinary bad Season through every Quarter of the Year, and perpetual Rains. There was also much talk of many monstrous Births, both by Women and Beasts, Hogs, Mares, Cows, and Hens: Some Births were without Heads, or Heads of a strange Form; and some without Arms, or Legs: Very probably Things of that Sort were magnified by those who reported them; and, no doubt, they were made the Presages of some dismal Events to be looked for; it being ordinary in all great Changes to enlarge, and even to forge Stories of that sort, on Design to alarm People with the Apprehensions of some signal Judgments to follow after such unusual Warnings. This last Letter being written some Time after the Great Convocation that settled our Reformation, is mentioned here out of its Place, to finish a Matter to which I have nothing here to add.

Proceedings in Convocation.

But now to return to give an Account of that Famous Meeting of the Clergy. I must first lament that here there is another total Stop in the Correspondence with *Zurich*, that has hitherto furnished me with so many particulars. I cannot think but that there were copious Accounts of the Progress of Matters in it given to them, if not during the Convocation, in which the Bishops were no doubt much employed, yet at least soon after the Prorogation; which was in the Beginning of *April*: But in all the Volume of Letters that is sent me, I find not one, either during their sitting, or after it was ended, 'till that I mentioned last, which is of the 14th of *August*. Being then destitute of those Authentick Vouchers, I must gather up what Remains I could find to give a clear Account of the Great Transactions then on Foot.

The imperfect Abstract which I have often vouched, gives us but a very defective Account of their Proceedings. Their First Session

was

1562.

was on the 13th of *January*, *Day* Provost of *Eaton* preached: *Parker* told them they had now in their Hands an Opportunity of Reforming all Things in the Church. The Queen did earnestly desire it, and so did many of the Nobility. He sent them to chuse a Prolocutor, and recommended *Nowel*, Dean of St. *Paul's*, to them. They chose him upon that; and on the 16th of *January*, *Parker* exhorted them to consider against the next Session what Things wanted a Reformation. On the 19th, he sent for the Prolocutor, who came up with Six of the Clergy. He said they had before them some Sheets of Matters to be offered for a Reformation, which were then referred to be considered by a Committee. He also said that the Articles set forth in a Synod at *London*, in King *Edward's* Time, were likewise before a Committee to be considered, and if need was, to be corrected by them. On the 20th, the Archbishop and Bishops were for the Space of Three Hours consulting secretly about those Articles. On the 22d, they were again for Three Hours considering the same Matter. On the 25th, they were Two Hours. And on the 27th, they were for Three Hours more upon the same Mattter. And on the 29th of *January*, all in the Upper-House agreed unanimously in settling the Articles of Religion, and they subscribed them.

Some Alterations made in the Articles of Religion.

The Differences between these Articles, and those set forth by King *Edward*, are very particularly marked in the Collections, added to my Second Volume. The most material is the leaving out that express Declaration that was made against the Corporal Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, which I then thought was done in compliance with the Opinion prevalent among the People of the Popish Persuasion, who were strangely possessed with the Belief of such a Presence; but I am convinced by the Letters sent me from *Zurich*, that in this, great regard was likewise had to the *Lutheran* Churches, with whom a Conjunction was much endeavoured by some: So that perhaps this was one Consideration that made it be thought convenient to suppress the Definition then made in this Matter by the Convocation: But it does no way appear to me, whether these Words were suppressed by the Consent of the Convocation; or whether the Queen ordered it to be done, either by a direct Command, or by denying to give her Assent to that Part of the Article.

I must also add, that the Homily *against wilful Rebellion*, for that is its true Title, was not drawn up 'till some Years after this Convocation had settled those Articles; in which the Title of the Homilies are set forth, though it is added in the Manuscript to the Rest, with the Title *against Rebellion*. It is plain both by the Body of the Homily, and by the Prayer at the End of it, that it was penned after the Rebellion that was raised by the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland* many Years after this. And while there were Wars abroad on the Account of Religion. This I do not write as disagreeing in any Part from the Doctrine delivered in that Homily, but only as a Historian, in Order to the setting Matters of Fact in a true Light.

But now I go on as the Minutes, or rather the Abstracts lead me. When the great Matter of the Articles was settled; the Bishops of

1562. *London*, *Winchester*, *Lincoln*, and *Hereford*, were appointed to draw Articles of Discipline. On the 3d of *February*, the Archbishop and Bishops were in a Secret Conference for the Space of Three Hours. On the 5th of *February*, a Committee was appointed to examine the Catechism. Then the Prolocutor with Six of the Clergy, brought up the Articles of Religion, that had been sent by the Archbishop to the Lower-House: Many had already subscribed them, but he proposed that such as had not yet done it, might be required either to subscribe them in the Lower-House, or to do it in the Presence of the Bishops. Upon this the Upper-House ordered that the Names of those who had not subscribed them, might be laid before them next Session: On the 10th, the Prolocutor with Eight of the Clergy came up and told the Bishops, that many had subscribed since their last Meeting: Upon that the Bishops renewed their former Order.

On the 13th, there was some Treaty concerning the Subsidy; but on that Day, and it seems, on some Days following, there were very warm Debates in the Lower-House, of which I shall give a particular Account, from a Copy taken from the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Lower-House, which will be found in the Collection. On the 13th Day, Six Articles were offered to the House, which follow; First, "That all Holy-Days, except Sundays, and "the Feasts that related to Christ, should be abrogated. Second, "That in the Common-Prayer, the Minister should always turn his "Face towards the People, so as to be heard by the People, that "they might be Edified. Third, That the Ceremony of the Cross "in Baptism may be omitted, as tending to Superstition. Fourth, "That forasmuch as diverse Communicants were not able to Kneel "during the Time of Communion, for Age, Sickness, and other "Infirmities; and some also do Superstitiously both Kneel and *Knock*, "that the Order of Kneeling may be left to the Discretion of the "Ordinary within his Jurisdiction. Fifth, That it be sufficient for "the Minister in Time of saying Divine Service and Ministring the "Sacraments to use a Surplice; and that no Minister say Service, or "Minister the Sacraments, but in a comely Garment, or Habit. The "Sixth and last is, That the Use of Organs be removed. The Words are strictly as I took them from the Copy of the Journal: But the Sense of the 5th is not clear, except we suppose the Word *once* to have come after *the Minister*; so that it was proposed that it should be sufficient *once* to use the Surplice.

Coll. Numb. 74.

Great Debates concerning some Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer.

A Practice common among Papists of knocking on their Breasts, saying *Culpa mea*, at the Elevation.

There arose great Disputes concerning these Propositions; some approving, and others rejecting them: And it was proposed by some, to refer the Matter to the Archbishop and Bishops. Many protested, that they could in no manner consent to any one of them; since they were contrary to the Book of Common-Prayer, that was ratified by an Act of Parliament: Nor would they admit of any Alteration of the Orders, Rules, Rites or Regulations, already settled by that Book. There were Publick Disputations between Learned Men, some approving, and others condemning the Propositions. Thirteen Persons were named, as the Disputants. In Conclusion, the House was divided, and counted: Forty three voted for the Propositions,

and

and Thirty five voted againſt them, and that no Change ſhould be made in the Book of Common-Prayer then eſtabliſhed. But when the Proxies were counted, thoſe who were for the Propoſitions, were in all Fifty eight; and thoſe who were againſt them, were Fifty nine. So that they were agreed to by a Majority of Eight, of thoſe who were preſent, and who had heard the Diſputations; yet thoſe were out-voted by a Majority of One Vote, by the Proxy of an abſent Perſon. All their Names are ſet down in the Paper. One Thing obſervable, is, That in this Minute it is added, that thoſe who rejected the Articles, ſeemed to go chiefly on this Ground; That they were contrary to the Authorized Book of Common-Prayer: As if this had been the Aſſuming an Authority, to alter what was ſettled by the Legiſlature. It is not to be imagined, but if the Affirmative Vote had prevailed, that it could not be intended to have any other Effect, but to make an Addreſs to the Parliament, to alter the Book in thoſe Particulars. I have repreſented this Matter as I found it, and will not make any Judgment upon it, either on the one Side, or the other; but will leave that to the Reader, and go on with what remains in the Abſtract.

1562.

But by one Proxy it was carried, that none ſhould be made.

This Debate in the Lower-Houſe, put a Stop to the Buſineſs of the Convocation for Six Days, in which they only treated of the Subſidy. On the 19th of *February*, ſome Articles were communicated to the Lower-Houſe; and they were ordered to bring them back, with their Obſervations on them. Theſe ſeem to relate to Benefices and Dilapidations. And they were ordered to enquire, how many Benefices were then vacant. On the 22d, the Subſidy was agreed to. On the 24th, the Prolocutor being abſent, his Surrogate, with the Clergy, were called up; and the Ingroſſed Bill of Subſidy was read to them, and they all unanimouſly agreed to it.

On the 26th, A *Book of Diſcipline* was brought to the Upper-Houſe, by the Prolocutor, with Ten of the Clergy; to which, as it was then ſaid, the whole Clergy did unanimouſly conſent. This was referred to the Archbiſhop, with the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Hereford*, and *Ely*. On the 1ſt of *March*, the Prolocutor brought up ſome Additional Articles, which they deſired might be added to the *Book of Diſcipline*, that they had formerly brought up. The Archbiſhop gave them the Book back again; and ordered them to bring it back, together with the Additions they had made to it.

A *Book of Diſcipline* offered by the Lower Houſe.

On the 3d of *March*, the Prolocutor brought up the *Catechiſm*; to which, he ſaid, the Houſe did unanimouſly agree: The Conſidering of it, was committed to the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Hereford*, *Lincoln*, and *Coventry*. (This ſeems to be the Catechiſm, drawn by *Nowel*, Dean of St. *Paul*'s.) After that, there was a Conference among the Biſhops, for the Space of Two Hours. On the 5th of *March*, the Prolocutor brought up the *Book of Diſcipline*, with ſome Additional Chapters: One only is named, *Of Adultery*, with an *&c.* On the 10th, there was a Conference among the Biſhops for Two Hours; and on the 12th, for Two Hours more; and on the 16th, for other Two Hours; and on the 19th, for Two Hours more. After that, nothing is marked, but ſeveral Prorogations, till the 10th of

1562. of *April*, that the Royal Writ came for the Prorogation. And this is all that remains of this Great Convocation.

It does not appear, what that *Book of Discipline* was. In one of the *Zurick* Letters, as shall be told afterwards, it is said, That some Things agreed to in this Synod, were afterwards suppressed. This, I suppose, relates to that *Book of Discipline* : But whether this was the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws, prepared by *Cranmer*, and others; or whether it was modelled in any other manner, cannot now be certainly known.

But, to this Account that I have given, I will add some other Particulars, that the Diligent Mr. *Strype* has laid together; referring my Reader, for a more Copious Account of them, to his Annals.

Other Things prepared for the Convocation.

" It was designed, to have *Jewel*'s Apology joined to the Arti- " cles : Which Archbishop *Parker* intended should be in all Cathedral " and Collegiate Churches, and also in Private Houses.

" Degrees of Punishment were proposed, for all those who should " Preach, Write, or Speak, in Derogation or Contempt of this Book, " for the 1st, 2d, and 3d Offence.

" It was proposed, That all Vestments, Copes and Surplices, should " be taken away; that none but Ministers should Baptize; that the " Table for the Sacrament should not stand Altar-wise; that Organs " and Curious Singing should be removed.

" That Godfathers and Godmothers should not answer in the " Child's Name; but should recite the Creed, and desire that the " Child may be baptized in that Faith. Here, on the Margin, *Par-* " *ker* writes, *Let this be consider'd.*

" That none should be Married, but after the Banns have been " asked for Three *Sundays*, or *Holidays*. On the Margin, *Parker* " writes, *Priests solemnizing Matrimony, without Testimonial of* " *Banns, to suffer grievous Punishment.*

" That the Queen and Parliament, be prayed to renew the Act, " for Empowering Thirty two Persons to gather Ecclesiastical Laws, " and to review those appointed in K. *Edward*'s Time.

" That all Peculiar Jurisdictions should be extinguished, so that " the whole Diocese be put under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop; " that no Appeal shall lie, in Cases of Correction. On the Margin " *Parker* writes, *Let this be thought on.*

" That in every Cathedral, a Divinity-Lecture should be read " Thrice a Week.

" That the Apparel of the Clergy should be Uniform. That no " Person, not in Priests Orders, shall hold any Ecclesiastical Dignity " above a Year, if he does not take Priests Orders. *Parker* writes, " *Too much: And let it be thought on.*

" That none be capable of a Dispensation for a Plurality of Be- " nefices with Cure of Souls, if he is not at least a Master of Arts, " and they not beyond Twelve Miles Distance. *Parker* writes, *Let* " *it be considered, whether this ought to be restrained to De-* " *grees.*

"That if any has Two Cures, he shall reside constantly on one, 1562.
"unless at some Times to go and Preach in the other; under the
"Pain of Losing the greater Benefice. *Parker* adds, *Let this be*
"*thought on.*

"That no Patron Sell, or Assign the next Advowson; and that
"no Grant be made of any Benefice, till it is void.

"That all Incumbents, or Curates, shall, on *Sundays* in the Af-
"ternoon, offer to teach the Children of the Parish the Cate-
"chism.

The next Paper is, of *Remedies, for the Poverty of Ministers Livings*: But the *Remedies*, how good soever, were not found practicable; so all this Matter was let fall.

A further Continuation of the History, beyond my former Work.

With this Convocation, my Design of Continuing the History of the Reformation is now concluded. And here I once intended to have ended my Work: But the Letters sent me from *Zurick*, give me such a full and particular Account, of the first Unhappy Breach that was made in our Church, with so many Curious Incidents, that I am by these invited to set that Matter out in a clear Light, since I have it before me, in the Letters of the most Eminent of our Bishops.

A Controversy about the Use of Things indifferent.

There was a great Variety of Sentiments among our Reformers, on this Point; *Whether it was fit, to retain an External Face of Things, near to what had been practised in the Times of Popery; or not?* The doing that, made the People come easily in, to the more Real Changes that were made in the Doctrines, when they saw the outward Appearances so little altered: So this Method seemed the safer, and the readier way to wean the People, from the Fondness they had for a Splendid Face of Things, by that which was still kept up. But on the other Hand, it was said, That this kept up still the Inclination in the People to the former Practices: They were by these made to think, that the Reformed State of the Church did not differ much from them; and that they imitated them. And they apprehended, that this outward Resemblance made the Old Root of Popery to live still in their Thoughts; so that if it made them conform at present more easily to the Change that was now made, it would make it still much the easier for them to fall back to Popery: So, for this very Reason, they stood upon it; and thought it better, to put Matters in as great an Opposition to the Practices of Popery, as was possible, or convenient.

The Queen had, in her First Injunctions, ordered the Clergy to wear Seemly Garments, and Square Caps; adding, That this was only for Decency, and not to ascribe any Worthiness to the Garments: But when the *Act of Uniformity* was settled, whereas in the *Liturgy* passed in the Second Year of King *Edward*, *Copes*, and other Garments were ordered to be used; but in the Second Book, passed in the 6th Year of that King, all was laid aside except the *Surplice*: Yet the Queen, who loved Magnificence in every Thing, returned back to the Rules in King *Edward's* First Book, till other Order should be taken therein by the Queen. There was likewise a Clause

1564. put in the *Act of Uniformity*, impowering the Queen, to *Ordain and Publish such further Ceremonies and Rites, as might be for the Advancement of God's Glory, the Edifying of his Church, and the due Reverence of Christ's Holy Mysteries and Sacraments.*

Great Diversity in Practice.

The Matter being thus settled, there followed a great Diversity in Practice: Many conforming themselves in all Points to the Law; while others did not use either the Surplice, or the Square Caps and Hoods, according to their Degree. This visible Difference began to give great Offence, and to state Two Parties in the Church. The People observed it, and run into Parties upon it. Many forsook their Churches, of both Sides: Some, because those Habits were used; and some, because they were not used. It is likewise suggested, that the Papists insulted, upon this Division among the Protestants; and said, it was impossible it should be otherwise, till all returned, to come under One Absolute Obedience.

The Queen wrote to the Archbishop of *Cant.* to bring all to an Uniformity.

Upon this, the Queen, in *January* 156⅘, wrote to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, "reflecting (not without some Acrimony of Stile) "on these Diversities; as if they were the Effect of some "Remisness in him, and in the other Bishops: Requiring him, that, "with the Assistance of other Bishops, Commissioned by Her for "Causes Ecclesiastical, he should give strict Orders, that all Diversities and Varieties, both among the Clergy and People, might be "reformed and repressed; and that all should be brought to one "Manner of Uniformity, thro' the whole Kingdom, that so the "People might quietly honour and serve God.

Upon that, some of the Bishops met; Six in all. Of these, Four were upon the Ecclesiastical Commission: The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Ely* and *Rochester*: And with these joined, the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Lincoln*. They agreed on some Rules and Orders meet to be observed, not as equivalent to the Word of God, nor as Laws that did bind the Conscience, from the Nature of the Things considered in themselves; or, as that they did add any Efficacy, or more Holiness to the Publick Prayers and Sacraments; but as Temporary Orders, merely Ecclesiastick, and as Rules concerning Decency, Distinction, and Order for the Time.

Orders set out by the Bishops.

They begun with Articles of Doctrine and Preaching: "That "all Preachers should study to preach to Edification, and handle "Matters of Controversy with Sobriety and Discretion; exhorting "People to receive the Sacrament frequently, and to continue in all "Obedience to the Laws, and to the Queen's Injunctions. All "former Licenses are declared void; but are to be renewed, to such "as the Bishop thought meet for the Office; they paying only a "Groat for the Writing. If any should preach unsound Doctrine, "they were to be denounced to the Bishop, but not to be contradicted in the Church. All were to be required to Preach once in "Three Months, either in Person, or by one in their stead. Such "as were not Licensed to Preach, were to Read the Homilies, or "such other necessary Doctrine as should be prescribed. In the Sacrament, the Principal Minister was to wear a Cope; but at all "other Prayers, only Surplices. That Deans and Prebendaries

"should

" should wear a Hood in the Choir, and Preach with their Hood : all Communicants were to receive the Sacrament kneeling : Then follow Rules about Tolling the Bell when People Die ; about the Altar ; the Font ; and who may be Godfathers in Baptism : That no Shops be opened on *Sundays* : That Bishops shall give Notice against the Day of giving Orders, that all Men may except against such as are Unworthy : That none be Ordained, but within their own Diocese, except those who have Degrees in the University. Rules follow for Licences, for Archdeacons to appoint Curates to get some Texts of the New Testament by Heart ; and at the next Synod to hear them rehearse them. Ordinaries were to guard against Simoniacal Practices, and none were to Marry within the *Levitical* Degrees : Then follow Rules of their wearing Apparel, Gowns, and Caps : They were to wear no Hats, but in Travelling : But those who were deprived, might not wear them. To this they added a Form of Subscription to be required of all that were to be admitted to any Office, or Cure, in the Church ; to this Effect, that they should not Preach, but by the Bishop's Special License ; that they should read the Service distinctly and audibly ; that they should keep a Register Book, and use such Apparel, specially at Prayers, as was appointed ; that they should endeavour to keep Peace and Quiet in their Parishes. That they should every Day read a Chapter in the Old and New Testament, considering it well, to the Increase of their Knowledge ; and in Conclusion, that they should Exercise their Office to the Honour of God, and the Quiet of the Queen's Subjects ; and observe an Uniformity in all Laws and Orders already established ; and that they should use no Sort of Trade, if their Living amounted to Twenty Nobles, or upwards.

1564.

The Proceedings here in *England*, are fully collected by Mr. *Strype* ; so as to these, I refer my Reader to the Account given by him, which is both full and impartial: I shall only give the Abstracts of the Letters that passed in this Matter between our Bishops and *Bullinger*, *Gualter*, and the other Divines in *Zurich*. These Foreign Divines did not officiously, nor of their own Motion intermeddle in this Matter. It began in *January* 156¾, for then the Queen wrote to the Archbishop, and in *March* the Order was settled by the Archbishop and Bishops : But when the Bishops saw the Opposition that many were making to this, *Sampson* and *Humphreys* being the most Eminent of those who opposed it, who were in great Reputation, particularly in the University of *Oxford*, where the one was Dean of *Christ*'s-*Church*, and the other was President of *Magdalen*'s, and Divinity Professor : And they were much distinguished for their Learning, Piety, and Zeal in Religion : Upon this, *Horn*, Bishop of *Winchester*, wrote on the 16th of *July* to *Gualter*, and stated the Matter clearly to him : I have put his Letter in the Collection, though it is already printed ; but I thought it convenient to insert it, since the Letters that are to follow depend upon it.

Horn Bishop of *Winchester* writes to *Zurich* upon these Diversities in Practice.

Coll. Numb. 75.

After he had mentioned some of *Gualter*'s Works, he commends those of *Zurich* for not being imposed on by the Artifices of the *French* ; in which he hopes those of *Bern* would follow the Example

1565. that they had set them; he comes to the Affairs of *England*, " Where " they were still in fear of the Snares of the Papists, who took great " Advantage from a Question lately raised about Vestments, to say " Protestants could never agree together: The Act of Parliament " was made before they were in Office; so that they had no Hand " in making it: By it the Vestments were enacted, but without any " Superstitious Conceit about them, the contrary being expresly " declared. What was once enacted in Parliament could not be alter- " ed, but by the same Authority. The Bishops had obeyed the " Law, thinking the Matter to be of its Nature Indifferent: And " they had Reason to apprehend, that if they had deserted their Sta- " tions upon that Account, their Enemies might have come into " their Places. Yet upon this, there was a Division formed among " them: Some thought they ought to suffer themselves to be put " from their Ministry, rather than obey the Law; others were of " a different Mind. He desires that he would write his Opinion of " this Matter, as soon as was possible. They were in hope to pro- " cure an Alteration of the Act in the next Parliament; but he ap- " prehended there would be a great Difficulty in obtaining it; by " Reason of the Opposition the Papists would give them; for they " hoped that if many should leave their Stations, they might find " Occasions to insinuate themselves again into the Queen's Fa- " vour.

Coll. Numb. 76.

Answers from thence, justifying those who obeyed the Laws.

It seems he wrote a Letter in the same Strain to *Bullinger*, as will appear by his Answer of the 3d of *November*, which will be found in the Collection. " He writes, that he had heard of the Division " among them from others; but not knowing the whole State of " the Question, he was not forward to give his Opinion, 'till he " had his Letter. He laments this unhappy Breach among them: " He approves their Zeal, who wished to have the Church purged " from all the Dregs of Popery: On the other Hand, he commends " their Prudence, who would not have the Church to be forsaken, " because of the Vestments. The Great End of the Ministry was " Edification; and that was not to be abandoned, but upon very " good Grounds: Epecially when the deserting their Stations was " like to make way for much worse Things: And that they saw ei- " ther Papists, or *Lutherans*, would be put in their Places, and then " Ceremonies would be out of measure increased. No doubt, they " had brought many Persons of all Sorts to love the Purity of Do- " ctrine; but what a Prejudice would it be to these to open such a " Door, by which Swarms of Abuses might creep in among them: " This they ought carefully to prevent: As for those who first made " those Laws, or were Zealous Maintainers of them, he confesses he " is not pleased with them. They acted unwisely, if they were " truly of the Reformed side: But if they were only disguised Ene- " mies, they were laying Snares with ill Designs: Yet he thinks " every Thing of that Sort ought to be submitted to, rather than " that they should forsake their Ministry: And since it was declared " that those Vestments were to be used without any superstitious " Conceit, he thinks that ought to satisfy Men's Consciences. But in

1565.

" the mean while he proposes to them, to press the Queen and the " Nobility to go on and compleat a Reformation, that was so Glo- " riously begun. He knew that in many Places Questions were at " that Time moved, concerning the Extent of the Magistrates Autho- " rity; he wishes these might be every where let alone: Certainly " Matters of that Nature ought not to be meddled with in Sermons: " There may be an Occasion to debate about them in Parliament, " and it may be proper to speak to the Queen, and to her Counsel- " lors, in Private about them. Upon the Whole Matter he con- " cludes, that as on the one Hand he would be tender in dealing with " Men of Weak Consciences; so on the other Hand he proposes " St. Paul's Rule in such Cases, of *becoming all Things to all Men*: " He circumcised *Timothy*, that he might not give Offence to the " *Jews*; though at the same Time he condemns those who were im- " posing the Yoke of the *Judaical* Law, as necessary in the Begin- " nings of Christianity.

Bullinger writes to those who would not obey them.

When *Sampson* and *Humphreys* understood in what a Strain *Bullinger* and *Gualter* had written concerning the Vestments, they wrote on the 16th of *February*, a copious Account of the Grounds, on which they founded their Refusal to obey these Orders. Their Letters came to *Bullinger* on the 26th of *April*; and he answered them on the 1st of *May*. This will be found in the Collection. " He " puts them in mind of *Peter Martyr*'s Opinion in a like Matter, " when he was at *Oxford*; to which he could add nothing. He " could not approve of any Persons officiating at an Altar, on which " there was a Crucifix; and in a Cope, on the Back of which there " was a Crucifix. He tells them how both he and *Gualter* had an- " swered *Horn*'s Letter on the Subject: And he sent them Copies of " these Letters. He would be extreme sorry, if these did not give " them Satisfaction. He prayed earnestly to God for them. He " had a great dislike to all Controversies of that sort; and did not " willingly meddle in them: He did think that Laws might be made " prescribing decent Habits to the Clergy, which may be reduced to " that Branch of St. Paul's Character of a Bishop, that he ought to " be κόσμιος, which may be rendred decent, as well as we have it " of *good Behaviour*. Nor was this the reviving the *Levitical* Law. " Every Thing is not to be called *Levitical*, because it was practised " by the *Jews*. The Apostles commanded the Converts to Christi- " anity, to abstain from Things strangled, and from Blood. The " maintaining the Clergy by the Tythes, came from Laws given to " *Jews*; and from them we have the singing of Psalms among us: " So Things are not to be rejected because of some Conformity to " the *Mosaical* Institution. Nor can this be called a Conformity to " Popery: Nor is every Thing practised among them to be rejected " on that Account; otherwise we must not use their Churches, nor " pronounce the Creed; nor use the Lord's Prayer; since all these " are used by them. It was in this Case expressed, in the Orders set " out lately by them, that the Habits were not enjoyned on the " Superstitious Conceits of the Papists: They were only to be used " in Obedience to the Law. It savours too much of a *Jewish*, " or of a Monastick Temper, to put Religion in such Matters: If it

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1565. " is pretended that the obeying Laws in Matters indifferent, was " the giving up our Christian Liberty; that would go a great way " to the denying all Obedience, and might provoke the Magistrate " to lay yet heavier Loads on them. Habits peculiar to the Clergy " was an Antienter Practice than Popery it self: St. *John* is said to " have carried on his Head some-what like a Mitre: And mention " is made of St. *Cyprian's* having a peculiar Garment, called a *Dalmatica*. St. *Chrysostom* speaks of their White Garments. *Tertullian* tells us, that the Heathens converted to Christianity, quitted " their *Toga*, the *Roman* upper Garment, and used the *Pallium*, or " Cloak. He wishes there were no Impositions on the Clergy in " such Matters: Yet since this was an Antient Habit, and was now " enjoyned, without making it a Matter of Religon; he wishes " they would not set too great a Value upon it, but yield somewhat " to the present Time; and that they would consider it as a Thing " indifferent, and not affect to dispute too subtily about it; but to " behave themselves Modestly. They had put a Question to " him, whether any Thing may be prescribed that is not expressed in Scripture: He did not approve of laying on a Load of " such Things on Peoples Necks; but some Things might be appointed for Order and Discipline. Christ kept the Feast of the " Dedication, tho' appointed by no Law of God. If it is said " the Things commanded are not Necessary, and are of no Use, yet " they are not for that to be condemned, nor are Schisms to be raised " on that Account: Many Things are again repeated in this Letter, " that were in his Letter to *Horn*.

That Letter was printed in *England*.

A Copy of this was sent to *Horn*, and both *Grindal* and he apprehending the good Effect that the Printing it might have, in settling the Minds of many that were much shaken by the Opposition that was made to the Orders that had been set out, printed it here. So that it was not necessary for me to put it in the Collection, if I did not intend to lay the chief Papers relating to this Matter so together, as to set it all in a clear Light.

Upon this *Sampson* and *Humphreys* wrote over to *Zurich*, complaining of the Printing of their Letter, and carrying their Complaints against the Constitution of the Church much further, than to the Matter of the Vestments: They complain of the Musick, and Organs; of making Sponsars in Baptism answer in the Child's Name; of the Cross in Baptism; of the Court of Faculties; and the Paying for Dispensations; all which will appear fully in a Letter of theirs in the Collection, which they wrote to them in *July*: " They acknowledge their Letter had not fully satisfied them: They do not " think the prescribing Habits to the Clergy meerly a Civil Thing; " they think St. *Paul's* κόσμιος belongs to the Ornaments of the Mind. " And add, how can that Habit be thought decent, that was brought " in to dress up the Theatrical Pomp of Popery? The Papists gloried in this our Imitation of them. They do approve of setting " Rules concerning Order, but that ought not to be applyed to this, that " overturns the Peace and Quiet of the Church, in Things that are " not either Necessary, or Useful; that do not tend to any Edification, but serve to recommend those Forms, which all do now abhor,

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" abhor. The Papifts themfelves glory in this, that thefe Habits " were brought in by them; for which they vouch *Otho*'s Conftitu- " tion, and the *Roman* Pontifical. They were not againft the Re- " taining any Thing that was good, becaufe it had been abufed in " Popery.

" They affirm, that in King *Edward*'s Time, the Surplice was not " univerfally ufed, nor preffed; and the Copes then taken away, are " now to be reftored. This is not to extirpate Popery, but to plant " it again; and inftead of going forward, is, to go back. It was " known, how much Virtue and Religion the Papifts put in the Sur- " plice; and at this Day it is held in as great Efteem, as the Monks " Habits were wont to be. The Ufe of it, may, by degrees, bring " back the fame Superftition. They did not put Religion in Ha- " bits; they only oppofed thofe that did: And they thought, that " it gave fome Authority to Servitude, to depart from their Liber- " ty. They hated Contention, and were ready to enter into friend- " ly Conferences about this Matter. They do not defert their " Churches, and leave them expofed to Wolves; but to their great " Grief, they are driven from them. They leave their Brethren, to " ftand and fall to their own Mafters; and defire the fame favoura- " ble Forbearance from them, tho' in vain hitherto. It was by other " Men's Perfuafion, that the Queen was irritated againft them: And " now, to fupport thefe Orders, all that is pretended, is, that they " are not unlawful: It is not pretended, that there is any Thing " good, or expedient, in the Habits. The Habits of the Clergy are " Vifible Marks of their Profeffion; and thefe ought not to be ta- " ken from their Enemies. The Ancient Fathers had their Habits; " but not peculiar to Bifhops, nor diftinct from the Laity. The In- " ftances of St. *John*, and *Cyprian*, are fingular. In *Tertullian*'s " Time, the *Pallium* was the Common Habit of all Chriftians. " *Chryfoftom* fpeaks of *White Garments*, but with no Approbation: " He rather finds Fault with them. They had cited *Bucer*; but he " thought, that the Orders concerning Habits, by reafon of the Abufe " of them in the Church of *England*, ought to be taken away, for " a fuller Declaration of their Abhorrence of *Antichrift*, for Affert- " ing the Chriftian Liberty, and for Removing all Occafions of Con- " tention. They were far from any Defign of making a Schifm, " or of Quarrelling. They will not condemn Things Indifferent, " as Unlawful: They wifh, the Occafion of the Contention were " removed, that the Remembrance of it might be for ever buried. " They, who condemned the Papal Pride, could not like a Tyranny " in a Free Church. They wifh, there might be a Free Synod, to " Settle this Matter; in which, Things fhould not be carried ac- " cording to the Mind of One or Two Perfons. The Matter now " in Debate, had never been fettled by any General Decree of a " Council, or of any Reformed Church. They acknowledge, the " Doctrine of this Church was now pure; and why fhould there be " any Defect in any Part of our Worfhip? Why fhould we borrow " any Thing from Popery? Why fhould they not agree in Rites, " as well as in Doctrine, with the other Reformed Churches? They " had a good Opinion of their Bifhops, and bore with their State and

1565. " Pomp : They once bore the same Cross with them, and preached " the same Christ with them : Why are they now turned out of " their Benefices, and some put in Prison, only for Habits ? Why " are they publickly defamed ? The Bishops had printed the Private Letter that they had written to them, without their Knowledge or Consent. The Bishops do now stand upon it; as if the " Cause were their own. But to let them see, that the Dispute was " not only about a Cap; they sent them an Abstract of some other " Things, to which they wish some Remedy could be found; (which is in the Collection) " and conclude with some Prayers to " God, to quiet those Dissentions, and to send forth Labourers into " his Vineyard.

Coll. Numb. 79.

Coll. Numb. 80.

Bullinger's Answer to Sampson.

To this, I have joined the Answer, that *Bullinger* and *Gualter* wrote to them. In it they tell them, " That they did not expect that their Letters should fully satisfy them : They only wrote their Opinion to them, because they desired it. They " were heartily sorry to find, that they could not acquiesce in it. " They would engage no further in that Matter : They could answer their Arguments, but they would give no Occasion to endless Disputations. They thought it would be more expedient, to " submit to those Habits, and to continue in the Church , than by " refusing to use them, to be forced to leave their Churches. They " went no further, and did not approve of any Popish Defilements, or " Superstitions. Nor did they in any sort enter into those other " Matters, of which they do now complain, and of which they " knew nothing before. These were Matters, of much greater Consequence, than either the Surplices, or the Copes : So that it was " to be hoped, that the Letter they had written about the Habits, could " not be stretched to these Matters. There was nothing left to them, " but to commend them to God, and to pray that he would quiet this " unhappy Dissention among them, and give his Church the Blessings of Peace. They only desire them to remember, that the " Ministers of the Gospel ought not only to hold fast the Truth, " but likewise to be Prudent Stewards, having a due Regard to the " Times, bearing many Things with Patience and Charity, and so " maintain the Peace of the Church : And not to prejudice it by an " over-eager, or morose Temper; nor think it enough, that they " had a good Design; but they must pursue it by prudent Methods.

They wrote to the Earl of Bedford.

Bullinger and *Gualter*, seeing the Division like to be carried much further than the Matter of the Vestments, thought the best Office that they could do their Friends, was, to write to the Earl of *Bedford*; being well assured of his Zeal in the Matters of Religion. They wrote to him on the 11th of *September*, that Year : The Letter will be found in the Collection. They tell him, " That when " they first heard of the Contention raised about the Vestments, " they were afraid it might have a further Progress. They, being " desir'd, did give their Opinion freely in the Matter; and thought, " that for Things of so little Importance, it was not fit for the " Clergy to desert their Stations, and to leave them to be filled, per-

Coll. Numb. 81.

" haps,

1565.

"haps, by Wolves, and Deceivers. They were sorry to find, that "their Fears of the Mischief that might follow on this Contention, "were but too well grounded. They hear, that not only the Vest-"ments are complained of, but that many other Things are except-"ed to, that plainly savour of Popery. They are also sorry, that "the Private Letter which they wrote, should have been printed; "and that their Judgment of the Vestments was extended to other "Things, of which they could in no sort approve: So that their "Opinion in one Particular is made use of, to cast a Load on Per-"sons, for whom they should rather have Compassion in their Suf-"ferings, than study to aggravate them. It gave them a very sensi-"ble Grief, to see the Church of *England* scarce got out of the "Hands of their bloody Enemies, now like to be pulled down by "their intestine Broils. So, having an entire Confidence in his "good Affection to the Gospel, they pray him to intercede with "the Queen and the Nobility, in the Parliament that was soon to "meet, for their Brethren that were then suffering; who deserved, "that great Regard should be had to them, and that their Faults "should be forgiven them. It had appeared, what true Zeal they "had for Religion; since the only Thing, about which they were "so sollicitous, was, that Religion should be purged from all the "Dregs of Popery. This Cause in general was such, that those "who promoted it, proved themselves to be worthy of the Highest "Dignity. Princes were to be Nursing Fathers to the Church: "Then they perform that Office truly, when they not only res-"cue her out of the Hands of her Enemies, but take care that the "Spouse of Christ be not any way stained with the false Paint of "Superstition, or render her self suspected, by having any Rites un-"becoming the Christian Simplicity. They do therefore earnestly "pray him, that as he has hitherto shewed his Zeal in the Cause of "the Gospel, so he will at this Time exert himself; and employ all "the interest he has in the Queen, and in the Nobility, that the "Church of *England*, so happily Reformed, to the Admiration of "the whole World, may not be stained with any of the Defilements or "Remnants of Popery. This will look like a Giddiness in them: "It will offend the Weak among them, and give great Scandal to "their Neighbours, both in *France*, and in *Scotland*, who are yet "under the Cross. The very Papists will justify their Tyranni-"cal Impositions, by what is done now among them. They lay all "this before him with the more Confidence, knowing his Zeal, as "they do. They also wrote in the same Strain to *Grindall* and *Horn*, as will be found in the Collection.

Coll. Numb. 82.

When *Grindall* and *Horn* understood, that those of *Zurick* were not pleased with the Printing of their Letter; of which they wrote to them, and sent with it the Paper, in which were put the Heads of those other Things in the Constitution of this Church, to which they excepted; they both, jointly, wrote Answer to them, in one Letter to *Bullinger* and *Gualter*, on the 6th of *February*; which will be found in the Collection.

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1566.

Grindall and Horn's Letter, shewing their Uneasiness in many Things.

" They tell them, they had printed their Letter, but had suppressed the Names of those to whom it was directed. It had the good Effect that they expected from it: For it had satisfied and settled the Minds of many, who were upon the Point of Leaving their Churches: And even the most troublesome were so far wrought on by it, that they were silent, and less violent in their Opposition, than they had formerly been. Some few were turned out, but they were not of the more Learned Sort; except *Sampson*, who, they acknowledge, was both Pious and Learned. *Humphreys*, and other Learned Men, were still continued in their Stations. The Letter that they had printed, related only to that Particular upon which it was written, and could not be applied to any Thing else: Nor was there any other Question then on foot: So that it was a Calumny to say, that their Opinion was asked about any other Matter. The Noise and the Complaints that some had made, had very much provoked the Queen and many of the Nobility against them. The Papists triumphed upon it, and hoped to come in again, and to fill the Places, which were made void upon their Deserting their Stations. They do solemnly attest the Great God, that this Dissention was not raised by any Fault of theirs; and that it did not lie at their Door, that those Vestments were not quite taken away. They may take their Oaths upon it, that they had used all possible Means in that Matter; and had, with the utmost Earnestness, and the most sincere Diligence, laboured to obtain that which their Brethren desired, and which they themselves wished for. But since they could not do what willingly they would do, they must be content with doing what they could do.

" As to the other Particulars complained of, they plainly write, they did not approve of that figured Musick, together with the Use of Organs, that was continued in Cathedrals. They enlarge on many other Particulars, and set forth the Method of Convocations. They did in no sort approve of Women's Baptizing. They gave way, till God should send better Times, to the Form of making the Sponsors in Baptism answer in the Child's Name; for which St. *Austin*'s Authority was pretended: But they did openly declare, that they thought it was not convenient. Nor did they approve of using the Cross in Baptism; tho' the Words spoken when it was made, did plainly shew, there was no superstitious Conceit kept up by the Use of it. They also suffered the Posture of Kneeling in the Sacrament, with the due Caution with which it was enjoined, that was set down in King *Edward*'s Book, declaring the Reason for which that Posture was still continued. For the Abuses of their Courts, tho' they cannot correct them entirely, yet they did openly inveigh against them; which they would continue still to do, till they should be sent back to Hell, from whence they came. Every Man had full Freedom, to declare his Mind as to all these Abuses: They had laboured in the last Parliament all they could, to purge out all Errors and Abuses; which, tho' it had not then the desired Effect, yet they would not give over their Endeavours to bring it to a happy Conclusion: And this

"they would do, as they desired the Continuance of their Friend-
"ship and Brotherly Love.

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The others still insisted, and *Sampson* in a Letter from *Oxford* the 9th of *February*, 156⅚, to *Bullinger*, reduces the Questions concerning the Habits to Seven Heads. 1st, If a Habit different in Form, and Colour, from the Laity, ought to be enjoyned to the Clergy? 2dly, If the Mosaical Ceremonies may be brought into the Christian Church? 3dly, If it is lawful to conform to Papists in Habits and outward Rites, and if it is fitting to borrow Ceremonies from that Corrupt Church? 4thly, If the using a peculiar Priestly Habit, is meerly a Civil Matter, and if it does not savour of Monkery, Popery, and Judaism? 5thly, If those who have hitherto used their Liberty, may with a good Conscience, upon the Account of the Queen's Mandate, involve themselves, and the Church again in a Yoke of Bondage? 6thly, If the Popish Clerical Habit can be called a Thing that is Indifferent? And the 7th is, If they ought to use these Habits, rather than desert their Stations? To these he begs him to send as soon as may be, a full and copious Answer.

Coll. Numb. 84.

Jewel's Sense of those Matters.

A few Days after this, *Jewel* wrote to *Bullinger*, (in the Letter that is in the Collection,) "That he was so attacked by many different Hands, that it took him wholly up to prepare Answers to "them. He was not in the House of Lords during the last Parliament, in which there was great Heat for a whole Month, concerning the Succession to the Crown: But the Queen would suffer no Declaration to be made in that Matter, though it was most vehemently pressed, there appearing on both Sides a great deal of Earnestness. The Queen thought any such Declaration would turn the Eyes of the Nation too much towards the rising Sun. He says the Controversy about the Vestments had raised great Heats. The Queen was fixed, and could not be wrought on to let any Change be made. Some of their Brethren were so eager in disputing about that Matter, as if the whole Business of Religion was concerned in it. They leave their Stations, and Churches, rather than yield a little. Nor were they at all moved from their Stiffness by the most Learned Letters, that he and *Gualter* had written to them on that Subject; nor by all the Advices of their Friends. He thanks God that they had no other, nor more Important Debates then among them. *Cheyney*, Bishop of *Gloucester*, did indeed in Parliament profess himself openly to be a *Lutheran*; but he was not like to have many Followers.

Coll. Numb. 85.

In a Letter of his, that is also in the Collection, written to *Bullinger* on the 1st of *March*, 1565: "He writes that he was overwhelmed with the Books that the Papists had written against him, and was by that Means engaged in a profound Course of Study. He tells him how Cardinal *Grandvell* had intended to cut off the Intercourse between *England* and the *Netherlands*; hoping by that Means to provoke the *English* to break out into Tumults; but the Design turned upon himself: For the *English* resolving to settle their Trade and Staple at *Embden*, the People of *Flanders* could not bear that. The Pope had sent one to *Ireland* to raise a Flame in that Island. But the Pope's Agent, who was an *Irish* Man, was

1566. "taken and sent over a Prisoner to *England.* In *Scotland* the Queen "only had her Mass, all the Nation being averse to it.

Reflections on this Matter.

By *Grindal* and *Horn*'s Letters, it appears that they had no other Zeal in this Matter, but to preserve the Church in the Queen's Favour, and in Obedience to the Laws: Yet in Letters that were upon this Occasion written to *Zurich*, (a Part of one is in the Collection;) by some others that adhered to *Sampson*, they let them know that both *Parker* the Archbishop, and *Grindal* and *Horn* were too much sharpned in this Matter: Therefore they pray them to use their Endeavours to soften them more towards their Brethren: But they acknowledge that *Pilkinton* of *Duresme*, *Sands* of *Worcester*, and *Parkhurst* of *Norwich*, had by their Moderation made good all their Promises: So they deserved that Thanks should be given them: They desire further, that they would write to them all to proceed more mildly, and to endeavour to get those Dregs of Popery to be removed: And that they would tolerate, at least connive at those who did not approve them. I find *Pilkinton* complains in a Letter to *Gualter*, "That the Disputes which began about the Vestments, were carried "much farther, even to the whole Constitution. Pious Persons lamented this; Atheists laughed at it; and the Papists blew the "Coals, and were full of hopes upon it. The Blame of all was "cast on the Bishops: He adds, I confess we suffer many Things "against our Hearts, groaning under them: We cannot take them "away, though we were ever so much set on it. We are under "Authority, and can innovate nothing without the Queen; nor "can we alter the Laws: The only Thing that is left to our Choice "is, whether we will bear these Things, or break the Peace of the "Church.

Coll. Numb. 86.

Other Letters written to *Zurich* by some Bishops.

Parkhurst in one Letter writes, "Many good People are pleased "with all that is done; but there are some Things that do not "please me. And in another he writes, Matters of Religion go on "well: There are but a very few Things that I dare find Fault with. "That which grieved him most was, that the Lives of those who "professed the Gospel, were so very contrary to it. The Gospel "was never preached among them more Faithfully, and with more "Zeal: He prays, God grant us his Spirit that we may walk in the Spi- "rit, and mortify the Works of the Flesh. The last Letter that those of *Zurich* wrote on this Subject, was on the 26th of *August*, 1567, directed to the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, and *Norwich.* "They "express their Grief that some Learned Men were deprived: They "hear daily that some of those that had given good Proofs of themselves in the *Marian* Persecution, were now not only turned out, "but imprisoned: They hear that in *Ireland*, many that have the "same Scruples, are yet kept out of all Trouble by the Queen's "Order, upon the Intercession of their Bishops: Which makes it "probable that the like Favour might be obtained in *England*, if the "Bishops would interceed with her Majesty for it; which may the "rather be expected, since the Bishops themselves acknowledge, that "it were better for the Church, that these Ceremonies were all laid "aside; and affirm that they had often moved in Parliament that "they might be taken away, that so the Church might be more pure

Coll. Numb. 87.

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" and lefs burdened. Therefore they do not doubt but that they, " out of their Piety, will endeavour to procure Favour to their Bre-" thren, to which they do very earneftly, but yet decently, and " modeftly, prefs them. *Cox*, Bifhop of *Ely*, who I do not find meddled much in thefe Controverfies, has in a Letter to *Gualter* fome very fad Expreffions; for which there is too much Occafion at all Times. " When I confider the Sins that do every where abound, " and the Neglect and Contempt of the Word of God, I am ftruck " with Horrour, and tremble to think what God will do with us. " We have fome Difcipline among us with relation to Mens Lives, " fuch as it is; but if any Man would go about to perfuade our No-" bility to fubmit their Necks to that Yoke, he may as well venture " to pull the Hairs out of a Lions Beard.

1566.

Sands was of the fame Mind: He lamented the occafion of this Difpute, and hoped to fee an End put to it. In a Letter to *Bullinger* from *Worcefter*, Dated the 3d of *January* 1566, he writes thus: " The True Religion of Chrift is now fettled among us, " which is the moft valuable of all things. The Gofpel is no more " fhut up but is freely preach'd, and for other things we need not be " much concerned about them. There is fome fmall Difpute con-" cerning the Popifh Veftments whether they ought to be ufed or " not? But God will put an end to thefe Things.

Contenditur aliquantulum de veftibus Papifticis utendis vel non utendis dabit Deus hic quoque finem.

A few Days after that, *Jewel* in a Letter Dated the 8th of *February* 1566, to *Bullinger*, (a part of it is in the Collection, the reft of it relates to the Books he was then writing in defenfe of his Apology) tells him " That the Queen feemed fixed in her Refolution " not to Marry: He expreffes his great Concern that the heat raifed " on the account of the Surplice was not extinguifhed: He writes " that the Affairs of *Scotland* were not in a quiet State, fome of the " chief of the Nobility had retired into *England*; others fortified " themfelves in their Caftles, and were as in a State of War with " the Papifts. The Queen, tho' an obftinate Papift, yet does not " feem refolved what courfe fhe had beft take; for in Matters of " Religion the greateft part both of the Nobility and People were " againft her; and their Number did daily increafe. The King of " *Spain* fent lately an *Italian* Abbot thither with *Spanifh* Gold. He " was a fubtle and crafty Man, and did fo far gain not only on the " Queen, but on the King, that tho' he had hitherto gone to Ser-" mons, and had no Mafs, yet upon the affurance of a rich Ship " that was expected within a Day, he prefently ordered Mafs to be " faid in his Church; while *Knox* in the very next Church was " preaching againft Idolatry, and the whole Papal Tyranny, with " greater Zeal than ordinary: But the *Spanifh* Ship was furioufly " fhattered by a Storm and was caft on the Coaft of *England*, fo " that weak King would find what he had gained by his going to " Mafs. *Sampfon* and *Humphreys* wrote a long and particular Anfwer to the Letter that *Grindal* and *Horn* wrote to *Bullinger*, but that runs into a tedious Controverfy, with which the Divines of *Zurich* wrote that they would meddle no more in thofe Matters, fo I do not think fit to infert it.

Of the Affairs of Scotland. Coll. Numb. 88.

" They

1566. "They complain that the Archbishop had contributed to buy an
" Organ for *Canterbury*, which was no Sign of his disliking it. They
" complain that many were put in Prison because they would not pro-
" vide Godfathers and Godmothers for baptizing their Children: They
" say the Convocation signified little: For many things were agreed to
" in the Convocation in the Year 1562, that would have tended to
" the great good of the Church, but were suppressed: for nothing
" was of force but as the Queen and the Archbishop consented. And
" in the last Convocation, a very learned Man that belonged to the
" Bishop of *Norwich* proposed somewhat relating to the Vestments:
" to whom a Bishop said, What have you to do in those Matters, we
" began them and we will end them? He answered the Bishop, this
" Matter has been hitherto laid wholly on the Queen, but now you
" take it on your selves. They also in another Paper set forth, that
" in Queen *Mary*'s Days, when the Church of *England* was broken
" and dispersed, a Body of Protestants formed themselves into a
" Church at *London*, and had their Ministers and Deacons, and
" continued thro' all her Reign tho' many of them were burned:
" But that after Queen *Mary*'s Death, the Exiles were recalled, and
" the Prisoners were set at liberty; only this Church that had con-
" tinued all the while in the midst of the Flame was now extin-
" guished. In another Letter he assures *Simler* there was no danger
" of *Lutheranism* only we are now fighting among our selves about
" Ceremonies, Vestments, and Matters of no Importance. That
" Matter has somewhat shaken Men of weak Minds: I wish that all
" even the smallest Remnants of Popery could be wholly put, not
" only out of our Churches but chiefly out of the Minds of all Peo-
" ple; but the Queen at this time cannot bear any Alteration in
" Religion.

I shall carry this Matter no further, having gone beyond what I had at first proposed by the Importance of these Papers, that give so clear and so true an Account of the beginnings of those unhappy Disputes, of which we have seen and do still feel the unhappy Consequences. In these we clearly see what was the Sense of the most Eminent and the most Learned of our Reformers in those Matters. They continued their Correspondence with *Zurich* as long as those great Men lived with whom they had lodged in their great Distress, and to whom they had been so singularly obliged, that they were ready always to acknowledge it, and were often sending Presents to them.

The Queen of *Scots* Marries the Lord *Darnley*.

In *Scotland* Things were running into great disorder. The Queen, as she liked the Person of the Lord *Darnley*, and perhaps the better, because he seemed to be of a soft and gentle Temper, and easy to be governed; so her faithfullest Counsellors concurred in advising the Marriage. He was the next Heir to the Crown of *England* after the Queen. For tho' the Queen Dowager of *Scotland*, that was *Henry* the VIIIth's Sister, having married the Earl of *Angus*, after King *James* the IVth was killed; but falling to be in ill Terms with him, either found or suborned Witnesses (as it was given out) to prove upon him a Pre-contract in Words of the present Time, by which she obtained a Sentence dissolving that Marriage: Yet the

Daughter ſhe had born to him, was declared Legitimate, in the Bull that confirmed the Sentence, declaring that Marriage diſſolved, The Original of which I ſaw: The Reaſon given is, becauſe ſhe was Born of the Mother's Part *Bona fide*. Lord *Darnly* being thus deſcended, and born within the Kingdom of *England*, might have been a dangerous Competitor for that Crown, eſpecially if he ſhould fortify himſelf by a prudent Marriage, and a good Conduct in *England*: So it was certainly good Advice given the Queen, ſince ſhe liked his Perſon, to ſecure her Right to that Succeſſion by this Marriage. When ſhe Married him ſhe declared him King, and put his Name on the Coin after her own. The Qualities of his Mind did not anſwer the Gracefulneſs of his Perſon: For ſometimes he was in all Things compliant to the Queen, but that laſted not long. She had ſuch an affable and obliging Air, which her Education in the Court of *France* had much improved, that it was not eaſy to reſiſt it. At firſt ſhe ſeemed ſo Indifferent as to the Matters of Religion, that the Minds of the Nation were much quieted, when they concluded that ſhe continued to be a Papiſt more from Principles of Honour and Intereſt than from her own Perſuaſion.

1566.

But they came to have other Thoughts of her when ſhe began to expreſs more Zeal in thoſe Matters. Her Kindred by her Mother puſhed her on, and ſhe was animated both from the Court of *France*, and from *Rome*, to reſtore the Popiſh Religion: On theſe Hopes ſhe ſet her Gates open to all that deſired to come to her Maſs, and had many Maſſes every Day in her Chapel. The Body of the *Scottiſh* Nation did not eaſily bear with the Maſs, which the Queen had at firſt privately in her Court for her ſelf; and for a very ſmall Number of Servants, who were of her own Religion: In the Parliament in the Year 1563, a Petition was offered by the Noblemen, and the Superintendents, and Miniſters of the Reformed Religion, which will be found in the Collection, ſetting forth, That whereas in the laſt Convention of the Kirk that was held at *Edinburgh* in *June* laſt, ſome were ſent to the Queen with certain Articles to which they deſired anſwer; and tho' the Queen had anſwered them in part, yet ſhe referred the farther Anſwer to the preſent Parliament; ſo a full Anſwer was now prayed. And whereas in the Parliament held in *July* 1560, it was Enacted, That the Maſs, and all Papiſtry, ſhould be put out of the Realm, and Chriſt's Religion ſhould be Univerſally received; and that the Queen, by divers Proclamations, has approved Chriſt's Religion, which ſhe found publickly received at her arrival, in particular at *Dundee*, on the 15th of *September* laſt, in which the King and Queen did both by Act of Council, and by Proclamation, promiſe, That in this preſent Parliament ſhe would eſtabliſh the Religion of Chriſt, and aboliſh all Laws and Conſtitutions contrary to the ſame; upon which they deſired, that the Premiſes might be conſidered; and ſo they laid before the Parliament the Articles which they had laid before the Queen and her Council, together with her Anſwer, and the Reply made to it by the Kirk.

She ſhews more Zeal in her Religion.

Coll. Numb. 89.

In the Articles they demand firſt, That the Papiſtical Maſs with all Idolatry, and the Popes Juriſdiction, might be aboliſhed, not only in the Subjects but in the Queen's own Perſon: And that the true Religion

The Demand of the Reformed.

1566. ligion might be ratified through the whole Kingdom, as well in the Queen's Person, as in the Subjects: And that the People might be required to resort on *Sundays* to Prayers and Preaching, as they were before to the Idolatrous Mass. Secondly, That Provision may be made for the Ministers Maintenance; and that such as are admitted into the Ministry may have their Livings assigned them where they Labour, or in Parts adjacent; and that they may not be put to crave them of others: And that the Benefices then vacant, or that have been vacant since *March*, *Anno* 1558, or that shall become vacant, be given to learned Persons, able to Preach God's Word, upon their Tryal and Admission by the Superintendants. And that no Bishoprick, Abby, or other Ecclesiastical Benefice, having many Churches annexed to it, be given to any one Man: But that the Churches may be severally disposed of, so that every Man may serve at his own Church; and that Glebes and Manses be assigned to them, that they may reside at their Churches, and discharge their Consciences in them; and that the Churches may be kept in due Repair. Thirdly, That none may have Charge of Souls, or be put in Colleges or Universities, or publickly Instruct the Youth, but such as are tried by the Superintendents and the Visitors of the Churches, and are admitted by them. Fourthly, That Lands founded for Hospitals may be restored to the Use of the Poor; and that all Rents and Profits belonging to any Order of Friars be applied to the Poor, and for Schools in Towns. Fifthly, That horrid Crimes, Blasphemy, Sorcery, Adultery, Incest and Murther, with many other Crimes that are reckoned up, may be severely punished; and that some Order may be taken for the ease of the Labourers of the Ground, concerning the reasonable Payment of their Tithes, and in the letting of them.

The Queen's Answer to them.

To this the Queen answered, " That as She did not think that " there was any Impiety in the Mass; so She hoped, her Subjects " would not press her to receive any Religion against her own Con- " science, which would throw her into a perpetual Unquietness, by " the Remorse of her Conscience. She would never leave the Reli- " gion in which She had been brought up. And it would be fur- " ther a great Prejudice to her, in that by her so doing, She should " lose the Friendship of the King of *France*, the Ancient Ally of " this Kingdom, and of other Princes, from whom She may find great " Supports: So She will not in an Instant put her self in hazard of " losing all her Friends: And since She has not yet pressed, nor " means She hereafter to press the Conscience of any Man, but " leaves them to Worship God according to their Persuasion, She " hopes they will not press Her to offend Her own Conscience. But " when the Parliament meets, Her Majesty will consent to every " Thing that the Three Estates shall agree upon; and She renews " the Assurance She had given, That Mens Lives or Estates shall be " in no hazard for any Cause of Religion.

As to the Second Article, " The Queen thought it not reasonable that " She should deprive her self of so great a part of the Patrimony of the " Crown, by putting the Patronage of Benefices out of her Hands,

" for

" for her own Neceſſity required the keeping them in her own " Hands: Yet She was contented to aſſign what might ſerve for " the Reaſonable Suſtentation of the Miniſters. She referred the " other Articles to the Parliament.

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To this Anſwer the Kirk replied, " That the Firmneſs She ex-" preſſed to the Maſs, gave no ſmall Grief to her good Subjects. " Their Religion was no other than that which Chriſt revealed, and " his Apoſtles preached; which differed from the Impiety of the " *Turks*, the Blaſphemy of the *Jews*, and the vain Superſtition of " the Papiſts. And, upon that, as they run out into a high Commendation of their Religion, ſo " they require the Queen, in the " Name of God, to embrace the Means, by which She may be " perſuaded to the Truth: Which they offered preſently to her, " by the Preaching of God's Word, and by Publick Diſputation " againſt the Adverſaries of it, whenſoever She thought it expedi-" ent. And as for the Maſs, they undertook to prove it to be a " Maſs of Impiety, from the Beginning to the End. As for the " Prejudice, that the Queen thinks would follow on her Changing " her Religion, by Diſſolving the Alliance She is in with the King " of *France*, and other Foreign Princes; they anſwer, That the " true Religion is the undoubted Means to keep up a perfect Confe-" deracy with him, who is the *King of Kings*, and who has the " Hearts of all Princes in his Hands; which ought to be more valu-" ed, than all other Confederacies whatſoever.

As to the Second Article; " They did not intend to defraud her " of the Patronages; but only, that Perſons preſented to Benefices, " ſhould be tried and examined by the Learned Men of the Kirk, or " the Superintendents appointed for that End. But as the Preſenta-" tions belong to Her, ſo Collation upon them belongs to the Church, " and the Patrons may not Preſent, without Trial and Examination: " which if they might do, muſt bring great Ignorance and Diſorder " into the Church. And it was far againſt all good Conſcience, for " the Queen to retain a good Part of the Benefices in her own Hands. " This was ſo contrary both to all Divine and Human Laws, that " they were unwilling to open up that whole Matter to her. And " therefore they beg She would conſider, that tho' the Patronage of " Benefices belonged to her, yet the Retention of them in her own " Hands, and the not Giving them to Qualified Perſons, is ungodly, " and contrary to all Order, and ruinous to the Souls of the Peo-" ple. They were deſirous to have her Neceſſities relieved: But " they add, that the Tithes are the Patrimony of the Church; out " of which, in the firſt place, thoſe who ſerve in the Miniſtry ought " to be relieved, the Churches ought to be repaired, and the Youth " inſtructed. They concluded with Thanks, for her Willingneſs to " have the Miniſters provided for: And they pray, that a Special " Condeſcending on Particulars may be thought on.

But all theſe Petitions were ſtill put off: And the Queen, by her Practice among the Nobility, began to divide them into Factions; and plainly ſaid, when theſe Petitions were read to her, That *She would do nothing in Prejudice of the Religion that She profeſſed*: And in wrath told them, *She hoped, before a Year was expired, to have the*

Spotſwood.

1566. *the Mass, and the Catholick Religion professed thro' the whole Kingdom.* And She managed the Parliament so dextrously, that neither was the Treaty of *Leith*, nor the Settlement of Religion made in the Parliament 1560, so much as named, much less confirmed. In this Parliament, some small Provision was made for the Ministers; and Acts were made against Sorcery and Adultery, that they should be punished by Death. There was indeed an Act of Oblivion pass'd, for all that was done from the 6th of *March* 1558, to the 1st of *September* 1561: But the Parliament of the Year 1560, came to be looked on as an Illegal Assembly: So that upon this, a great Alarm was given to the whole Body of the Reformed in that Kingdom; and the Jealousy was increased, by the Queen's Marrying the Lord *Darnly*. He had been bred up a strict Papist, but now pretended to be a Protestant; yet as he was all the while suspected of Favouring the Religion he was bred up in, so he quickly returned to the open Profession of it. This gave Occasion to another Petition in a bolder Strain, in which the Body of the Reformed set forth, "That "the true Religion was established in that Nation; that the Mass, "and all the Idolatry and Tyrannical Usurpations of the Pope were "suppressed, and that they were going on to a perfect Reformation: "But that all had been stopp'd now for the Space of Four Years. "That upon her Arrival, that Idol the Mass was again set up, and "Men were put in Offices, to which they had no Right. From "such Beginnings, they saw what they might look for; yet, in "hope that God would mollify the Queen's Heart, and out of their "Desire to maintain the Publick Peace, they had long expected to "see what Answer would be made to their Petitions. But they saw "Things grew daily worse and worse. The Queen's Gates were then "set open, in Contempt of Proclamations set out by her self to the "contrary. The Patrimony of the Church was bestowed on unworthy Persons: Their Ministers were reduced to great Poverty, "and put to much Trouble. Vices of all sorts abounded universally: They therefore prayed the Queen, to think of Redressing "these Matters, and to answer their other Petitions; assuring her "of all due Obedience, to her Laws and Authority. They also "pray, that She would give them no Occasion to think, that She "intended the Subversion of the true Religion, and the Destruction of those who professed it: For they assure her, they would "never be subject to that *Roman* Antichrist, nor suffer (as far as it "lay in their Power to hinder it) any Branch of his Usurped "Authority to have place within the Realm. This, which is in the Collection, prevailed no more, than their other Petitions had done.

Coll. Numb. 90.

I will add to this a few Particulars relating to the Affairs of *Scotland*, as they are set forth in some of these Letters that were sent me from *Zurick*. *Parkhurst*, Bishop of *Norwich*, in a Letter to *Bullinger*, (which is in the Collection) writes in the Year 1566, "That in *March* last, an *Italian*, called Signior *David*, (whom he "charges as skilled in Necromancy) who was in great Favour with "the Queen, was dragg'd out of her Room, and stabb'd by many "Hands.

Coll. Numb. 91.

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" Hands. And adds, That an Abbot was then ſo wounded, that
" though he eſcaped, yet he died of his Wounds ſoon after: And
" that one *Black*, a Dominican, in great Eſteem among the Papiſts,
" was alſo killed in the Court. And upon all that Diſorder, while
" the Privy Council was ſitting, the Lords eſcaped with their Lives:
" Since that Time, the Queen had brought forth a Prince: She was
" reconciled to her Huſband, and had called home her Brother, and
" the Lords that were of the Reformed Side: But though the Queen
" had born her Son Ten Weeks before he wrote, yet all that while
" he was not Baptized; for ſhe intended to do it with Pomp, and
" many Maſſes in the Great Church, though the Inhabitants of *Edin-*
" *burgh* were reſolved to hinder that: They apprehended ſhe would
" bring over a Force from *France*: He concludes with a Prayer, not
" very Evangelical, that *God would either convert, or confound her.*
" There are Circumſtances in this Letter, of ſome others killed with
" Seignior *David*, that I have found no where elſe.

Coll. Numb. 92.

About the ſame Time, *Grindal* wrote likewiſe a Letter to *Bullinger*, which is alſo in the Collection; in which he thanks him for the Letters he had written over concerning the Controverſy about the Habits: He writes, " That it was not credible that a Queſtion
" about Things of no Moment, ſhould have raiſed ſo great a Diſtur-
" bance, as this had done: Many, both of the Miniſters, and the
" People, were deſigning to withdraw from them, and to ſet up ſe-
" parate Meetings; but moſt of them were now come to a better
" Mind. He acknowledges their Wiſe and Good Letters had con-
" tributed much towards that: Yet ſome continued ſtill in their for-
" mer Reſolutions. It were an eaſy Thing to reconcile them to the
" Queen, if they could be brought to change their Mind: But 'till
" that was done, it was not in their Power to effect it. The Biſhops
" upon their Return, and before they were Conſecrated, had endea-
" voured all they could to get thoſe Things removed, that gave Oc-
" caſion to the preſent Diſpute: But in that they could not prevail,
" neither with the Queen, nor with the Parliament. So they upon
" conſulting among themſelves, came to a Reſolution, not to deſert
" their Churches for the ſake of a few Rites that were not unlawful,
" ſince the Doctrine was entire and pure; in which they agreed in all
" Things with them of *Zurich*. They ſaw the good Effects of theſe
" their Reſolutions: And thoſe unſeaſonable Contentions about Things
" Indifferent, did not edify, but tear the Churches.

" From their own Affairs he turns to thoſe of *Scotland*;
" where he writes, Things were in no good State. They ſtill re-
" tained the Profeſſion of the Truth; but the Queen endeavoured
" by all Means to extirpate it: She had lately ordered 6 or 7 Maſſes
" to be ſaid every Day in her Chapel; and admitted all that pleaſed
" to come to them: Whereas at firſt ſhe was contented with one pri-
" vate Maſs, to which no *Scotchman* was admitted: And whereas it
" was provided that the Miniſters ſhould be maintained out of the
" Revenues of the Church, ſhe had now for Three Years ſtopt all
" Payments: There were no Publick Changes yet made; both the
" the Nobility and the People continued very firm: Of whom he
" reckons the Earl of *Murray* the Chief: He underſtood that the

1567. " Queen was in very ill Terms with her Husband on this Account:
" There was one *David* an *Italian*, recommended to her by the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, who governed all the Councils there, and was " Secretary of State. The King, finding he had no regard to him, " grew uneasy at it; and being Young and Rash, he entered into a " Conspiracy with some of the Nobility, and some of his Court; " so the *Italian* was dragged out of the Queen's Presence, notwith- " standing her earnest Intreaties to save him; and he was no sooner out, " than many run their Daggers into him; so he was murdered with- " out any Cause declared. This horrid Crime stuck deep in the " Queen's Heart; so that, though she had born a Son to him, she " could never forgive him.

The dismal Fate of that Unfortunate Queen is so tender a Point, that I will say nothing of it, but in the Words of others. There is a Letter of *Grindal*'s to *Bullinger*, dated the 21st of *June*, 1567. All in that Letter which relates to this Matter, is in the Collection; in which, these Words will be found. " *Scotland* is fallen into new " Troubles: For their late King *Henry*, on the 10th of *February*, " was found Dead in a Garden near his Lodgings. It is not yet agreed " how he died. Some say that a few Barrels of Gun-Powder, being " on Design, laid under the Chamber in which he lay; these being " kindled, the House was blown up, and so he was thrown out " into that Garden. Others say, that in the Night he was dragged " out of his Chamber and strangled, and that then the House was " blown up. The Earl of *Bothwel* was generally thought the Au- " thor of this Murder: He also procured, by the Authority of the " Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, a Divorce from his Lawful Wife: " And on the 15th of *May* last, the Queen had married him, and " created him Duke of *Orkney*. Almost all the Nobility had left the " Court before this Marriage, when they saw that no Enquiry was " made into the King's Murder: They had a Meeting at *Sterlin*, " where it appeared by clear Evidences, that the Murder was com- " mitted by *Bothwell*: So an Army was brought together on Design " to seize on him, but he made his Escape; and it was not then " known whither he was gone. Some say the Queen was besieged " in a certain Castle; and others say she was made a Prisoner in " the Castle of *Edinburgh*, as having been Conscious to the Mur- " der of her Husband. But whatsoever may be in this, that Infa- " mous Marriage must end Tragically: With this he Concludes that " Matter, promising him a more particular Account, when the cer- " tainty of it was better understood.

Coll. Numb. 93.

To this I will add another Relation that may be more certainly depended on. Cardinal *Laurea*, whom the Pope had sent to be his Nuncio in *Scotland*, may be supposed to have had the best Information that he could procure from those of her Party, and of her Religion, and he would certainly have put the best Face possible on that Matter; especially after her Tragical Fate, which raised an Universal Disposition in all People, to think as well of her as was possible: But chiefly among those of that Religion, so that I know no Relation of that Affair that can be so certainly depended on, (making still some Allowances for the Softnings of a Partial Writer,) as that which we find

1567.

and in that Cardinal's Life, which was written by the Abbot of *Pignerol*, and was printed at *Bologna* in the Year 1599, in which he gives this Account of this Whole Matter.

Pope *Pius* the Vth, sent *Laurea* to be his Nuncio in *Scotland*, to assist and encourage the Queen in her Zeal: He sent by him 20000 Crowns to her, as an Earnest of further Supplies; and wrote to her with his own Hand, recommending his Nuncio to her. The Nuncio came to *Paris* in the Dog-Days, and brought him who writes his Life along with him to be his Secretary. He received Letters from the Queen of *Scots* by the Hands of the Archbishop of *Glascow*, who was then her Ambassador in *France*: By these she expressed her Desires that he might come to *Scotland* as soon as might be; but wished him to delay coming, 'till he should hear from her once more, that she might have all Things prepared for his Reception. He upon that wrote to her in a very vehement Stile, pressing her to Zeal and Fortitude of Mind, in carrying on the Restoring the Catholick Religion in her Kingdom: With that he sent her over 4000 Crowns, and sent one *Edmund Hay* a Jesuit, and a Man of a Cunning, and Penetrating Temper, to be a secret Assistant to her: In particular, he pressed her, either to punish, or at least to disgrace *Lethington*, who he believed set on all the Tumlts, and was a determined Heretick, and a Favourer of the Earl of *Murray*.

Life of Queen *Mary*, printed at *Rome*, An. 1624.

Con has printed these Letters. *Pius* the Vth's Letter bears Date the 16th of *June*, 1566. In it, "He recommends his Nuncio to "her Confidence, who was then Bishop of *Mondovi*, (*Montis Regalis*) and promises all possible Assistance to her, in her Design of "bringing back her Kingdom to the Obedience of the Holy See. Queen *Mary*'s Answer bears Date the 9th of *October* that Year, from *Edinburgh*: "She in it acknowledges the Pope's Favour and "Bounty to her: She adds some high Expressions of her Sense of "the Pope's Zeal and Piety; and promises to treat his Nuncio with "all Respect and Confidence. She tells him that she had born a Son; "and that she had brought her Nobility, though not without much "difficulty, to consent that he should be publickly Baptized after "the Manner of the Catholick Church. She promises to bring him "up in that Religion: And she hoped this should prove a good Be- "ginning of restoring the Right Use of the Sacraments, in her Do- "minions. The Pope seemed much pleased with this Beginning of his Pontificate; and in his Answer, on the 22d of *January* following, "He congratulates the Birth and Baptism of her Son, and prays that "it may have a good Effect.

Three Months passed before *Laurea* had any Intimation from the Queen concerning his coming over: Upon which he sent the Bishop of *Dunblane*, who was then at *Paris*, with copious Advices to that Queen, and continued to press her very earnestly by his Letters, to admit of his coming over: The Substance of all which, is set forth in his Life: He tells us further, "That the Queen held a Con- "vention of the Estates, and had obtained Two Things of them, not "without difficulty: The one was, that her Child should be Bap- "tized according to the Rites of the *Roman* Church; and the other "was, that the Pope's Nuncio should be admitted with due Respect:

Upon

1567. Upon this the Nuncio deſigned to go to *Antwerp*, thinking that the Navigation would be ſafer from thence, than from *Calais*. But then he adds, " That ſuch a Barbarous and Impious Crime was committed " in *Scotland*, that it gave a Horrour to think of it, much more to " write of it. Of what follows in that Life I will add a Verbal Tranſlation.

" The King, as was ſaid, had the Small-Pox; upon which that " the Contagion might not endanger the Queen, he retired to a " Houſe at ſome diſtance from the Palace: As he began to recover, " he was often viſited by her: One Day they Supped together, and " after much Diſcourſe, and that they had diverted themſelves 'till " it was late, the Queen pretended ſhe could not ſtay with him all " Night, for one of her Maids of Honour being Married that Day, " ſhe muſt according to the Cuſtom of former Queens, ſee the Bride " put to Bed. She was ſcarce gone, when ſome Gun-Powder that " was ſecretly laid under the Houſe, was fired, ſo that the whole " Houſe was blown up, and the King killed: Though ſome ſaid, " that he was not blown up, but that hearing ſome Noiſe of armed " Men, he had got out by a Back-Door into a Neighbouring Garden; " and that he, and one of his Servants, were ſtrangled before the " Houſe was blown up. It is certain, that the King's Dead Body " was found in that Garden, with no other Hurt, but that about " his Neck a blackneſs appeared all round it. When this baſe Mur- " der was known, all People were ſtruck with Horrour: Some " ſpoke ſeverely of the Queen herſelf; Libels were publiſhed upon " it; and ſome having diſcovered that *Bothwel* was the Author of " this horrid Murder, they charged him, as being not only an Aſſaſ- " ſinate, but a Cruel Hangman. It being on ſuch Occaſions ordina- " ry for People to ſearch into, and to diſcover ſuch Things.

" *Bothwel*, though a Heretick, had been always Zealous for the " Queen, and Faithful to her; and he had lately with great Cou- " rage reſcued her out of a Danger ſhe was in, from a very great Se- " dition: Beſides, that the Queen loved him *deſperately*; therefore, " he in hope to be Married to the Queen, firſt divorced his Wife, as " if upon Adultery that might be ſo done, that he might Marry ano- " ther Wife, and then he cruelly contrived the Murdering the King. " The Queen after ſhe had born down ſome very wicked Reports " concerning herſelf, and *Bothwel*, being afraid of ſome Tumult, " that might have been Fatal to them, thought fit to leave *Edinburgh*. " So ſhe carried her Son with her to *Sterlin*, a Place of Defence: " Having laid (as is probable) a Deſign with *Bothwel* how Matters " were to be managed: A few Days after, ſhe pretended to go out " a Hunting; then *Bothwel* with 200 Horſe ſeemed to ſurprize her, " and to ſeize her by Force. But the Queen coming back with him " to the Caſtle, preſently made him Duke of *Orkney*, and declared " him her Huſband. That Marriage did neither prove Happy, nor " laſting: It being a Conjunction that had nothing of the Matrimo- " nial Dignity in it, but had ſprung from a Partnerſhip in an Un- " worthy Crime. *Murray* was then out of *Scotland*, but he had " left *Ledington* among others behind him, who were to raiſe New " Quarrels and Tumults upon every Occaſion. It was eaſy to

Ledington

1567.

" *Ledington*, to work up the Minds of the People, who were uni-
" verſally enraged againſt the Queen and *Bothwell* to a great Flame:
" Therefore a tumultuary Army being in haſte brought together at
" *Edinburgh*, they marched towards *Sterling*. But when the Queen
" heard that, She, with a few Women, and ſome of her Court,
" went to them. They received her with due Reſpect: And be-
" ing aſked, why they came thither Armed? They anſwered, they
" came only to puniſh *Bothwell*, for the Crimes committed by him,
" both in the baſe and cruel Murder of the King, and in the Force
" he had put on her Perſon. The Queen juſtified *Bothwell*; and
" ſaid, He had done nothing, but by her Conſent: This did pro-
" voke them to ſuch a degree of Indignation, that they cried all out
" with one Voice, *Then, Madam, you ſhall be our Priſoner*: And
" without more delay, they impriſoned her in a Caſtle within an
" Iſland in *Lochlevin*; appointing only One Footman, and Two or-
" dinary Women to attend upon her.

Thus the Pope's Nuncio underſtood this Matter. There are ſome inconſiderable Circumſtances in this Relation, wrong told; yet the Main of the Story agreeing with other Relations, ſhews how falſely this Matter has been ſince that Time repreſented, not only by Writers in the Church of *Rome*, but by many among our ſelves, to put better Colours on this odious Buſineſs. To this (that I may end all this Unhappy Matter at once, without adding any Reflections on it, or telling what were the Cenſures that paſſed on this Occaſion; of which I have a great Variety on both Sides by me, in Books printed very near that Time) I ſhall only add another very important Paſſage, that is in the Life of that Cardinal, relating to the Teſtament, which that Queen wrote with her own Hand in *French*, the Day before She was beheaded. In it, " She expreſſed " her conſtant Zeal for the Catholick Religion; and provided, that " if the Prince, her Son, did not renounce the falſe and Heretical " Perſuaſion which he had drunk in, the Inheritance of the Crown " of *England* ſhould never deſcend to him; but ſhould devolve from " him, to *Philip* King of *Spain*. When this Original Will was " brought to the Cardinal, he examined it with great Care; that ſo it " might appear that it was truly her Laſt Will, and that it ought to be " acknowledged as ſuch. He compared it with the Letters he had " formerly received from that Queen: And not only he himſelf, " but one *Lewis Owen*, an *Engliſhman*, (Biſhop of *Caſana*) then at " *Rome*, whom the Writer calls a Pious and a moſt Honeſt Man, ſigned " and atteſted it. The Will being thus confirmed, and as it were fortifi- " ed by a Publick Authority; he delivered it to the Count of *Oli-* " *vares*, the King of *Spain*'s Ambaſſador, that it might be faithfully " tranſmitted to that King himſelf. I have put the Words of the Author of that *Life*, in the Language in which he wrote it, in the Collection; ſo that the Reader may compare the Tranſlation I have given, with the Original. I leave this Diſmal Relation as I found it in theſe Vouchers, without any further Canvaſſing of that Black Affair; which was followed by a Train of very Extraordinary Tranſactions.

P. 72.

Coll. Numb. 94.

The

1567. The *Scotish* Nation, both Papists and Protestants, concurred in the New Settlement; of which I shall give a particular Account from an Authentick Proof lately found in *Scotland*, and now kept in the Library of the College of *Glasgow*: It is the first Bond of Association that was entred into, upon the Resignation of the Crown, which the Queen was prevailed on to make, (by *Force*, as she afterwards declared, when she made her Escape out of the Prison, with which she was threatened): She sent it by the Lord *Lindsay* (Ancestor to the Earl of *Crawford*) and the Lord *Ruthven*, afterwards made Earl of *Gowry*. This bears Date at *Edinburgh* the 24th of *July*, 1567. By it, She resigned the Crown to her Son; and during his Infancy, She named the Earl of *Murray* to be Regent, who was then in *France*, and did not come to *Scotland*, at least he did not Sign this Bond before the 22d of *August*. But in the Council-Book, on the 25th of *July*, the Bond it self is entred on Record: And the Council removing to *Sterling* on the 29th of *July*, the Queen's Resignation was presented, and received by the Earls of *Morton*, *Athol*, *Glencairn*, *Mar*, *Monteith*, the Master of *Grame*, the Lord *Home*, and the Bishop of *Orkney*, in the Name of the Three Estates: And the Earl of *Morton* taking the Coronation-Oath in the Name of the Prince, he was Anointed and Crowned by the Bishop of *Orkney*: Who did indeed little Honour to this Ceremony; for he, a few Days before, had performed the Nuptial Ceremonies between the Queen and the Earl of *Bothwell*. Upon all this, the Bond (which is in the Collection) was made to this Purpose. "That whereas the Queen being weary of the Pains and Travail of Government, and desiring "that in her Life-time her Son might be placed in the Kingdom, "and be obeyed by all her Subjects, had resigned the Crown in "Favour of her Son: They therefore promised, and bound them-"selves to assist their King, in Setting him on the Throne, and Put-"ing the Crown on his Head: And that they should give their "Oaths of Homage, with all dutiful Obedience, to him, as became "true Subjects; and should concur in Establishing him in his King-"dom, and resist all such as should oppose it.

Coll. Numb. 95.

This was made up in some Sheets of Vellum; and there are above Two Hundred Hands of the most Eminent Families of that Kingdom set to that Bond. Twenty Five of these were then Earls and Lords; and there are Fifteen others, whose Families are since that Time advanced to be of the Nobility. The Noblemen are, the Earl of *Murray*, (who signs *James Regent*) the Earls of *Huntley*, *Argyle*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Mar*, *Glencairn*, *Errol*, *Buchan*; the Lords, *Graham*, *Home*, *Ruthen*, *Sanquar*, *Glams*, *Lindsay*, *Carlisle*, *Borthwick*, *Innermaith*, *Uchiltry*, *Sempil*, *Methven*, *Cathcart*, *Grey*, *Ross*, *Lovat*, and the Master of *Montross*: For Earls Sons were then so designed. The Noble Families, whose Ancestors signed this Bond, are, *Buccleugh*, *Queensberry*, *Athol*, *Roxburgh*, *Anandale*, *Galloway*, *Findlater*, *Panmur*, *Dalhousy*, *Leven*, *Stair*, *Kenmore*, *Jedburgh*, *Cranston*, *Kircudbright*.

Besides those who subscribed the First Bond, there was a Second Bond (that is likewise in the Collection) entred into in *April* 1569; "by which they did not only acknowledge the King's Authority, "but

Coll. Numb. 96.



FRANCISCUS WALSINGHAM Reg: Elis: a Secretis
A.D. 1573. Obiit A.D. 1590.

"but likewise (during the King's Minority) the Authority of the "Earl of *Murray*, as Regent; renouncing all other Authority. And "they swear to observe this Bond; in which if they fail'd, they are "contented to be counted False, Perjured, and Defamed for ever. This, besides many of those who signed the former Bond, was signed by the Earls of *Crawford* and *Cassilis*, and the Lords *Salton*, *Ogilby*, *Oliphant*, and the Ancestors of the Earls of *Seaforth* and *Southesk*, and of the Lord *Duffus*. And in a subsequent Bond, signed to the Earl of *Morton* when he was Regent, there are Five other Lords, who signed it: The Earl of *Angus*, Ancestor to the Duke of *Douglas*, the Lords *Levingston*, *Drummond*, *Boyd*, and *Hoy* of *Tester*, the Ancestors of the Earls of *Linlithgow*, *Perth*, and *Kilmarnock*, and of the Marquis of *Tweedale*.

1567.

These were for the greatest part Protestants: But there were many Papists that joined with them. The Earl of *Huntley*, Ancestor to the present Duke of *Gordon*, was the Head of the Popish Party. The Earl of *Athol*, whose Name was *Stuart*, and whose Family is since extinct in the Male Line, protested against the Reformation in Parliament, and had assisted at the Baptism of the Young King, in the Popish Manner. And besides these, the Lords *Oliphant*, *Gray*, *Sempill*, *Maxwell*, and *Borthwick*, were still Papists. Thus, as the War against the Queen Regent (Eight Year before) was engaged in on National Grounds, this great Revolution of that Kingdom, seems to have proceeded, as to the Civil Part, upon the same Principles. So that whatsoever was done in this Matter, was done, not upon the Grounds of the Reformation, but upon National Grounds, and pretended Precedents and Laws: In all which, the Queen of *England* had secretly a great Hand, how much soever it was disguised, or denied.

Papists joined with Protestants.

The Interest of State was clearly of her Side: For the House of *Guise*, that began to form Great Projects in *France*, laid a main Part of their Scheme, in the Design of Advancing the Unfortunate Queen of *Scotland* to the Crown of *England*: And in the View of that Succession, many Plots were formed, to destroy that Glorious Queen. They also practised upon the King, her Son, as soon as he was capable of being wrought on, by the Duke of *Lenox*, and others; whom they employed about him, to keep him in a Dependance on them. They assured him, he should still be King of *Scotland*; their Design being, that if their Practices against Queen *Elizabeth* had succeeded, his Mother should have left *Scotland* to him, when She was advanced to the Crown of *England*. They did likewise engage him to continue unmarried: Tho' He, being the only Person of his Family, it was otherwise very reasonable to Marry him soon. Yet they durst not venture on a Popish Match, till their Great Design on the Crown of *France* had succeeded: And they would by no means suffer him to Marry into a Protestant Family.

The Reasons that moved Q. *Eliz.* to be jealous of the K. of *Scotland*.

They kept him so much in their Management, that the Queen of *England*, and her Wise Council, understanding all this Practice, raised those Jealousies of his Religion, and made such Discoveries of

1567.

that secret Correspondence he was in with the House of *Guise*, that to this all the Troubles that the Kirk gave him were chiefly owing. The Leaders among them knew, from the Intelligence sent them, by the Court of *England*, more than they thought fit to own, or than could be well proved. This was the true Cause of all that peevish Opposition, that he met with from the Ministers there; which is copiously set forth by Archbishop *Spotswood*. But either he knew not, or did not think fit to set that out, as the Effect of the Jealousy raised by the Court of *England*, on the Account of the Confidence, in which he was engaged with the House of *Guise*.

The Effects that this had.

But as these Practices had a fatal Conclusion with Relation to the Unfortunate Queen *Mary*, after her long Imprisonment, so when upon the Murder of the Duke of *Guyse*, and the Successes in the Beginning of *Henry* the IVth of *France*'s Reign, all those Projects of that Ambitious and Persecuting House, were at an End; the King of *Scotland* married to a Daughter of *Denmark*, and continued still after that in a Confidence with the Queen of *England*, which secured to him the Succession to that Crown.

In giving this Short View, which I thought Important, and in which I was instructed by many Papers that I have seen, I have run a great way beyond my Design; which was only to open the First Settlement of the Reformation in the Isle of *Great-Britain*, now happily by her Late Majesty united into One Kingdom: So that nothing remains to be written in Pursuance of that. Only, since upon some Publick Occasions, I have referred to a Declaration of Queen *Elizabeth*'s, (by which She owned and justified, the Assistance that She gave to the Subjects, both of *Scotland*, and in the *Netherlands*, in the Necessary Defence, to which the Illegal Cruelty of their Governors forced them;) and since I have been Challenged to Publish it, not without Insinuations that it was a Forgery; I have thought it proper to conclude my Collection of Records with that Declaration; that so a Paper of such Importance may be preserved, and may be more generally read.

Coll. Numb. 97.

The Conclusion.

I now conclude this Work; in which, as I have faithfully set out every Thing, according to the Materials and Vouchers with which I was furnished, so I have used all proper Means, to procure the best Information that I could. It remains, that I leave this to Posterity, as the Authentick History of a Series of Great Transactions, honestly (tho' often feebly) conducted, with good Intentions, and happy Beginnings, tho' not carried on to the Perfection that was designed and wished for.

The *Proviso* that had passed in King *Henry* the VIIIth's Time, that continued all the Canon-Law then received in *England*, till a Code of Ecclesiastical Laws was prepared; which tho' attempted, and well composed, was never settled; has fixed among us many gross Abuses, besides the dilatory Forms of those Courts, which make all Proceedings in them, both slow and chargeable. This has in a great measure enervated all Church-Discipline. A Faint Wish, that is read on *Ash-Wednesday*, intimates a Desire of Reviving the Ancient Discipline; yet no Progress has been made, to render that more effectual.

The

The Exemptions settled by the Papal Authority, do put many Parts of this Church in a very disjointed State; while in some Places the Laity, and in many others Presbyters exercise Episcopal Jurisdiction, independent on their Bishops; in Contradiction to their Principles, while they assert a Divine Right for settling the Government of the Church in Bishops, and yet practise Episcopal Authority in the Vertue of an Act of Parliament, that provisionally confirmed those Papal Invasions of the Episcopal Power; which is plainly that, which by a Modern Name is called *Erastianism*, and is so severely censured by some who yet practise it; since whatsoever is done under the Pretence of Law, against the Divine Appointment, can go under no better Name, than the highest, and worst Degree of *Erastianism*.

The Abbots, with the devouring Monasteries, had swallowed up a great Part of that which was the true Patrimony of the Church: These Houses being suppressed, unlimited Grants were made of their Lands, without reserved Provisions for the Subsistance of those who were to serve at the Altar; this has put a great Part of our Clergy under crying Necessities; and though the Noble Bounty of the late Queen has settled Funds for their Relief, the good Effect of that comes on but slowly: Yet it is some Comfort to think that within an Age, there will be an ample Provision for all that serve in the Church; and upon that Prospect we may hope that many Abuses will be then quite abolished.

But with all these Defects, we must rejoice in this, that our Doctrine is pure and uncorrupted; that our Worship is truly a *reasonable Service*, freed from Idolatry and Superstition; and that the main Lines of our Church Government agree to the First Constitution of the Churches by the Apostles: So that upon the Grounds laid down by St. *John*, all may *hold Fellowship with us, since we hold Fellowship with the Father, and with the Son Jesus Christ*.

May we all adhere firmly to the *Doctrine of the Apostles*, and continue in *their Fellowship, in Sacraments and Prayers*, suitably to the Rules laid down by them: Contending earnestly for the Faith delivered by them to the *Saints*, the First *Christians*: *And may all who believe in God, be careful to maintain Good Works for Necessary Uses*; which are both *Good and Profitable unto Men*; *avoiding Foolish Questions, and Contentions, for they are unprofitable and vain.*

May we all continue to recommend our Doctrine and Church by a Holy and Exemplary Deportment, *Shining as Lights, and walking Worthy of God, who has called us to his Kingdom and Glory*; improving all the Advantages that we have, and bearing with all the Defects that we labour under, using our best Endeavours to have them redressed; yet still keeping the *Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace*; waiting for such a Glorious Conjuncture, as may restore every Thing among us to a Primitive Purity and Splendor: Which God may perhaps grant to the Prayers of those who call on him Night and Day for it.

1567. But if we never see so happy a Time upon Earth, we know if we continue Watchful, and *Faithful to the Death*, we shall arrive at last at a Blessed Society, of *innumerable Companies of Angels*, and the *Spirits of Just Men made Perfect*; of whom is composed the *General Assembly and Church of the First Born, who are Written in Heaven, who see and enjoy God for ever.* In the View of Directing my self, and others thither, I have written, and now I do conclude this Work.

A TA-

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Anno 1558.

The

An ADDITION.

I Have laid out, by all the Methods I could think on, for that *MS.* of Archbishop *Spotswood*'s History, that I mention *Pag.* 285. I once thought I had found it; for I fell on one Copy, that had belonged to the late Duke of *Lauderdale*; but it was not that which had belonged to me: Yet by that I see, that Archbishop came gradually, and not all at once, out of his first Opinion. For in this *MS.* there is a Material Difference in the Correction that is in the Archbishop's own Hand, from the first Draught. The first Draught is, That Princes *may commit Offences deserving Deprivation*: But the *Correction* is, *They may fall into great Offences*, without any more. A little after he had written, *Whatsoever may be thought of this Opinion*; which imports some Doubt concerning it: These Words are struck out; but so that they are still legible. A little after that, the *MS.* has it, that *by an Act of Council, all the Errours committed by the Queen Regent were reckoned up.* This is softned, by these Words inserted after *Errours*; *alledged to have been committed.* Thus it appears, that the Archbishop's first Notions, had carried him to write in a Stile that wanted great Correction, as his Thoughts grew into a better Digestion, or as his Interests carried him to see Things in a different Light, from that in which they had at first appeared to him.

A COLLECTION OF Records, Letters, AND Original Papers; With Other INSTRUMENTS Referr'd to in the Former HISTORY.

A COLLECTION OF RECORDS, &c.

Number I.

The Bull *of Pope* Paul *the* IVth, *annulling all the Alienations of Church-Lands.*

Rescissio alienationum & locationum quorumcunque bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, in damnum Ecclesiarum, vel non servatis juris solemnitatibus aut alias nulliter factarum.

Bullar. Cherubini. Bulla secunda Pauli quarti.

Similem rescissionem fecit, Leo X. & postea Jul. III. quas prætermisi tanquam minus necessarias, & eas inseruit Rodoan. in suo Tract. de Reb. Eccles. non alienan. & eandem edidit etiam Pius IV. quo ad bona Sedis, & Cameræ Apostolicæ in const. 104. Apostolica. Quamvis prius ipse hanc bullam generaliter reduxisset ad terminos juris communis in Const. 11. Provida. Sed Pius V. ejusmodi bonorum omnium Ecclesiasticorum alienationis rescissionem commisit Collegio Fabricæ Basilicæ S. Petri de Urbe, ut in sua Const. 98. & si de singulis.

De alienationibus istis, habes supra Const. 1. Leonis 1. Fol. 1. & Pauli II. in Const. 5. Ambitiosæ. Fol. 329. Et de alienationibus ac infeudationibus Civitatum & Terrarum Sedis Apostolicæ, ac bonorum quæ subditi Papæ habent in ejus statu Ecclesiastico, plene dictam in constitut. 1. Innocent IX. Quæ ab hac.

Paulus Episcopus, *servus servorum Dei. Ad futurum rei memoriam.*

Edita A. D. 1555.

Symmachus Papa bona Ecclesiastica alienari prohibuit. in c. 6. de Reb. Eccles. non alienan.

1. Injunctum nobis desuper, meritis licet imparibus, Apostolicæ servitutis officium, mentem nostram continua pulsat instantia, ut bona Ecclesiastica, quæ cæca hominum cupiditate occupata detinentur,

nostræ operationis Ministerio, ad jus, & proprietatem eorum, quorum antea erant, omnino reducantur. Cum itaque (sicut nobis innotuit) licet alias fel. re. Symmachus Papa Prædecessor noster prædium Ecclesiæ pro aliqua necessitate quovis modo alienari, aut jura Ecclesiæ in usumfructum dari prohibuerit, & lege hujusmodi omnes custodes astringi, ac donatorem, ac commutatorem, & venditorem honorem perdere, & qui præmissis subscriberent, anathema esse, cum eo qui daret, sive reciperet, nisi restituerentur, & quas liber Ecclesiasticas personas contradicere, & cum fructibus alienata reposcere posse, hocque non solum in Ecclesia Romana conservari, verum etiam in universis per provincias Ecclesiis convenire voluerit.

Paulus 2. alienationes bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, & ultra triennium locationes &c. interdixit in Const. cit. in rubr.

2. Et piæ mem. Paulus Papa 2. etiam prædecessor noster omnium rerum, & bonorum Ecclesiasticorum alienationem, omneque pactum, per quod ipsorum dominium transferretur, ac concessionem, hypothecam, locationem, & conductionem ultra triennium, necnon infeudationem, vel contractum emphyteuticum, præterquam in casibus à jure permissis, ac de rebus & bonis in emphyteusim ab antiquo concedi solitis, fieri prohibuerit. Et si quis contra hujus posterioris prohibitionis seriem, de bonis & rebus eisdem quicquam alienare præsumeret, alienatio, hypotheca, concessio, locatio, conductio, infeudatio hujusmodi nullius omnino essent roboris, vel momenti, & tam qui alienaret, quam qui alienatas res, & bona reciperet, sententiam excommunicationis incurreret, & nihilominus res & bona alienata hujusmodi, ad Ecclesias, monasteria, & loca pia, ad quæ antea pertinebant, libere reverterentur.

Alienationes tamen multæ factæ fuerunt in damnum Ecclesiarum, vel non servatis solemnitatibus.

3. Nihilominus à nonnullis annis citra diversæ personæ, tam seculares quam Ecclesiasticæ, complura Castra, Terras, Oppida, Civitates, & loca, tam Romanæ prædictæ, quam diversarum Cathedralium, etiam Metropolitanum & aliarum Ecclesiarum, necnon Monasteriorum, domorum, & aliorum Regularium locorum, ac Hospitalium, & aliorum Piorum locorum, prætextu diversarum alienationum, eis de castris, terris, oppidis, civitatibus, & locis prædictis in evidens damnum Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, domorum, Hospitalium, & aliorum Regularium, & Piorum locorum, seu alias non servatis solemnitatibus à jure requisitis factarum occupaverint, & occupata detinuerint, detineant de præsenti, ac ex inde factum sit, ut non solum Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, & domorum Prælati, ac Hospitalium, & aliorum Regularium, & Piorum locorum hujusmodi Rectores, qui ex fructibus, redditibus & proventibus castrorum, terrarum, oppidorum, civitatum, & locorum hujusmodi, Ecclesias, Monasteria, & domus, Hospitalia, & alia loca prædicta gubernabant, & illustrabant, ac eorum Ministris alimoniam prebebant, notabiliter sint damnificati, verum etiam Rom. Pont. qui antea egenis, & miserabilibus personis, præsertim nobilibus ad hanc Almam Urbem pro tempore confugientibus alimenta aliunde subministrare consueverat, vix se & familiam suam sustentare, ne dum aliis alimenta subministrare possit, in divinæ Majestatis offensam, & ordinis clericalis opprobrium, ac plurimorum Christi fidelium scandalum.

Ideo hic Pont. alias rescindit, & annullat.

4. Nos præmissa conniventibus oculis pertransire nequeuntes, quinimmo cupientes eis, quantum cum Deo possumus, opportunum remedium adhibere, motu proprio, & ex certa nostra scientia, ac de

Apostolicæ

Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, omnes & singulas alienationes, & in emphyteusim, seu censum perpetuum, aut tertiam, vel aliam generationem, seu hominis vitam, aut aliud tempus ultra triennium locationes vel concessiones, seu permutationes, hypothecas, & obligationes, de quibus vis castris, terris, oppidis, civitatibus, & locis, aut aliis bonis immobilibus, seu rebus, & juribus, tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus ejusdem Romanæ, & quarumcunque Cathedralium, etiam Metropolitan, & aliarum Ecclesiarum, necnon Monasteriorum, domorum, & aliorum Regularium locorum, & quorumvis beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, cum cura & sine cura, secularium, & quorumvis Ordinum Regularium, necnon Hospitalium, & aliorum piorum locorum quorumlibet, per quoscunque etiam Rom. Pont. prædecessores nostros, seu eorum auctoritate, vel mandato, Camerarios suos, & Clericos Cameræ Apostolicæ Præsidentes, ac quosvis Ecclesiarum, Monasteriorum, & domorum Prælatos, & beneficiatos, necnon Hospitalium, & aliorum Regularium, & piorum locorum Rectores, cujuscunque dignitatis, status gradus, ordinis, & conditionis existentes, etiam si Cardinalatus honore pollerent, in damnum Ecclesiæ, seu non servatis solemnitatibus à jure requisitis, aut alias quomodolibet hactenus factas, & contractus superinde sub quibusvis formis, & verborum expressionibus habitos, & Celebratos, etiam si juramento vallati existant, & quantumvis longâ temporis præscriptione robur sumpsisse dici possint, ac ipsius Romanæ Ecclesiæ favorum, aut commodum concernant, eorum omnium tenores, ac si de verbo ad verbum inserentur, præsentibus pro expressis habentes, Apostolica auctoritate, tenore præsentium rescindimus, irritamus, cassamus, & annullamus, ac viribus omnino evacuamus, ac pro rescissis, irritis, cassis, & nullis, ac penitus infectis haberi Volumus.

5. Ipsosq; detentores ad Castra, terras, oppida, civitates, & loca occupata, ac bona, res, & jura prædicta Romanæ & Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitan ac aliis Ecclesiis, necnon Monasteriis, domibus, Hospitalibus, & beneficiis, ac Regularibus, & piis locis relaxandum, & de fructibus, tam hactenus perceptis quam in posterum percipiendis, realiter satisfaciendum teneri, & ad id etiam sententiis, censuris, & pœnis Ecclesiasticis, ac etiam pecuniariis, omnibusq; aliis opportunis, juris & facti, remediis cogi, & compelli posse.

Detentores q. debere relaxare bona occupata, & fructus restituere declarat.

6. Sicque in præmissis omnibus & singulis per quoscunque Judices, & Commissarios, quavis auctoritate fungentes, etiam causarum Palatii Apostolici Auditores, & ipsius Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinales, ac eorum Collegium in quavis causa, & instantia, sublata eis, & eorum cuilibet quavis aliter judicandi, & interpretandi auctoritate, & facultate, judicari, & diffiniri debere ac si secus super his à quoquam quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari, irritum & inane decernimus.

Decretum irritans.

7. Non obstantibus constitutionibus, & Ordinationibus Apostolicis, cæterisq; contrariis quibuscunque. Nulli ergo &c. Si quis &c.

Clausulæ derogatoriæ.

Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum, anno incarnationis Dominicæ, 1555. Pridie idus Julii, Pont. nostri Anno primo.

D. P. An. 1555. d. 14. Julii

Number 2.

A Letter of Queen Katherine's, *to King* Henry, *upon the Defeat of* James *the* 4*th*, *King of* Scotland.

An Original.

S I R,

Vespatian. F. 3. P. 15.

MY Lord *Howard* hath sent me a Letter open to your Grace within oon of myn, by the whiche ye shall see at length the grete Victorye that our Lord hath sent your Subjects in your Absence: And for this Cause it is noo nede herin to trouble your Grace with long Writing; but to my thinking this Batell hath been to your Grace and al your Realme the grettest Honor that coude bee, and more than ye shuld wyn al the Crown of *Fraunce*: Thankend bee God of it, and I am suer your Grace forgeteth not to doe this, which shal be cause to sende you many more suche grete Victoryes, as trust he shal doe. My Husband, for hastynesse with *Rogecrosse*, I coude not send your Grace the Peese of the King of *Scotts* Cote, which *John Glyn* now bringeth, in this your Grace shall see, how I can kepe my Promys: Sending you for your Baners a Kings Cote. I thought to send himself unto you, but our *Englishe* Mens Harts wold not suffer it; It shuld have been better for hym to have been in Peas than to have this Rewarde, al that God sendeth is for the best. My Lord of *Surrey*, My *Henry*, wold fayne knowe your Pleasure in the Buryeing of the King of *Scotts* Body, for he hath written to me soo, with the next Messanger your Grace Pleasure may bee herin knowen; and with this I make an ende, praying God to sende you Home shortly: For without this no Joye here can be accomplished: And for the same I pray and now go to our Lady at *Walsingham*, that I promised soe longe agoe to see, at *Woborne* the xvj Day of *September*.

I send your Grace herin a Bill founde in a *Scottyshe* Mans Purse, of suche Things as the *Frenshe* King sent to the said King of *Scotts* to make Warre against you: Beseeching you to send *Mathewe Heder* assone this Messanger cometh to bringe me Tydings from your Grace.

Your humble Wife and true

Servant.

Katherine.

Number

Number 3.

A Letter of Cardinal Wolsey's *to King* Henry, *with a Copy of his Book for the Pope.*

An Original.

SIR,

THESE shall be onely to advertise your Grace that at this present Tyme I do sende Mr *Tate* unto your Highnes with the Booke bounden and dressed, which ye purpose to send to the Popes Holynes, with a Memoriall of such other, as be allso to be sent by him with his autentique Bulles to all other Princes and Universities. And albeit Sr this Booke is right honorable pleasant and fair, yet I assure your Grace, that which *Hall* hath written (which within 4 Days wolbe parfited) is ferre more excellent and princely: And shall long contynue for your perpetuall Memory whereof your Grace shall be more plenarlye Informed by the said Mr *Tate*. I do send also unto your Highnes the Choyse of certeyne Versis to be written in the Booke to be sent to the Pope of your owne Hande: With the Subscription of your Name to Remain *in Archivis Ecclie ad perpetuam & Immortalem vestre Magestatis gloriam Laudem & memoriam*, by your

Paper-Office.

Most humble Chaplain

T Carlis. Ebor.

Number 4.

A Letter of Cardinal Wolsey's *to King* Henry, *about Foreign News; and concerning* Luther's *Answer to the King's Book.*

An Original.

SIR,

AFter my most humble and lowly recommendations, these shall be to advertise your Highness that as yet our Lord be thanked there is not commen any Confirmation either from *Rome Venice Italy France* or *Flanders* of the late Newes, which was sent from the Archduke to the Lady *Margaret*: whereof by many other Letters I advertised your Grace. So that nowe the said News be generally reputed and taken but as frasks: and the braging avaunts of the *Spaniards* be so accalmed that they not only account such Money as they have hitherto layde upon the said News to be thereby Lost, but also they dare not nowe aventre fyve foure or thre for a hundred. Howbeit Sir I do not a Lytel marvyle that sinnes the seventh Day of the last Month in the which it was wrytten that

 the

the feate against the *Venetians* should be doon, there be there Letters commen either from *France Rome Venyse* or *Italy*. It is bruted in *Flanders* that *Pavy* by Dedition should be delivered to the said *Venetians* hands, which if it be true your Grace shall shortly here of the *Spaniards* total extermination out of *Italy*.

I forbere Sir to dispech your Letters to the Cardinal of *Magunce* and the Duke *George* of *Saxe*: because I have not as yet neyther *Luthers* original Letters, which were very necessary to be sent to the Popes Holiness, nor also any Copy thereof, which must nede be sent with your Answer to the said Cardinal and Duke. It may be your Pleasure to take Orders that the said Original Letter or Copy thereof may be sent unto me with Diligence. Other News I have none to signify unto your Highness at this present tyme but as other shall occurr I shall not fail to advertise your Grace of the same accordingly. At your Grace mannor of *Hampton Court* the fourth Day of *August* by your

most humble Chapleyn

T. Car^lis. Ebor.

To the Kings most Noble Grace, Defender of the Faith.

Number 5.

A Letter of Cardinal Wolsey's *to King* Henry, *sent with Letters that the King was to write to the Emperor.*

An Original.

Paper Office.

AND forasmuch as at my commyng to your Town of *Calais*, I suppose I shall be greatly pressed to repair to the Emperors presence, which to do without your Letters written with your owne hand I cannot conveniently do, Therfor I have divised two short Letters, the one to the said Emperor, and the other to my Lady, besecchyng your grace to take the payne to write and sende the same unto me by this berer; whom I perposely sende at this tyme to your grace, surely to bring the same unto me with diligence. And albeit I shall have your said Letters in redyness, yet I shall never the rather advance my Jorney towards hym till such tyme as I shall see opertunite: so that I have takyn some convenient order, with the Ambassadors of *France* for voidyng of all Jelousie and Suspition: and as I shall proceed with the Ambassadors on both parties, and fynde them disposed, so shall I advertise your grace with all diligence from tyme to tyme. And thus Heaven preserue your most noble and roiall astate. At *Dover* the first day of *August* by your

most humble Chapleyn

T Car^lis Ebor.

To the Kings grace.

Number

Number 6.

A Letter of Cardinal Wolsey's to the King, concerning the Emperor's Firmness to him.

An Original.

S I R,

THes wrytten with my owne hand shall be onely to Advertise your Grace, what I do perceyve and be in the Emperors owne parson, wich I assure your Grace for his Age is very wyse and wel understanding hys afferys: rygth colde and temperat in spech, with assury'd maner towchyng hys words, rygth wel and to good purpose when he doth speke: and undowgtydly by all appearance he shall prove a very wyse Man, gretly inclyned to trewgth and observance of his promysse; determynyd not onely fastly holly and entirly for ever, from hens forth to be joyned with your Grace, leving all other practyse and intellygens apart: but also in all his afferys to take and folowe your counsell and advise: And nothing to do without the same, And lyke as your Grace hath your singuler affyance in me, puttyng the Burdeyn of your officys on my shulders, thougth I knowleg my self ferr unmeet for the same; so he ys determyned to do for his part. And hereunto he hath not onely bowndyn him sylf to me apart, twys or thrys by hys feyth and trowth givyn in my hand, but also he hath to every one of your Privy Counsell in most constant wyse declary'd the same, in suche maner and fashion as we all may perceyve that the same procedyth of his harte, without coloure, dissymulation or fashion. Wherfor, Syr, ye have cause to give thanks to almighty God, wich hath given you grace so to ordyr and commen your afferys, that ye be not only the ruler of thys your Realme, wich ys in an angle of the Worlde; but also by your wisdome and counsel *Spayne*, *Itally*, *Almayne*, and thes Lowe Cowntyes, wich ys the gretest parte of *Chrystendome*, shall be ruled and governed: And as for *France*, thys knot nowe beyng assurydly knit, shall not fayle to do as your grace shall commande. What honour thys is to your highnes I dougth not but that your grace of your high wysdom can rygth well consyder: giveying most harty thanks to almighty God for the same accordingly, beseechyng your grace most humbly so to do, whereby thys thyng thus honorably commensyd shall not fayle to your great exultation, to come to the desyryd ende: to the attevnyng wherof I shal empley my poore parson, wyt exspensyons, substance and Blood. From *Grevelyng* the 28th day of *August*, with the rude hand of your

Paper-Office.

Most humble Chapleyn

T Carlis Ebor.

To the Kings grace ys owne hands onely.

Number 7.

The First Letter of Cardinal Wolsey to King Henry, *about his Election to the Popedom upon* Adrian's *Death.*

From the Originals lent me by Sir William Cook.

SIR,

IT may like your Highnesse to understand I have this Houre received Letters from your Orators Resident in the Court of *Rome*, mentioning how the xivth Day of this Instant Moneth It pleased Almighty God to call the Popes Holynesse to his Mercy, whose Soul our Lord Pardon. And in what trayn the Matters there were at that Time for Election of the future Pope, your Highnesse shall perceive by the Letters of your said Orators, which I send unto the same at this Time, whereby appeareth that mine Absence from thence shall be the onely Obstacle (if any be) in the Election of me to that Dignity; albeit there is no great Semblance that the College of Cardinals shall consent upon any being there present, because of the sundry Factions that be among themselves, for which Cause, tho afore God, I repute my self right unmeet and unable to so high and great Dignity, desiring much rather to endure, continue and end my Life with your Grace, for doing of such Service as may be to your Honour and Wealth of this your Realm, than to be X Popes; yet neverthelesse, remembring what Mind and Opinion your Grace was of, at the last Vacation, to have me preferred therunto, thinking that it should be to the Honour Benefit, and Advancement of your Affaires in Time coming: And supposing verily that your Highnesse persisteth in the same Mind and Intent, I shall devise such Instructions Commissions and other Writings, as the last Time was delivered to Mr. *Pace* for that purpose: And the same I shall send to your Grace by the next Post, whom it may like to do farther therein as shall stand with your gracious Pleasure, whereunto I shall always conform my self accordingly. And to the Intent it may appear farther to your Grace what Mind and Determination they be of, towards mine Advancement, which as your Orators wrote, have now at this present Time the Principal Authority and Chief Stroke in the Election of the Pope, making in manner *Triumviratum*, I send unto your Highnesse their several Letters to me addressed in that behalf, beseeching our Lord that such One may be chosen as may be to the Honour of God, the Weal of Christ's Church, and the Benefit of all *Christendom*. And thus Jesu preserve your most Noble and Royal Estate: At the *More* the last Day of *September*, by

Your most humble Chaplayn

T Car[lis] *Ebor*

Numb. 9

Number 8.

The Second Letter of Cardinal Wolsey *to the King, about the Succession to the Popedom.*

S I R,

IT may like your Grace to understand that ensuing the Tenor of my Letter sent unto your Highnesse yesterday, I have devised such Commissions and Letters to be sent unto your Counsellors the Bishop of *Bath*, Mr *Richard Pace*, and Mr *Thomas Hanibal*, jointly and severally, as at the last Time of Vacation of the Papall Dignity were delivered unto the said Mr *Richard Pace*; for the Preferment either of me, or that failing of the Cardinal *de Medici* unto the same, which Letters and Commissions if it stand with your gracious Pleasure to have that Matter set forth, It may like your Highnesse of your Benign Grace and Goodness to signe, so to be sent to the Court of *Rome* in such diligence as the Importance of the same, with the Brevity of the Time doth necessarily require. And to th' Intent also that the Emperor may the more effectually and speedily concurre with your Highnesse for the furtherance hereof, Albeit I suppose verily that ensuing the Conference and Communications which he hath had with your Grace in that behalf, he hath not prætermitted before this Time to advance the same, yet neverthelesse for the more acceleration of this Furtherance to be given thereunto, I have also devised a familiar Letter in the Name of your Grace to be directed unto his Majesty, which if it may please your Highnesse to take the Payne for to write with your own Hand, putting thereunto your secret Sign and Mark, being between your Grace and the said Emperor, shall undoubtedly do singular Benefit and Furtherance to your gracious Intent, and vertuous Purpose in that behalf. Beseeching Almighty God that such Effect may ensue thereof, as may be to his Pleasure, the Contentation of your Highnesse, the Weal and Exaltation of your most Royal Estate, Realm and Affaires, And howsoever the Matter shall chance, I shall no lesse knowledge my self obliged and bounden farr above any my Deserts unto your Highnesse, then if I had attained the same, whereunto I would never in Thought aspire, but to do Honor Good and Service unto your Noble Person and this your Realm. And thus Jesu preserve your most Noble and Royal Estate, At the *More* the First Day of *October*, by

Your most humble Chaplayn

T. Car[lis.] Ebor.

Number 9.

The Third Letter of Cardinal Wolsey; *giving an Account of the Election of Cardinal* Medici *to be Pope.*

SIR,

AFter my most humble and lowly Recommendations, This shall be onely to advertise your Highnesse that after great and long Altercations and Contrariety which hath depended between the Cardinall's in the Conclave, they at the last fully resolved and determined (the Faction of *France* abandoned) to elect and choose either my Lord Cardinal *de Medici* or Me, which Deliberation coming to the Knowledge of the Nobles and Citizens of *Rome*, they alledging that the Affairs of *Italy* being in the Trayn as they then were, It should be to the extreme Danger thereof to choose a Person absent, which could not ne might in Time come to put Remedy unto the same, made sundry great Exclamations at the Conclave-Window, whereby the Cardinall's being in fear not only of the Inconvenience like to ensue unto *Italy*, but also of their own Person's, Albeit they were in manner principally bent upon me, yet for eschewing of the said Danger and Murmur, by Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, without further Difficulty or Businesse the xixth Day of the last Moneth in the Morning elected and chose the said Cardinal *de Medici*, who immediately was published Pope, and hath taken the Name of *Clement* VII. Of which Good and Fortunate New's, Sir, your Highness hath much Cause to thank Almighty God: Forasmuch as not onely he is a perfect and faithful Friend to the same, but that also much the rather by your Mean's he hath attained to this Dignity. And for my Part, as I take God to record, I am more joyous thereof, than if it had fortuned upon my Person, knowing his excellent Qualitys, most meet for the same; And how great and sure a Friend your Grace and the Emperor be like to have of him, and I so good a Father, by whose Assumption unto that Dignity, not only your and the said Emperors Affair's, but also of all *Christendom* shall undoubtedly come to much better and more prosperous Perfection: Like as upon the First Knowledge thereof the *Frenchmen* be clearly departed from *Milan*, and passed a River towards *France* called *Ticino*, Trusting that the next New's which shall come from thence shall be of their Arrival at Home, wherin as I shall have further Knowledge, so I shall Advertise your Highnesse thereof accordingly, And thus Jesu preserve your most Noble and Royal Estate. At my poor House besides *Westminster* the vith Day of *December*, by

Your most humble Chapleyn,

T. Car lis Ebor.

Number 10

Number 10.

A Remarkable Passage in Sir T. More's Utopia, *left out in the latter Editions.*

CÆterum Theologus quidam frater hoc dicto in Sacerdotes ac Monachos adeo est exhilaratus, ut jam ipse quoque cœperit ludere, homo alioqui prope ad torvitatem gravis. At ne sic quidem, inquit, extricaberis à mendicis, nisi nobis quoque prospexeris fratribus. Atqui, inquit, parasitus, hoc jam curatum est. Nam Cardinalis egregie prospexit vobis, quum statueret de cohercendis, atque opere exercendis erronibus. Nam vos estis errones maximi. Hoc quoque dictum, quum conjectis in Cardinalem oculis, eum viderent non abnuere, cæperunt omnes non illibenter arripere, excepto fratre. Nam is (neque equidem miror) tali perfusus aceto, sic indignatus est, atque incanduit, ut nec à conviciis quidem potuerit temperare: Hominem vocavit nebulonem, detractorem, susurronem, & filium perditionis, minas interim terribiles citans è scriptura sacra. Jam scurra serio scurrari cæpit. Et erat planè in sua Palæstra. Noli, inquit, irasci bone frater, scriptum est, in patientia vestra possidebitis animas vestras. Rursum frater (referam enim ipsius verba) non irascor, inquit, furcifer, vel saltem non pecco. Nam Psalmista dicit, Irascimini & nolite peccare. Admonitus deinde frater à Cardinale suaviter, ut suos affectus compesceret. Non domine, inquit, ego loquor nisi ex bono zela, unde dicitur, zelus domus tuæ comedit me. Et canitur in ecclesiis, Irrisores Helizei, dum conscendit domum dei, zelum calui sentiunt, sicut fortasse sentiet iste derisor, scurra, ribaldus. Facis inquit Cardinalis, bono fortassis affectu, [illegible] mihi videris facturus, nescio an sanctius, certe sapientius, si te ita compares, ne cum homine stulto & ridiculo, ridiculum tibi certamen instituas. Non domine inquit, non facerem Sapientius nam Solomon ipse Sapientissimus dicit: Responde stulto secundum stultitiam ejus, sicut ego nunc facio, & demonstro ei foveam in quam cadet, nisi bene præcaveat. Nam si multi irrisores Helizei, qui erat tantum unus caluus, senserunt zelum calui, quanto magis sentiet unus derisor multorum fratrum, in quibus sunt multi calui? Et etiam habemus bullam Papalem, per quam omnes qui derident nos, sunt excommunicati.

Number 11.

Number 11.

A Letter of the Pope's upon his Captivity, to Cardinal Wolsey.

An Original.

Cotton Library, *Vitellius* B. 9.

DIlecte fili noster Calamitas nostra cum à nobis digne explicari nequeat tuæ Circumspectioni per dilectum filium Equitem Castalium, referretur qui interfuit ipse omnibus, & filium nobis amantem exhibens quam essent grata ejus in nos officia ad extremum ostendat. Nos in tanto constituti dolore & luctu unicum solamen ac spem in tuæ Circumspectionis apud illum Serenissimum Regem auctoritate & ipsius Regis erga nos & S. Ecclesiam pietate reponimus; ut pro vestra consuetudine & bonitate S. Ecclesiam tam indigne afflictam commendatam suscipiatis; sicut ex eodem Equite atque ex Nuntio nostro omni alio presidio quam tuæ benignitatis spoliato intelliget. Datum in Arce S. Angeli sexta Junii 1527.

J.

Number 12.

A Part of Cardinal Wolsey's Letter to the King concerning his Marriage:

Taken from the Original.

Cotton Library, *Vitellius*, B. 9. P. 146.

WE dayly and howerly musing and thinking on your Graces gret and secrete Affayre, and howe the same may cume to good Effecte and desired Ende, aswel for the Delyverance of your Grace out of the thrauld pensif and dolorous Lif that the same is in, as for the Continuance of your Helth and the Suertie of your Realme and Succession, considering also that the Popes consent, or his Holines deteyned in Captivite, the Auctorite of the Cardinalls nowe to be convoked into *France* equivalent thereunto, must concurre for Approbation of such Processe as I shal make in that behaulf; and that if the Quene shal fortune, which it is to be supposed she will doe, eyther appele or utterly decline from my Jurisdiction (one of the said Auctorites is also necessarily requisite) I have noon other thought ne studye but howe in avaylable maner the same may be atteyned. And after long discussion and debating with my self, I finally am reduced and resolved to two Points; the oon is that tho Poopes consent cannot be obteyned and and in this Case, oonles his Delyveraunce out of Captivite be first procured: the other is that the Cardinalls canne nothing doe in this behalfe, oonless there be by them Consultation and Order taken, what shall be doon *in Administratione rerum Ecclesiasticarum durante dicta captivitate summi Pontificis.*

As

As touching the Restitution of the Pope to Libertie the State of the present Affaires considred the most prompte sure and redy waye is, by conclusion of the Peace betwixt the *Emperor* and the *French* King: for the avancement and setting forward whereof I shall put my self in extreme devour, and by al possible meanes induce and persuade the said *French* King to strayne himself and condescende to asmuch of the Emperours Demands as may stande with Reason and Suertie of his and your Graces Affayres; moving him further, that forasmuch as the Emperour taketh your Highnes as a Mediator making fayre demonstration in Words, that he wil at your Contemplation and Arbitre, not oonly declare the botom of his Mynde concerning his Demaund, but also remitte and relent in the same, he wil be contented that your Grace forbering the Intimation of Hostilite maye in the managing of the said Peace and inducyng the Emperour to reasonable Conditions, be so taken and reputed of him, without any outward declaration to the contrary until such tyme as the conducying of the said Peace shalbe clerely desperate: Whereby if the said *French* King canne be induced thereunto, maye in the meane season use the benefit of their Entercourse in the Emperours *Lowe-Countries*: not omitting nevertheles for the tyme of solliciting the said Peace, the diligent Zeal and effectual Execution of the Sworde by Monseur *de Lautrek* in the Parties of *Italy*: wherby your Gracs said Mediation shal be the more set by and regarded.

And in case the said Peace cannot be by these means brought to effecte, whereupon might ensue the Popes delyverance, by whose auctorite and consent your Graces affayre shuld take most sure honourable effectual and substancial ende, and who I doubte not considering your Gracs gratitude, wold facilly be induced to doe all things therin that might be to your Graces good satisfaction and purpose, thenne and in that case there is noone other remedy but the Convocation of the said Cardinalls; who as I am enformed will not nor canne conveniently convene in any other Place but at *Avinion*, where the Administration of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction hath been in semblable Cases heretofore exercised. To the which Place if the said Cardinalls canne be induced to come, your Highnes being soo contented, I purpose also to repair, not sparing any labour travayl or payne in my body chargs or expense, to doe service unto your Grace in that behalfe; according to my most bounden Dutie and harty Desyre, there to consulte and devise with them for the Governance and Administration of the Auctorite of the Church during the said Captivity: which shall be a good Grounde and Fundament for the effectual execution of your Gracs secrete Affayre.

And for asmuch as thus repairing to *Avinion* I shall be nere to the Emperours Contines, and within an hundred Myles of *Perpinian* which is a commodious and convenient Place to commen and treate [illegible] the Emperors Personne, I think in my poor Opinion that the con[illegible]ing of Peace by your Graces Mediation not being desperate, nor [illegible]imation of Hostilite made on your behalfe, it should much confer[illegible] aswell for the Delyverance of the Poope, as for concluding of th[illegible] Peace between the *French* King and the Emperor, if his Maje-

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ſtie canne be ſoe contented that a meating might be betwen him, my Lady the *French* Kinges Modre, and Me at the ſaid *Perpinian*; to the which ———

This is all in the Copy written in Cardinal Wolſey's *Hand.*

Number 13.

A Letter written by King Henry VIII. *to Cardinal* Wolſey, *recalling him Home.*

Among S. W. Cook's *Papers.*

MY Lord this ſhall be to thank you of your great paines and travaile which you have ſuſtained ſince your departure hence, for our buſyneſſe and cauſes: wherin you have done to us no little honour, pleaſure and proffitt, and to our Realm an infinite goodneſſe; which Service cannot be by a kind Maſter forgotten, of which fault I truſt I ſhall never be accuſed, ſpecially to youward which ſo laboriouſly do ſerve me. Furthermore becauſe as yet ſince the Popes Captivity we never ſent to ſalute him, nor have no Man reſident there to advertize us of the Affaires there; and alſo leſt the Queene ſhould prevent us by the Emperour's means in our great Matter; We think it meet to ſend this Bearer thither, of whoſe Truth and Sincerity we have had long proof, praying you to give him ſuch Inſtructions and Commiſſions as ſhall be for our Affair's there Requeſite; and that with convenient diligence, to the intent our Affair's there may have ſome ſtay. No more at this time, but that greatly I deſire your Return home, for here we have great Lack of you, and that you give full Credence to my Secretary this Bearer; Written with the Hand of your loving Sovereign Lord and Friend

HENRY R.

Number 14.

A Letter from Rome *by* Gardiner *to King* Henry, *ſetting forth the Pope's Artifices.*

An Original.

Paper-Office.

PLeaſeth it your Majeſtie to be advertiſed that endevoring our ſelfs to the beſt of our Powers al joyntely and I my ſelf aparte applyng al my poore Wit and Lernyng to atteyne at the Popes hands ſum parte of the accomplyſhement of your Highnes deſires, hi[illegible]ly have nothing prevayled; but now ſee it called in Queſtion whether the Auctorite geven to the Legats there ſhulde be revoked or noe. The circumſtaunce wherof and what hath been doon and ſaid therin, your Highnes ſhall underſtande by our commen Letters which we

have writen to my Lordo Legats Grace, but to saye as I conjecture I think that Matter was moved but for a Stop of our other Suts, and that it is not ernestlely theirs: And albeit there is mencion of the Queen in that Matter as thowe she should have a Proctor for the same, yet the Pope two dayes before, in an other Comunication said that the Emperour had advertised him, how the Queen wolde do nothing in this Matter, in sayng nor speaking to any Man for the let delaye or hindrance of this Matter, but as your Highnes shall will and command her to doe: And that the Emperour said, he would therfore more earnestly looke unto the Cause himself. I marveled much when the Pope said this, and me thought he spoke it as though he wolde we should signifie the same unto your Highnes, and I noted it the more, for because your Highnes had commanded me to enquire out who shuld be here the Queens Proctor: and it semed spoken for the nones, as to put me out of doubt therof. But whither the Pope hath this writen out of *Spayne* or out of *Englande*, I wot not what to saye. But it seemed strange to us to rede in Cardinal *Campegnus*'s Letters, that neyther he nor *Campanus*, made on the Pope's Behalf, any Promyse to your Highnes, but only in general Terms, considering that upon these special Terms *de plenetudine potestatis*, and trust that the Pope wolde use that in your Highnes Cause, I was sent hither, like as in my Instructions is conteyned: Which failing, your Highness I doubt not right well remembreth how Master *Wolman*, Mr. *Bell*, and I showed your Highnes such Things as wer to be required, not to be impetrable: My Trust is that your Highnes wil accept in good Part my true Harte and good Will, which according to my most bounden Duty shall never want, but be holly aplyed where your Highnes shall command without respeck or regard of any other lyving Creature, being very sory to see your Highnes Cause handled in this sorte. But your Highnes hath so much vertue in you, whereof God is to be thanked, as may suffice to converte other Mens Faults into Goodness, to your Highnes gret Glory, Renowne, and Immortal Fame: which is all that canne be said after my poor Witt herin, considering that your Highnes hath been not well handled, nor according to your Merits by the Pope, or sum other: it becometh not me to arrecte the Blame certaynly to any Man. And the Pope shewith Cardinal *Campegnis* Letters for his Discharge, which Thing your Highnes shall much better judge and consider by your high Wisdom thenne I canne write, most humbly desiring your Highnes that being in these Termes with the Popes Holyness, we may know of your Highness what to say further.

As touching the Bulles to be here impetrade for your Highness, I have spoken with the Popes Holynes, and he is content in all Points to grant as I required him, saving in that matter *de animadversione in Clericos*, to the which he wolde not absolutely assent, but said he wold with the Cardinal *Sanctorum quatuor* divise that shuld be to your Highnes Satisfaction: wishing then that he might grante as easely your other Peticions, which he knoweth your Highnes to have more to Harte, as he may these, adding by and by that he would for the Wealth of *Christendom*, the Queen wer in her Grave: and as he thought the Emperour wolde be thereof most glad of al: saying also

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that he thought like as the Emperour hath destroyed the Temperaltis of the Church, soe shall she be the Cause of the Destruction of the Spiritualties. Making exclamation of his Misfortune in whose Personne these two Adversites shuld chaunce, and upon the Occasion of that Famylie. Whenne we speak with him we think we shuld have all Things, and in the Ende his Counsail denyeth all: By reason the Cardinall *Sanctorum quatuor* hath been sick, and is every other Day sikely, and for the most parte when the Cardinall is hol the Pope is sike, we have yet no expedition of the said Bulles, trusting that your Highnes will have Consideration of these Letts, accordingly praying Almighty God to preserve your most Noble and Royall Estate. From *Rome* the 4th Daye of *Maye*,

Your Highnes most Humble

Subject Servant and dayly Orator,

Steven Gardyner.

Number 15.

The Pope's Promise in the King's Affair.

Cotton Library, *Vitellius* B. 12.

CUM nos Clemens Domina providentia illius nominis papa septimus modernus justitiam ejus causæ perpendences quam charissimus in Christo Filius noster Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex illustris Fidei Defensor & dominus Hiberniæ, de ejus Matrimonii nullitate tanquam Notorium Publicum & famosum, apud nos exposuit, quod cum charissima in Christo Filia nostra Catharina claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Hispaniarum regis catholici Filia nulliter & de facto contraxisse & consumasse affirmati leges tam dominas quam per humanas in ea parte notorie transgrediendo, prout revera sic transgrediebatur. Ad dilectos nobis in Christo Filios Thomam & Laurentium miseratione divina sancta Ceciliæ & sanctæ Mariæ transtiberim respective titulorum nostri & sedis Aplicæ in Regno Angliæ predicto legatos de latere commissionem sub certa tunc expressa forma, quam pro hic inferri & expressa haberi volumus & habemus; emiserimus, ac eosdem nostros in ea parte vicegerentes ac competentes Judices deputaverimus, prout sic etiam tenore presentium effectualiter & plenissime conjunctim & divisum committimus & deputamus, quo animi nostri ut idem Henrico Regi in justicia illa quam celerime administranda propensionem certius & clarius attestemur securiorem que reddamus de judiciorum labyrintho longo varioque ambitu in causis (ut nunc sunt mores) justissimis [illegible] una forte ætate explicabili, denique ut processus per eosdem deputatos nostros nuper & secundum tenorem dictæ commissionis habitus & factus fiendus ve aut habendus validus & firmus ac inconcussus fuerit,

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promittimus & in verbo Romani Pontificis pollicemor, quod ad nullius preces requisitionem instantiam mero ve motu aut aliter, ullas unquam literas, brevia, bullas; aut rescripta aliave quecunque per modum vel justitiæ vel gratiæ aut aliter, quæ materiam emissarum ante hac in causa predicta commissionum commissionis ve predictæ processus ve per hujusmodum deputatos nostros nuper & secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionis ve predictæ habitus & factus habendi ve aut fiendi, inhibitoria, revocatoria, aut quovismodo prejudicialia quacunque racione contineant atque ut dictarum commissionum vel commissionis processus vero hujusmodi plenam perfectam finalem & effectualem executionem remorentur, impediant, aut in aliquo contrarientur, illa ve aut eorum aliqua, revocentur, aut eiisdem vel eorum aliquibus in toto vel in aliqua parte eorundem prejudicent, concedemus: sed datas a nobis eiisdem deputatis nostris commissiones & commissionum hujusmodi processum quæ per hujusmodum deputatos nostros juxta & secundum tenorem dictarum commissionum commissionis ve predictæ habitum & fictum, habendum quia & fiendum sua plenissima vi auctoritatum robore & efficacia realiter & cum effectu confirmabimus, ratihabemus, tenebimus & defendemus. Denique omnes tales literas brevia, bullas, aut rescripta alia ve quæ dictarum commissionum commissionis ve hujusmodi processus ve antedicti executionem aut ejusdem virtute decreta definita, & pronunciatum per eosdem deputatos nostros, confirmare possint aut valent absque mora recusatione, difficultate, quacunque, de [illegible] in [illegible] realiter & cum effectu valida & efficacia, dabimus & concedemus. Et insuper promittimus & in verbo Romani pontificis pollicemur quod præmissa vel eorum aliqua nullatenus infringemus nec aliquid contra ea vel eorum aliqua directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, principaliter vel incidenter, quovis quæsito colore vel ingenio, nisi vi vel metu coacti, vel dolo aut fraude ad hoc inducti, attemptabimus aut faciemus: sed ea omnia & singula firma, valida inconcussa & inviolabilia patiemur & permittemus. Ac in futurum si (quod absit) aliquid contra premissa vel eorum aliqua quovismodo faciemus aut attemptemus, illud pro casso irrito inani & vacuo omnino haberi volumus & habemus: ac nunc prout ex tunc, & ex nunc pro nunc, cassamus, annullamus & reprobamus, nullius quæ roboris aut efficaciæ fore vel esse debere pronunciamus decrevimus & declaramus. Datum Viterbii Die xxiii July Millessimo Quingentissimo Vigessimo Octavo Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

Ita est Clemens Papa Septimus Antedictus.

Number 16.

Number 16.

Some Account of the Proceedings of the University, in the Case of the Divorce, from Dr. Buckmaster's *Book M. S. C. C. C.*

QUod hodie ſtudia veſtra interpellaverim, Doctiſſimi Senatores, ac Viri graviſſimi, Voluntas Regia in Cauſa eſt, cui pro inſigni bonitate ſua, ac ſummo quem erga nos & ſtudia noſtra gerit amore, tum etiam pro aliis forſitan negotiis, in quibus veſtras prudentias conſulere decrevit ſua Majeſtas, viſum eſt placuitque literis ſuis vos omnes ſalutare, quas ſi diligenter auſcultare velitis, à me ſtatim per legente audietis.

To our Trusty and Well-beloved the Vicechancellour, Doctors, and other Regents and Non-Regents of our Univerſitie of *Cambridge*.

By the Kyng.

TRuſty and Well-beloved, we grete you well. And wheras in the Matter of Matrimony between Us and the Quene, uppon Conſultation had with the gretest Clerks of *Chriſtendom*, as well withoute this our Realme, as within the ſame, thei have in a grete Nombre affermed unto us in writing, and therunto ſubſcribed their Names, that, *Ducere uxorem Fratris mortui ſine liberis ſit prohibitum jure Divino & naturali*, which is the cheſe and principall Point in our Cauſe. We therefore deſirouſe to knowe and underſtand your Myndes and Opynyons in that behalf, and nothinge dowtinge, but like as ye have always founde us to you and that our Univerſitie, favourable, benevolent, and glad to extend our auctoritie for your wealth and beneſite, whan ye have required the ſame, ye will now likewiſe not omytt to doo any thyng wherby ye ſhulde myniſtre unto us gratuite and pleaſour, and ſpecially in declaration of the Truth, in a Cauſe ſo near touching us your Prince and Soveraine Lorde, our Soule, the Wealth alſo and Beneſite of this our Realm, have ſent hither purely for that our Purpoſe, our Truſty and Right Well-beloved Clerks and Counſaillors, Mayſter Doctor *Gardyner* our Secretary, and Mayſter *Fox*, who ſhall on our behaulf further open and declare unto you the Circumſtances of the Premiſs: Wherfore we Will and Require you, not oonly to gyve ferme credence unto them, but alſo to advertiſe us by the ſame under the Comen Seale of that our Univerſitie of ſuch Oppynion in the Propoſition afore ſayd, as ſhall be than concluded, and by the conſent of lerned Men ſhall be agreed upon. In doing wherof, ye ſhall deſerve our eſpeciall Thanks, and gyve us Cauſe to encreaſe our Favour towards you, as we ſhall not faile to do accordyngly. Yeven under our Signet at *York*'s *Place* the 16th Daye of *February*.

Accepiſtis modo quod poſtulat à vobis Regia Majeſtas, Intelligitis quæ ſit ejuſdem voluntas, nimirum nihil aliud, ni ſi ut veritas cujuſdam Concluſionis agnoſcatur atque inter nos determinetur, quam ut ſua refert plurimum ſcire, ita & nos pro ſtudio illo ac amore quem omnes gerere debemus in Principem noſtrum alioque Clementiſſimum, benigniſſimum & de nobis omnibus ac Achademia noſtra optime meritum, omne ſtudium ac diligentiam adhibere debemus, ut quod tam rationabiliter poſtulaverit, id impetreta nobis. Si de veritate quæſtio aliquando emergat, ubi potius aut melius inveſtigaretur, quam inter ipſos veritatis Profeſſores, ſi veritas perquiri debeat, ubi melius quam in ipſa Achademia, ubi & bona ſemper vigent ſtudia, ſolida judicia, ac mentes ab omni ambitione ſunt aliena. Verum ego prudentias veſtras prolixiori oratione non detinebo, vobis ac veſtro judicio iſta relinquam. Eſt cuique ſuus animus liber ac ingenuus. Dictet cuique in hac Cauſa Conſcientia ſua, Quod melius expedire viderit. Ego quod ad officium meum ſpectat, perficiam ſedulo, nempe ut primi conſulantur ſeniores, quid melius in hoc negotio putent faciendum, deinde & veſtras ſcrutabitur ſententias atque ſuffragia poſtulabimus.

Dixi.

The Forme of the Grace that was axed and graunted in the Accomplisment of the Kyng's Requeste.

PLacet vobis ut Vicecancellarius, Doctores, Salcot, Watſon, Reps, Thomſon de Collegio Michaelis, Venetus, Edmonds, Downes, Wygan, Crome, Boſton, & Magiſtri, Mydelton, Heynes, Myllente, Shaxton, Latymer, Symon, Mathew, Longforthe, Thyxtell, Nycols, Hutton, Skyp, Goodrick, Hethe, Hadway, Deye, & Bayne, una cum Procuratoribus, habeant plenam facultatem & authoritatem nomine totius Univerſitatis, reſpondendi literis Regiæ Majeſtatis in hac Congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius Univerſitatis deffiniendi & determinandi quæſtionem in eiſdem literis propoſitam: Ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum preſentium inter ſe decreverint reſpondendum, dictis literis, & deffinierint ac determinaverint ſuper quæſtione propoſita in eiſdem, habeatur & reputetur pro reſponſione, deffinitione & determinatione totius Univerſitatis. Et quod liceat Vicecancellario, Procuratoribus, Scrutatoribus, literis ſuper dictarum duarum partium reſponſione, deffinitione, & determinatione, concipiendis, ſigillum Commune Univerſitatis apponere: Sic quod publice diſputetur, & antea legantur coram Univerſitate abſque ulteriori gratia, deſuper obtinenda aut petenda.

9. die Martii.

Haudquaquam vos fugit (opinor) Clariſſ. Viri ac Senatores graviſſimi, ut nuper Excellentiſſimi Principis noſtri literas acceperitis, quibus cum ſuper quadam quæſtione inter illum ac Illuſtriſſimam Reginam Controverſâ, noſtram ſententiam deſideraret, flagitaret impenſe, nos (ut nos decuit) tanti Principis petitioni haudquaquam inique morem gerere volentes, tandem in illam omnium (preſertim Seniorum) ſuffragiis convenimus ſententiam, ut ſelectis quibuſdam Sacræ Theologiæ

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tum Professoribus tum Bacchalauriis ac aliis Magistris, tantam quæstionem examinandi, determinandi, ac deffiniendi, nomine totius Universitatis Provincia delegaretur. Illi (inter quos & ego minimus à vobis selectus) tantæ rei curam demandatam agentes, omni consultatione, deliberatione, diligentiâ, ac sacræ Scripturæ locorum conferentiâ, tum etiam Interpretum, denique publicâ disputatione præmissis, tandem ad illius quæstionis determinationem ac diffinitionem devenerunt. Super quâ ut nullus est vestrum (quibus ea provincia commissa est) qui aut ambigere aut refragari possit: Ita & vobis omnibus (quod & Gratia à vobis concessa postulat) eandem compertam esse Volumus. Accipite igitur ac amplectimini, quod vestra Causa, vestrisque nominibus, à Fratribus vestris, per ingentes labores, ac summam industriam exantlatum est. Determinatio in hiis scriptis comprehensa sic habet.

Nos Universitas studentium Academiæ Cantabrigiensis, omnibus infra scripta lecturis audituris ve salutem. Cum occasione causæ Matrimonialis, inter Invictissimum & Potentissimum Principem & Dominum nostrum Henricum octavum Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæque Regem, Fidei Defensorem, ac Dominum Hiberniæ, & Illustrissimam Dominam Catharinam Reginam controversæ, de illa quæstione nostra rogaretur sententia: videlicet, An sit jure Divino & naturali prohibitum, ne Frater ducat in uxorem Relictam fratris mortui sine liberis? Nos de ea re deliberaturi more solito convenientes; atque communicatis consiliis, Matura consultatione tractantes quomodo, quo ordine ad investigationem veritatis certius procederetur, ac omnium tandem suffragiis, selectis quibusdam ex doctissimis Sacræ Theologiæ Professoribus, Bachalauriis, ac aliis Magistris ea cura demandata, ut scrutatis diligentissime Sacræ Scripturæ locis, illisque collatis referrent ac renunciarent, quid ipsi dictæ quæstioni respondendum putarent. Quoniam auditis, perpensis, ac post publicam super dicta quæstione disputationem matura deliberatione discussis hiis, quæ in quæstione prædicta alterutram partem statuere & convellere possint; Illa nobis probabiliora, validiora, veriora, etiam & certiora, ac genuinum & syncerum Sacræ Scripturæ intellectum præ se ferentia, Interpretum etiam sententiis magis consona visa sunt, quæ confirmant & probant, jure divino & naturali prohibitum esse, ne Frater uxorem fratris mortui sine liberis accipiat in conjugem: Illis igitur persuasi, & in unam opinionem convenientes, ad Quæstionem prædictam ita respondendum decrevimus, & in hiis scriptis, nomine totius universitatis respondemus, ac pro Conclusione nobis solidissimis rationibus & validissimis argumentis comprobata affirmamus, quod ducere uxorem Fratris mortui sine liberis, cognitam à priori viro per Carnalem copulam, nobis Christianis hodie est prohibitum Jure Divino ac naturali. Atque in fidem & testimonium hujusmodi nostræ responsionis & affirmationis, hiis Literis sigillum nostrum commune curavimus apponi. Dat. Congregatione nostra Cantebrigiæ, die nono Martii Anno Domini Millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo nono. Dominica 2. Quadragesimæ Anno Domini 1529. in Wyndesor.

Delivered by me W. B. *Vicechancellour in the Chambre of Presence,* post vesperas.

Your Universitie of *Cambridge* have them most humbly commended unto your Grace, and here thei have sent unto your Highness their Letters. Than kisse them and so deliver them.

Furthermore as touching your Request expressed in your Letters dyrected unto them by Mr. Secretary and Mr. *Fox* your most wyse Counsillers in th' accomplishing of the same, they have don their Devors, and here in Writing under their Comon Seale, thei have sent unto your Grace ther Sentence, desyring the same to accept, and to take it in parte and good worthe. And if thei had any thing ellys to gratify yor Grace wythall, their Lettres and their Studies, your Highness shuld be suer therof to the uttermost of their Powers.

M. S. C. C. C. Given to the College by Dr. Jegon *Master.*

To the Right Worshipfull Master Doctor Edmonds, *Vicar of* Alborne *in* Wiltshire.

MY Duty remembred, I hartily commend me unto you, and I let you understand, that *Dominica Secunda* at Afternoon, I came to *Windsor* [illegible] also to Part of Mr. *Latimer's* Sermon, and after the end of the same [illegible] I spake with Mr. Secretary, and also with Mr. Provost, and [illegible] after Even-Song, I delivered our Letters in the Chamber of Presence, all the Court beholding. The King with Mr. Secretary did there read them, but not the Letters of Determination, notwithstanding that I did then also deliver them, with a Proposition. His Highness gave me there great Thanks, and talked with me a good while. He much lauded our Wisdomes and good Conveyance in the Matter [illegible] with the great Quietness in the same. He shewed me also what he had in his Hands for our University, according unto that, that Mr. Secretary did express unto us, *&c.* So he departed. But by and by, he greatly praised Mr. *Latimer's* Sermon, and in so praising said on this wise, This displeaseth greatly, Mr. Vicechancellour yonder. Yon same, sayd he unto the Duke of *Norfolk*, is Mr. Vicechancellour of *Cambridge*, and so pointed unto me. Then he spake secretly unto the said Duke, which after the King's Departure came unto me, and wellcomed me, saying amongst other Things, that the King would speak with me on the next day; and here is the first Act. On the next day, I waited untill it was Dinner time; and so at the last Dr. *Butt* came unto me, and brought a Reward, twenty Nobles for me, and five Marks for the younger Procter, which was with me; saying that I should take that for a resolute Answere, and that I might depart from the Court when I would. Then came Mr. Provost, and when I had shewed him of the Answere, he sayd, I should speak with the King at after Dinner for all that, and so brought me into a privy place, whereas he would have me to wait at after Dinner. I came thither and

and he both, and by One of the Clock, the King entred in. It was in a Gallery. There were Mr. Secretary, Mr. Provost, Mr. *Latimer*, Mr. Proctor, and I, and no more: The King there talked with us, untill Six of the Clock. I assure you, he was scarce contented with Mr. Secretary and Mr. Provost, that this was not also determined, *An Papa possit dispensare*, &c. I made the best, and confirmed the same that they had shewed his Grace before, and how it would never have been so obtained. He opened his Minde, saying, that he would have it determined at after *Ester*, and of the same was counsailed a while.

I pray you therefore study for us, for our Business is not yet at an end, *An Papa potest dispensare cum Jure Divino*, &c. Much other Communication we had, which were too long here to recite. Thus his Highness departed, casting a little Holy Water of the Court: And I shortly after toke my Leave of Mr. Secretary and Mr. Provost, with whom I did not drink, ne yet was bidden, and on the Morrow departed from thence, thinking more than I did say, and being glad that I was out of the Court, where many Men, as I did both hear and perceive, did wonder at me. And here shall be an end for this time of this Fable.

All the World almost crieth out of *Cambridge* for this Act, and specially on me, but I must bear it as well as I may. I have lost a Benefice by it, which I should have had within these ten Dayes. For there hath one falne in Mr. *Throckmorton*'s Gift, which he hath faithfully promised unto me many a time, but now his Mind is turned and alienate from me. If ye go to the Court at after *Ester*, I pray you have me in remembrance there, as ye shall think best. But of this no more.——Mr. *Latymer* preacheth still, *Quod æmuli ejus graviter ferunt*. I am informed, that *Oxford* hath now elected certain Persons to determine the King's Question. I hear say also, that Mr. Provost was there in great Jeopardy. Other Tidings I have none at this time, but that all the Company be in good Health, and heartily saluteth you. And thus fare you heartily well. At *Cambridge*, *in Crastino Dominic. Palmarum*.

Your own to his Power,

William Buckmaster.

The King willed me to send unto you, and to give you word of his Pleasure in the said Question.

M. S. C. C. C. Miscellan. P.

Number 17.

Number 17.

Three Letters written by K. Henry *to the University of* Oxford, *for their Opinion in the Cause of his Marriage.*

Letter I. *By the King.*

Ex MS. D. Kennet.

TRusty and well beloved Subjects we greet you well. And whereas we have for an high and weighty Cause of ours, not only consulted many and substantial well learn'd Men within our Realm and without, for certaine Considerations our Conscience moving, we think it also very convenient to feel the Minds of you amongst you in our University of *Oxenford*, which be erudite in the Faculty of Divinity, to the intent we may perceive of what Conformity ye be with the others, which marvelously both wisely and substantially have declared to us their intent and mind: Not doubting but that ye for the Allegiance and Fidelity that ye are bound unto us in, will as sincerely and truly without any Abuse declare your Minds and Conscience in this behalf, as any of the other have done. Wherefore we will and command you, that ye not leaning to wilfull and sinister Opinions of your own several Minds, not giving Credence to Misreports and sinister Opinions or Perswasions, considering we be your Soveraigne Leige Lord, totally giving your true Mind and Affection to the true Overture of Divine Learning in this behalf, do shew and declare your true and just Learning in the said Cause, like as ye will abide by; wherin ye shall not only please Almighty God, but also us your Leige Lord. And we for your so doing shall be to you and our University there so Good and Gracious a Soveraigne Lord for the same, as ye shall perceive it well imploi'd to your well Fortune to come; In case you do not uprightly according to Divine Learning hand your selves herein, ye may be assured, that we not without great Cause, shall so quickly and sharply look to your unnaturall Misdemeanour herein, that it shall not be to your Quietness and Ease hereafter. Wherefore we heartily pray you, that according both to Duty to God and your Prince, you sett apart all untrue and sinister Informations, and accommodate your selves to the meer Truth as it becommeth true Subjects to do; assuring you that those that do, shall be esteemed and set forth, and the contrary neglected and little set by: Trusting that now you know our Mind and Pleasure, we shall see such Conformitie among you, that we shall hereof take great Consolation and Comfort, to the great Allegement of our Conscience; willing and commanding you among you to give perfect Credence to my Lord of *Lincolne* our Confessour in this behalfe and matter: and in all things which he shall declare unto you or cause to be declared in our behalfe, to make unto us either by him or the Authentick Letters full Answere and Resolution, which your Duty's well remembred, We doubt not but that it shall be our high Contentation and Pleasure. Given under, *&c.*

Letter II. *By the King.*

TRusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. And of late being informed, to our no little Marvell and Discontentation, that a great Part of the Youth of that our University with contentious Factions and Manner, daily combineing together, neither regarding their Duty to Us their Soveraigne Lord, nor yet conforming themselves to the Opinions and Orders of the vertuous, wise, sage, and profound learned Men of that University, wilfully to stick upon the Opinion to have a great Number of Regents and Non-Regents to be associate unto the Doctors, Proctors, and Batchelors of Divinity, for the Determination of our Question; which we believe hath not been often seen, that such a Number of right small Learning in regard to the other, should be join'd with so famous a Sort, or in a manner stay their Seniors in so weighty a Cause: which as we think should be no small Dishonour to our University there, but most especially to you the Seniors and Rulers of the same, assureing you that this their unnatural and unkind Demeanour is not only right much to our Displeasure, but much to be marvelled of, upon what Ground and Occasion they being our meere Subjects, should shewe themselves more unkind and wilfull in this Matter, than all other Universities, both in this and all other Regions do. Finally, We trusting in the Dexterity and Wisdome of you and other the said Discreet and Substantial Learned Men of that University, be in perfect Hope, that ye will conduce and frame the said young Persons unto good Order and Conformity, as it becommeth you to do. Wherefore we be desirous to hear with incontinent Diligence, and doubt you not we shall regard the Demeanour of every one of the University, according to their Merits and Deserts. And if the Youth of the University will play Masteries, as they begin to do, We doubt not but that they shall well perceive, that *non est bonum irritare Crabrones.* Given under, *&c.*

Letter III.

To our Trusty and Well-beloved, the Commissary-Regents, and Non-Regents of our University of Oxon.

TRusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. And whereas by sundry our Letters, sent and delivered at sundry times by the Hands of our Counsellors unto you, with Credence declared unto you by the same, we have only required and made Instance unto you, for the obtaining of that, which at the least Desire of any Christian Man ye be bound and oblig'd to do; that is to say, to declare and shew your Opinions and Sentence in such a Doubt, as upon the Dissolution and Determination whereof, dependeth the

Tranquility, Repose, and Quiet of our Conscience, we cannot a litle marvell that you neither having respect to our Estate, being your Prince and Soveraigne Lord; nor yet remembring such Gratuites and Benefits as we have always shew'd unto you, as well to the particular Wealth of Diverse as to the Common Body of that our University, without any corresspondency shew'd on their Behalfe againe, have hitherto delay'd and deferr'd not only to send us your Determination and Resolution to our Demand and Question, but also refused to take Order, or enter into any Way or Meane, whereby you might declare or shew unto us, that ye be of Mind and Determination to endeavour your selfe for an Accomplishment of our Desire in that Behalfe. And so much the more marvell we at this your Manner of Delayes, that our University of *Cambridge* hath within far shorter Time not only agreed upon the Fashion and Manner to make Answere unto us effectually, and with diligence following the same; but hath also 8 Days since sent unto us their Answere under Common Seale, plainly determining, *Prohibitionem esse Divini & naturalis Juris, nè frater Uxorem fratris etiam mortui sine liberis ducat Uxorem.* For the searching of the Truth in which Matter, if ye had before this Time condescended upon the Manner and Fashion convenient in that Behalf, we could then have taken any Delay afterward, upon any other cold Pretence made, but in good Part: Whereas now the refuseing to agree upon any such Order, and denying to do that which should be but the Entrie into the Matter for declaration of your Forwardness, Good Will, and Diligence: We can't otherwise think of you, but that you neither behave your selves towards Us, as our Merits towards you have deserved, as good Subjects to a kind Prince and Sovereigne Lord; as by the Learning ye professe, ye be obliged and bound. Wherefore revolving this in our Mind, and yet neverthelesss considering you to be there by our Authority and Grant, as a Body Politique, in the ruleing whereof in Things to be done in the Name of the Whole, the Number of the Private Suffrages doth prevaile, and being loth to shewe our Displeasure, whereof we have so great Cause ministred unto us, unto the Whole in general; whereas the Fault perchance consisteth and remaineth but in light and willfull Heads; for the tender Consideration we bear to Learned Men, and the great Desire we have to nourish, maintaine, and favour those that are Good; have thought convenient to send unto you these Letters by our Trusty and Right Well-beloved Clarke and Counseller, Mr. *Edwarde Fox*, trusting verily that ye which be Heads and Rulers there, well considering and weighing your Dutyes in the Accomplishment of our Request, for the searching the Truth in such a Cause, as touching your Prince and Soveraigne Lord, our Soul, and the Wealth of this our Realme: and your great Lack and Blame with just Cause of High Displeasure to be worthily conceiv'd by us in the denyall and slack doing thereof, will so order and accomodate the Fashion, and passing such Things as should proceed from that University in this Case, as the Nunber of the private Suffrages given without reason, prevaile not against the Heads, Rulers, said Sage Fathers, to the Detriment, Hindrance, and Inconvenience of the Whole. But so to examine, try, and weigh the Opinions and Minds of the Multitude, as the Importance of the Matter

doth require: Wherein we doubt not but your Body is eſtabliſhed in ſuch wiſe, that there be left waies and means to the Heads and Rulers how to eſchew and avoid ſuch Inconveniences, when they ſhall chance: As we truſt ye that be Heads and Rulers for the comprobation and declaration of particular good Minds, ye will not faile to do accordingly, and ſo by your Diligence to be ſhew'd hereafter, to redeem the Errors and Delaies paſt. The Favour we beare to the Maintenance of Learning, we would be very glad, as our ſaid well-beloved Councellour can ſhew unto you on our Behalfe; unto whom we will you give firme credence: Given under our Signet at our Caſtle of *Windſor.*

Number 18.

Copie of the King's Letters to the Biſhop of Rome.

Ex MSS. Rymeri.

ETSI videamus vel temporum vel Hominum iniquitate fieri, ut poſtulata noſtra, quantumvis equa ac naturali ratione ſubnixa, parum expediantur, nihil etiam proficere, in cauſa noſtra juſtiſſima, Chariſſimi fratris & Conſanguinei ac perpetui Confederati noſtri, Chriſtianiſſimi Regis Amiciſſimas preces; Nobilium autem noſtrorum interceſſionem non modo contemni, ſed etiam derideri, quod eos equo animo non laturos exiſtimamus. Denique re ipſa nihil preſtari quod nos afflictos atque vexatos ſublevet; hæc omnia, licet apertius cernamus quam velimus, tum autem ex Oratoribus noſtris quos apud vos habemus, tum à veſtro iſthic Oratore cognoſcamus; eſt tamen ſpei opinioniſque noſtræ tam diverſus exitus ut ſubinde cogitantibus nobis ac memoria repetentibus omnes cauſæ noſtræ circumſtantias, porro autem ſingula Conferentibus que precefferunt queque ſecuta ſunt, fidem factorum, dictorum atque reſponſorum veſtræ Sanctit. in hac cauſa noſtra quam alioqui certam & firmam, fide dignorum Oratorum & veſtrorum & noſtrorum relatio conſtituit, ipſa ratio Communis labefactet atque convellat; atque in re certiſſima tam dubium reddit ut certo interdum non credamus Sanct. veſt. feciſſe que feciſſe cognoſcimus quum ea facere non debuiſſe intelligamus. Nam ut omittamus ea quæ longius preceſſerunt, quod nuperime efflagitavimus de dandis in Anglia Judicibus, quis Creddidiſſet Sanctitatem veſtram negare voluiſſe; longe aliter ſperabamus nos. Aliter certe credidit Chriſtianiſſimus Rex qui nobiſcum una id petiit: Aliter crediderunt ſui Conſiliarii, quorum ſuaſu id fecit: Secus crediderunt nobiles noſtri omnes, & omnes omnium ordinum primi viri. Qui ad noſtra poſtulata ſuas literas adjunxerunt, & quem non ad id adigerit ratio ut crederet Sanctitatem veſtram facturam Dei reſpectu quod debuiſſet, & in principum gratiam quod inculpate potuiſſet: debuiſſet certe permittere ſacroſanctis olim Conſiliis id definientibus, ut controverſia illic terminetur ubi primum nata eſt. Illic enim Judices & propius vident & cernunt certius: Ut Glorioſiſſimo Martyri Cypriano placuit. Et Divus Barnardus ad Eugenim,

Eugenium ſcribit bene facis tu quod appellationum negato Suffragio remittis negotia ad cognoſcentes & qui noſcere citius poſſunt: ubi enim certior & facilior notio, ibi deciſio tutior & expeditior eſſe poteſt: potuiſſet autem Sanctitas veſtra nam olim ſe potuiſſe oſtendit cum Judices ad nos in Angliam mitteret quos poſtea revocavit. Quod ſi debuiſſet quidem quod negari non poterit, & potuiſſet etiam ut quidem factis antea ſuis de conſilio ſuorum declaravit, quis dubitaret de voluntate ſiquidem ut deberet ipſam liberam rectam & certam teneat Sanctitas veſtra, non ad aliena arbitria accomodatam ac humanis reſpectibus inſervientem quod res ita ſe habet ut habet fuerunt aliquando vices noſtri, nunc ut videmus aliorum ſunt: Non in Lege Domini, ſed in rerum viciſſitudine meditandem eſt, ut de veſtræ Sanctitatis Manu aliquod auxilii expectemus, ſed auxilium noſtrum à Domino certum eſt, & in Domino ſperantes non infirmabimur. Nam in conſpectu omnium, acta probant voluntatem Sanctitatis veſtræ totam Cæſari addictam eſſe: Illius nutu flecti, ad illius arbitrium attemperari. Si quid petimus, ſi quid rogamus, quod officii veſtri eſſet, prima ratio eſt, ut ne quid Cæſari diſpliceat. Quem etiamſi amicum habeamus, tamen dominantem in illo naturæ affectum ut improbare omnino non poſſumus, ita in hac cauſa noſtra iniquiorem nobis non ſine cauſa refugere debemus & recte graviſſimam nobis injuriam factam & veſtro officio indigniſſimum dedecus admiſſum videmus, ut cum Cæſar ſe in hac cauſa interpoſuerit, etiam cum ſe oppoſuerit definitioni appellatione interpoſita, cum ſe partem publice profeſſus ſit, veſtra Sanctitas tamen eundem ſemper conſultorem adhibeat: ad illius imperium figat, ac refigat, differat, proroget, mutet & ſtatuat quodcunque temporis rationi oportunum videatur. Et ſi quid ab adverſo dicatur ſtatim creditur: Si quid nos propoſuerimus omnino rejicitur, ſcilicet creditur nunc Reginæ Regnum noſtrum Angliæ non eſſe tutum locum in quo cauſa judicetur: Et creditur unicæ allegationi ſine teſtibus contra tam preclara & aperta documenta quæ nos in diverſum edidimus, non verbis & aſſertionibus que fingi poſſunt, ſed rebus ipſis & factis quæ non mentiuntur. Nos enim quanta cum libertate atque impunitate audivimus omnes in nos, liberius etiam quam oportuit, quod videbatur proferentes, nemini unquam aliam opinionem extorſimus, quam quæ animo videretur ſuo: diverſum à nobis ſentientes etiam in cæteris, favore & proſequimur & proſecuti ſumus. Et tamen, poſt tot argumenta ſecuritatis, & cum nullum ſignum adhuc apparuerit cur timere quiſquam à nobis merito deberet, credit veſtra Sanctitas nudam Reginæ allegationem in diverſum. Quo tempore dubitari potuit qualiter eſſemus laturi quod ageretur & quanta cum equaminitate paſſuri quod fieret, ſi quid contra nos fieret. Miſſi ſunt ad nos Judices in Angliam, a Sanctitate veſtra, nunc vero cum id amplius factitari non poteſt, non modo dubitatur ſed creditur diverſum ejus, quod nos probavimus. Probavimus autem nos Regnum noſtrum locum eſſe tutum in quo cauſa noſtra judicetur viz. cum hactenus ſummam omnibus dicendi libertatem permiſerimus. Regina vero tantum allegat diverſum, & ſi quas probationes attulerit, vanæ ſint oportet & falſæ nec veriſimiles. Quæ quum ita ſint, aliud tamen cur Judices non dederit, non reſpondit Sanctitas veſtra, niſi quod Regina allegavit locum ſuſpectum. Et quis crederet Sanctitatem veſtram iſta nobis reſpondiſſe, nec aliud

dixesse ne Judices daret in partibus: certe referentium credulitatem exigit res vero ipsa negat. Si sequamur quod antea diximus eam persuasionem ut credamus Sanctitatem vestram voluntatem suam ita Cæsari addixisse, ut non ex animi vestri summa prudentia præditi sententia' sed ex Cæsaris affectu respondere contendat. Que res facet ut iterum atque iterum repetitis literis Sanctitatem vestram adeamus, expressuri nimirum si quid aliud moverit Sanctitatem vestram cur nostris ultimis desideriis non annuerit cupidi etiam literis vestris intelligere cui causæ potissimum, denegando innixa sit. Sic enim expressius & certius mentes invicem & animi nostri sententias communicabimus: Si in causis hiisce gravioribus & postulata & responsa scriptis mandaverimus. Itaque petimus denuo hiis literis a Sanctitate vestra ut causam nostram in Anglia datis Judicibus, illis quos inter oratores tanquam indifferentes & equissimos nominabimus, decidi patiatur, atque permittat. De Judicibus autem nullam ut accipimus facit difficultatem Sanctitas vestra, tantum de loco Questio fuit, quum sacra Consilia jam deffinierunt & Sanctus etiam Cyprianus & Divus Bernardus ut prædiximus, utique convenientissimum affirmant, ut in eo loco causa terminetur ubi primum nata est. Durum certe esset probare nudam Reginæ allegationem de loco suspecto, contra ea Argumenta quæ nos ostendimus. Et facile videt prudentia vestra non levem nobis notam inuri, ut ea infamia aspergamur, quasi in causa tanti Sacramenti suspecti haberemur, ne eam ex equo & bono Divinarum legum præscripto intra Regni nostri limitem terminari pateremur: Suspitio talis crimen esset etiam in infimo homuncione famosum, in principe viro tanto magis angetur facinoris atrocitas, quanto sublimius consurgit fastigium dignitatis: Nec possumus certe pati, nedum equanimiter ferre, ut de suspitione tam gravi immerito accusemur, ac sine teste etiam à vestra Sanctitate inique condemnemur. Quæ si communis Patris & Boni pastoris officio fungeretur, in eo potius laboraret ne quid temere cuiquam fiat, & ne sine omni sua culpa ledatur nec immerito notetur. Atque hoc nimirum est Christi vices in Terris gerere, conservandæ Charitatis exempla prebere, ita suum vindicare ne quid alteri detrahatur, ex equo & bono omnia disceptare, plane, simpliciter, & aperte agere, promissa prestare non obliquo ductu, alio tendere quam quo cursum aperte instituerit. Hac omnia non ascribimus Sanctitati vestræ, nec de occultis Sacræ Literæ permittunt judicare, & nos semper temeraria judicia fugimus, nec in alium libenter admittimus, quod in nos ipsos fieri equanimiter non ferimus. Sed si vestræ Sanctit. oratores, si vestri nuncii, vestri Magistratus, auctore Sanctitate vestra faciunt quod faciunt, cujus Rei certum judicium Conscientiæ vestræ sit, clara certe verisimulitudo interim elucet: sed si Auctor est vestra Sanctitas, si Conscia est, si facta probat, immo si non improbat aperte, non corrigit: Graviora sunt his que supra memoravimus quæ in Sanctitatem vestram dici possunt, nam quum Sanctitas vestra omnibus modis primum conata est impedire ne quis in Causa nostra suam sententiam libere proferret, ac deinde post multas longas & varias preces, Justitiæ Administrandæ necessitate adacta, ut suum cuique liberum judicium permitteret, scribendi & dicendi quod suæ Conscientiæ videretur, literis tandem in publicum missis permiserit, omnibus liberam in Causa nostra scribendi facultatem: Magistratus interea vestri, vestro etiam nomine, multis gravissime minati sunt, si quid

scripserint

ſcripſerint in Poteſtatem veſtram. Hoc Bononiæ & aliis in locis permultis factum ſcimus. Cæſaris vero Oratores ubique in Italia, ac veſtris preſertim ditionibus, contempto veſtræ Sanctitatis edicto, indies non ceſſant Terrores, Minas, & cætera quæque Territamenta inculcare; ſciente & volente, vel ſaltem non impediente ſed connivente Sanctitate veſtra, his qui in Cauſa noſtra ſcripſerunt ac ſcriberent, ni revocent atque recantent. Et, qua Conſpiratione neſcimus, effectum eſt, ut Literarum noſtrarum nec liber ſit commeatus nec tutus. Chriſtianiſſimus verò Rex nobis ſignificavit, quomodo Orator veſter qui apud illum eſt, de Cauſa noſtra etiam nomine Sanctitatis veſtræ, ut quidem aſſeruit, in verba pronuntiavit; nec veritus eſt tanto Principi audacter & impudenter mentiri; ut diceret Cauſam noſtram contra omne jus & fas intendi, nullo jure aut ratione niti. Quæ verba, ſi ex animi veſtri ſententia protulit, non ſemper ex animi ſui ſententia, & ſcripſit & locuta eſt Sanctitas veſtra, quæ Cauſam noſtram aliquando juſtiſſimam appellavit. Quod ſi temeritas illius hominis à Sanctitatis veſtræ ſinceritate remota eſt, quod libentius vellemus, tamen quum eo munere fungatur, in quo ad mandatorum præſcripta agere videatur, ſaltem aliqua ratione diluenda ſuſpitio eſt: ſicque illis agendum, quos Splendor Dignitatis reddit conſpicuos; ne ullam ſcandali occaſionem præſtent, his quos in obſequio & amicitia continere cupiant. Nobiſcum autem ita agat Sanctitas veſtra, ut Naturæ Præcepta non tranſiliat; ſi ſuum ſibi integrum ſervari cupiat, ne noſtrum attingat, ne recipiat appellationes ad ſe in Cauſa noſtra: Et ſi quas receperit, ne contra juſtitiam eas tueri ſtudeat; ſed ſecundum juſtitiam, eas in Regnum remittat; ne exercere conetur inhibitiones ſuas, in hac Cauſa contra nos, aut ſubditos noſtros, quos illis modis non convenit deterreri. Sinat Leges & Prerogativas noſtras Regnique noſtri Angliæ, nec tempore nec auctoritate veſtris cedentes, ſua vi procedere: Inhibitiones iſtas, ſi quas fecerit, quod non credimus, maturiori Conſilio revocet quæ factæ ſunt, & cum alieni juris præjudicio, ne deinceps emittat. Summatim autem quod petitur; hoc eſt, ut ne ad ſe, neve ad Curiam Romanam, Cauſæ illius Cognitionem deferri patiatur, quæ intra Regni noſtri Limites debet terminari. Nec credat Sanctitas veſtra, ut cum Leges certas & fixas habeat hoc Regnum noſtrum Angliæ, ne Cauſæ quæcunq; Regiæ Perſonam, aut Rempublicam quoquomodo tangentes, extra Regni Limites Judiciis tractentur; vel permiſſuros nos eas nobis regnantibus infringi & violari; vel paſſuros Regni noſtri Nobiles, tam grave præjudicium huic Regno inferri. Breviter ſite nil moveat Perſona rogantis, moveat ſaltem Cauſa rogandi. Rogamus enim nos, quia Naturæ & Rationi conſonum eſt, ut quod noſtrum eſt nobis illibatum conſervare ſtudeamus. Rogamus autem Auctoribus Sacroſanctis Conſiliis, hoc eſt, veſtris Legibus; viz. ut in ſua cujuſque Provincia Cauſa terminetur. Rogamus ex ſententia Divorum Cypriani & Bernardi, quibus hoc, ut ſupradiximus, equum viſum eſt. Denique rogamus, quod Leges noſtræ diverſum non patiantur, & nos à Contentionibus abhorremus. His certè non annuere non poteſt Sanctitas veſtra, ſi illum Charitatis fervorem habeat, quem & Titulus Dignitatis præ ſe fert, & nos etiam habemus. Veruntamen, ſi hæ Cauſæ Rogandi Sanctitatem veſtram moverint, ut concedat quod juſtum eſt, eatenus

tamen

tamen apud nos valebunt, ne de Sanctitatis vestræ manu patiamur quod injustum est: Nec quisque facile patitur auferri, quod suum est. Et nos etiam in aliena illibenter irruimus, sed à Contentione non abest detrimentum: Et nullius ferè compendio semel natæ Controversiæ transiguntur: Quid animi habeat Sanctitas vestra, quid autem nobis respondere decreverit, rogamus ut per Literas velit significare.

Number 19.

A Letter of Gr. Cassali *from* Compiegne.

An Original.

Cotton Library, *Vitellius* B. 13.

SErenissime & Invictissime Domine mi Supreme, Salutem. Compendium Regem Christianissimum, quemadmodum sibi placere ipse mihi dixerat, sum subsequutus. Cum ejus Majestati duo adhuc agenda supererant: Primum, quia meorum Literis certior factus sum, brevi Pontificem cum Cæsare conventurum, Literæ ad duos Cardinales, qui Parisiis sunt, ab hoc Rege Christianissimo conscribendæ videbantur; quibus illis mandaret, quo celerius poterint magnis itineribus in Italiam festinent. Itaque veluti à Rege postulavi, ut hujusmodi Literæ exarentur. Deinde valde existimabam necessarium, cum hoc Principe agere, ut duobus Cardinalibus daret in mandatis, ut ante omnes Cardinalis de Monte meminissent. Eique Pensionem annuam, saltem trium millium aureorum, ex quadraginta millibus, quæ mihi dixerat velle in Cardinales distribuere assignarent. Et Rex quidem hoc etiam scribi ad duos Cardinales jussit Secretario Vitandri: Quicum ego postmodo super iis Pensionibus Sermonem habui, cognovique sic in animo Regem habere, ut duo Cardinales quum Romæ fuerint, videant, qui potissimum digni hac Regia sint Liberalitate, in eosque, quum quid in Regno Galliæ Ecclesiasticum vacare contigerit, ex meritis unius cujusque Pensiones conferantur. Tunc autem nihil in promptu haberi, quod Cardinali de Monte dari possit: Verum Regis nomine illi de futuro esse promittendum, quod mihi certe summopere displicuit; & Secretario Vitandri non reticui, ostendens Pollicitationes hujusmodi centies, jam Cardinali de Monte factas fuisse; & modo si iterum fiant nihil aliud effecturas, nisi ut illius Viri quasi ulcera pertractent id quod Vitandri verum esse fatebatur, pollicitusq; est se, quum Rex à Venatu rediisset, velle ei suadere, ut Cardinalem de Monte aliqua præsenti Pensione prosequatur; qua quidem te nihil conducibilius aut oportunius fieri posset.

Illud autem novi, quod meorum Literis ex urbe significatur, ad Guronum perscribi. Et D. Benettum ad Dominum Ducem Norfolciæ scribere arbitror his Literis, quæ hic mihi redditæ sunt, & cum præsentibus mitto. Quod autem & Rege Christianissimo cognovi illud est. Constituisse Cæsarem, superioribus diebus, relinquere Ferdinan-

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do Fratri viginti millia Peditum, Equitum decem millia; ita ut ipse solveret de suo Stipendia sex millibus Boemorum, & duobus millibus Militum navalium: Quatuor vero millibus Germanorum darentur Stipendia à liberis Germaniæ Civitatibus. At reliquis qui Italorum erant octo millia, nihil certi Stipendij decernebat; credens illos, quemadmodum in Italia plærumque evenire consuevit, aut exigua re, aut ad summum dimidio Stipendio acquieturos. Ex decem Equitum millibus, duo millia ex Flammingis, Ordinibus relinquebant. In cæteros Stipendium à Pontifice, ut in illam diem factum fuerat, statuebat. Sed enim Itali Milites, male se tractari existimantes, tumultu facto Italiam versus abierunt; quod quum reliqui cognovissent, alij alio domos suas omnes discesserunt. Hujus autem seditionis Crimen in Petrum Mariam Rubeum Comitem Sancti Secundi collatum fuit: Idque quoniam discedentes milites ipsius comitis nomen clamantes ingeminabant: Illum igitur Cæsar comprehendi jussit: Et Cardinalem Medices quoque legatum ut ejusdem affinem culpæ detineri, ac paulo post dimitti imperavit: qui primo quoque tempore per equos dispositos abiens Venetias se contulit: Atque hanc quidem rem Pontifex, ut debuit, iniquo animo tulisse dicitur; & de adeo insigni contumelia cum Cæsarianis omnibus est conquestus. Verum, illi quibus modis potuerunt, Cæsarem excusarunt, rogaruntq; ut placato sit animo donec Cæsarem ipsum audiat, qui ostendet quicquid fecit in ipsius Pontificis, beneficium fecisse. De conventu Pontificis Cæsarisq; pro certo ferme habetur Bononiæ futurum: Et ut ex litteris colligi potest, jam nunc Cæsar Italiam cum duodecim milibus peditum ingressus est: Et Pontifex ab urbe Bononiam versus discedet, Romam enim venerat Petrus Cona Cæsaris legatus ad Pontificem deducendum: Qua de re quum hic certior factus essem, ad Franciscum fratrem meum, qui Romæ est, scripsi, ut Cardinalem de Monte, & alterum amicum nostrum adiret, rogaretque velint cum Pontifice agere, ut quoniam ita festinanter Bononiam contendit, neque ipsos secum ducere potest, promittat se nihil antequam Romam redierit in causa Majestatis vestræ facturum, quum præsertim absque ipsis nihil recte in tanto negotio confici possit. Præterea fratri meo ut idem nonnullis aliis Cardinalibus diceret mandavi: quod si viderit non posse id a Pontifice impetrari, ab ipsis contendet ut Pontificem omnino sequuntur, neque ætas decrepita illos moretur, sed quoquo modo sese deferri faciant: Neque velit Cardinalis de Monte, quemadmodum alias fecit, absente Pontifice legatus in urbe remanere, præsertim si, quod firme ab omnibus creditur, Pontifex Bononiæ usque in mensem Martium aut Aprilem est commoraturus. Sed nunc quod scribam omittendum non est. Quum Caletio discedens equum consedissem, Secretarius qui illic erat Nuntii Pontificii, se litteras habere à Nuntio mihi dixit, quibus respondebat ad quandam partem suarum litterarum, quæ illi meis verbis significarat, velle se omnino ad Pontificem scribere, ne quicquam in causa Majestatis vestræ ante reditum meum ageret, ea enim me allaturum, quæ sibi rationabiliter placere possent, dummodo nihil super causa factum fuisset. Responsum autem Nuntii illud erat, se in eam sententiam ad Pontificem scripsisse, & de ea ita scripsisse, ut mihi polliceretur, nihil ante quam ego redierim in Majestatis vestræ causa innovatum fore: enimvero me rogavit

ut aliquid boni, & quod nostris placere posset afferrem, ne ipse mentitus esse videretur.

Sed de pensione in Cardinalem de Monte conferenda, quoniam postmodo Rex Christianissimus quemadmodum mihi promiserat scribere recusavit, & me rogavit ut adventum magni magistri expectarem, quid sequutum sit Majestas vestra ex Domino Wintoniensi cognoscet, ad quem de hac re abunde scripsi. Felix sit & optime valeat Majestas vestra. Compendii Die xvj. Novemb. M. D. xxxij.

Regia Majestatis.

Number 20.

A Representation made by the Convocation to the King before the Submission.

Cotton Library, *Cleop.* *F.* 1.

FIrst, as concerning such Constitutions and Ordinances Provincial as be to be made hereafter by us your most humble Subjects; we having our especial Trust and Confidence in your most Excellent Wisdom, and your Princely Goodness and fervent Zeal to the Promotion of Gods Honour and Christen Religion, and specially in your incomparable Learning farr exceeding in our Judgments the Learning of all other Kings and Princes that we have redde of, and doubting nothing but that the same shall still continue and daily encrease in your Majestie, do offer and promise hereunto the same that from henceforth *during your Highness natural Life* which we most hertily beseech Almighty God long to preserve, we shall forbear to enact promulge or put in Execution, any such Constitution or Ordinance so by us to be made in time coming, unless your Highness by your Royal Assent shall license us to make promulge and execute such Constitutions, and the same so made shall approve by your Hignesss Authorite.

Secounde, Whereas your Highness Honorable Commons do pretend that diverse of the Constitutions Provincial, which have ben heretofore enacted be not only much prejudicial to your Highness Prerogative Royal, but also overmuch onerous to your said Commons, we your most humble Subjects for the Considerations aforesaid, be contented to referr and commit all and singular the said Constitutions to the Examination and Judgment of your Grace only: And which soever of the same shall finally be found thought and judged by your Graces most high Wisdom prejudiciall and overmuch onerous as is pretended, we offer and promise your Highness to moderate or utterly to abrogate and annull the same, according to the Judgment of your Grace. Saving to us allwaie all such Immunities and Liberties of this Church of *England*, as hath been granted unto the same by the Goodness and Benignite of your Highness, and of others your most

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noble Progenitors, with all ſuch Conſtitutions Provincial as do ſtand with the Laws of Almighty God *and Holy Church*, and of your Realm heretofore made, which we moſt humbly beſeech your Grace to ratifie and approve by your Royal Aſſent, for the better Execution of the ſame in Times to come, amongſt your Graces People. Providing alſo that until your Highneſs Pleaſure herein ſhall be further declared unto us, all manner of Ordinaries may execute their Juriſdictions in like manner and form as they have uſed the ſame in Times paſt.

Number 21.

A Letter by Magnus *to* Cromwell, *concerning the Convocation of* York.

Taken from the Original.

AFter full due Recommendation unto your good Maſterſhip, like it the ſame to wete, that yeſterdaie was here with me Mr. Doctor *Lee*, and ſhewed unto me the Kings moſt gracious Pleaſure and your Advertiſements for my going Northwards to the Convocation at *York*. So it is, as I doubt not the ſaid Mr. Doctor *Lee* knoweth and conceiveth, that I have not a little been ſik and diſeaſed, but greatly grieved with a Rewme in myn Hed, and a Catarr fallen into my Stomake, by reaſon whereof, I have had, and yet have a contynuall great Cough, I am in truſte that my Diſeas and Sicknes is in Declination, ſuppoſing thereby the ſooner to have Recovery, and this Daye have ſent for my Horſes into *Nottingham ſhir*, and truſte with the Helpe of God to be at *York* ſoone after the Begynning of the ſaid Convocation. Many Yeres afore-paſſed, I have ever been redy to go when I have been commanded, and yet I have as good a Will as ever I had, but myn olde Body is nowe ſoe ofte cloggod with Infirmitie and Unweildenes, that it woll not aunſwer to the Effect of my Deſire and good mynde, yet neverthcles with the good Helpe and Counſell alſo of Mr. *Bartlot*, I ſhall doe aſmuch as I may to make me ſoe ſtrong as it woll be, and have had Communycation at large with the ſaid Mr. Doctor *Lee*, touching our intended Buſineſs. I am very glad that he ſhall be at *York* at this Seaſon, for at the laſte Convocation where as was graunted unto the Kings Highneſs the great Some of Mony to be paide in Five Yeres, with the recogniſing his Grace to be *ſupremum Caput*, *&c.* I had very litle Helpe, but my ſelf, albeit the Kings Highneſs ſaid that he wolde have ſent other Bookes after me, which came not: ſoe that therefore the Kinges Cauſes were the longer in treating and reaſonyng or they came to good Effect and Concluſion; the Prelates and Clergie there woll not in any wiſe give firme Credence to reporte of any Acts that be paſte here, onles the ſame be ſhewed unto them authentically, either under

Cleop. E. 6. p. 252.

 Seale,

Seale, or otherwise, or the Kings most honourable Letters addressed accordingly, these two things in myn Oppynnyon, must both be done, for without the same, the Prelats and Clergie of the North Parties being farre from Knowledge of the Kings most high Pleasure, woll not for any Credence, be hastie to proceed to any strainge Acts, but woll esteem their Reasons and Lernyng, to be as effectuall as others be. I write the more at large unto you herryne, bycause, as it shall please you, and as ye shall seem good, the Matters that now be intended, may be put in order. Glad I would have been to have commen nowe unto you my self, but I assure you, I dare not as yet come into the open Ayer, soe soone as I may, it shall be my firste Pilgrimage by the Grace of God, who ever preserve you myn one good Master. At *Maribone* this *Monday* the xxth Daye of *Aprill.*

Your own Preiste

and Bedeman

T. Magnus.

Number 22.

A Protestation made by Warham, *Archbishop of* Canterbury, *against all the Acts pass'd in the Parliament to the Prejudice of the Church.*

Protestatio Archiepiscopi Cantuar.

1531.

P. 120.

IN Dei Nomine. Amen. Per præsens publicum instrumentum cunctis appareat evidenter & sit notum, quòd Anno Domini secundum Cursum & Computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Millesimo Quingentesimo xxxi°. Indictione Quintâ, Pontificatûs Reverendissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri, Domini Clementis Divinâ Providentiâ illius Nominis Papæ Septimi, Anno Nono, Mensis verò Februarii die vigesimo quarto: In quodam superiori Cubiculo sive Camerâ infra Manerium Reverendissimi in Christo Patris & Domini, Domini *Wilhelmi* Permissione Divinâ Cant' Archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ Primatis, & Apostolicæ Sedis legati, de Lambithe Winton' Dioc. situatum in nostrorum Notariorum Publicorum Subscriptorum, ac Testium inferius Nominatorum, præsentiâ constitutus personaliter idem Reverendissimus in Christo Pater, quandam Protestationem, in scriptis redactam, fecit, & interposuit, ac palàm & publicè Protestatus est, cæteràque fecit & exercuit prout, & quemadmodum quâdam Papiri Schedulâ, quam manibus suis tunc tenens pu' licè legebat, plenius continebatur; cujus quidem Schedulæ tenor sequitur, & est talis.

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In Dei Nomine. Amen. Nos *Wilhelmus* permissione divinâ Cant. Arch. totius Angliæ Primas, & Apostolicæ sedis legatus, Protestamur publicè & expresse, pro nobis, & sanctâ Ecclesiâ nostrâ Metropoliticâ Cantuariensi, quod nolumus, nec intendimus, sicuti neque sanâ Conscientiâ possumus, *Alicui statuto* in præsenti Parliamento apud Fratres Prædicatores London tertio die mensis Novembris Anno Dom' 1529. & Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi xxi. inchoat', & abinde usq; ad Westm' prorogat', & ibidem huc usque continuat', *edito*, seu *deinceps edendo*, quatenus statuta hujusmodi, seu eorum aliquod, in derogationem *Romani Pontificis*, aut *Sedis Apostolicæ*; vel damnum Præjudicium, sive Restrictionem *Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis*; aut in Subversionem, Enervationem, seu Derogationem, vel Diminutionem, *Jurium*, *Consuetudinum*, *Privilegiorum*, *Prærogativarum*, *Præ-eminentiarum*, seu *Libertatis Ecclesiæ nostræ Metropoliticæ Christi Cant'* prædict' tendere dignoscuntur, *quomodolibet consentire*; sed ad omnem Juris effectum qui exinde sequi poterit aut debebit, eisdem *Dissentire*, *Reclamare*, *Contradicere*; ac *Dissentimus*, *Reclamamus*, & *Contradicimus* in his scriptis. Super quibus omnibus, & singulis præmissis, idem Reverendissimus Pater nos Notarios publicos subscriptos sibi unum, vel plura, publicum seu publica, Instrumentum sive Instrumenta, exinde conficere debitè & instanter requisivit & rogavit.

Acta sunt hæc omnia & singula prout supra scribuntur & recitantur sub Anno Domini, Indictione, Pontificatu, Mense, Die, & loco prædictis; Præsentibus tunc ibidem venerabilibus, & probis Viris, Magistris Johanne Cocks, legum Doctore: Rogero Harmam Theologiæ Baccalaureo: Ingelramno Bedill, Clerico: Et Wilhelmo Waren Literato, Testibus ad præmissa vocatis specialiter & rogatis.

Istud Instrumentum similiter erat subscriptum manibus prædictorum trium Notariorum, *with the foregoing Instrument; which was that of the Submission of the Clergy. They were* William Potkyn, John Hering, *and* Thomas Argall.

This was copied out of a MS. in my Lord Longvill's *Library.*

Number 23.

To the King. From *Edmund Bonner* at *Marselles.*

A Letter of Bonner's *upon his reading the King's Appeal to the Pope.*

An Original.

PLeaseth it your Highnes to be advertised, that sythen my last Letters sent unto the same of the ivth of this present by *Thadens* the Curror wherein I declared in what Termes were the Proceedings here

Cotton Library, *Vitellius* B. 14. Fol. 75.

here, I was commaunded by my Lord of *Winchester* and other your Highnes Ambassadoures here, to intimate unto the Popes Person, if the same were possible to do, all suche Provocations and Appelles which your Highnes heretofore had made unto the Generall Councell, and sent hither to be intimated accordinglie. Whereupon desiring Mr. *Penyston* to take the Pains with me unto the Popes Palace for the Expeditions of an Acte concernyng your Highnes, and he right glad and very well content to do the same: I repayred with hym thither the viith of this present, in the Mornyng, and albeit that at the Begynnyng some Resistence and Contradiction was made that we shold not come unto the Pope, which as then was in manner full readye to come unto the Consistorie; And therefore not accustomed with other Businefs to be interrupted, yet in Conclusion we came to that Chamber where the Pope stode bytwene two Cardinalles, *de Medices*, and *Lorayne*, redie apparelled with his Stole towards the Consistorie: And incontinently upon my comyng thither, the Pope, whos Sight is incredulous quick, eyed me, and that divers tymes, making a good Pawse in one place, in which tyme I desired the Datary to advertise his Holines that I desired to speke with him. And albeit the Datarie made no litle Difficultie therein thinking the Tyme and Place not most convenient, yet perceyvyng that upon Refusal I wool have goon furthwith to the Pope, he advertised the Pope of my said Desire. And his Holynes dismyssing as then the said Cardinals, and letting his Vesture fall went to a Wyndowe in the said Chamber calling me unto him, at what tyme (doyng Reverence accustomed) I shew'd unto his Holynes how that your Highnefs had given me expresse and strayte Commandment to intimate unto hym, how that your Grace had first solomly provoked and allso after that appealled unto the Generall Councell, submitting your self to the Tuition and Defence thereof, which Provocation and Appelles I said I had under authentike Writinges then with me to shewe for that Purpose. Declaring that your Highnes was moved thus to doo upon reasonable Causes and Grounds expressed in the said Provocation and Appelles, and yet neverthelefs soo tempering your Doynges that beynge a good and Catholike Prince, and proceeding thereafter, your Grace mynded not any thing to say, doo, or goo about agaynst the Holie Catholique and Apostolique Churche, or the Authority of the See, otherwise then was the Office of a good Catholike Prince, and chaunsing soo to doo indeed intended in Tyme and Place according, Catholiquely to reforme and await the same. And herewithall I drew out the said Writing shewing his said Holynes that I brought the same for Proof of the Premisses and that his Holynes might see and perceive all the same, adding hereunto that your Highnes used these Remedies not in any Contempt either of the Churche, the See, or of his Holynes, but only upon Causes expressed in the said Writings. Desiring also his Holynes that althoughe in tymes passed it liked hym to shewe unto me much Benevolence and Kyndnes wherbie I must and did accompte my self greatly bounden unto the same, yet considering the Obligations a Subject must and doth of Right beare chiefly unto his Sovereyne Lord, he wood take al my Doyngs in good parte, and not to ascribe any Unkyndnes unto me in this behalfe, but only to co-

der that a Subject and Servant must do his Masters Commandement. The Pope havyng this for a Brekefast, only pulled downe his Head to his Shoulders after the *Italion* Fashion, and said that because he was as then fully ready to goe to the Consistorie he would not tarye to hear or see the said Writings; but willed me to come at after noone and he would gladly giffine Audience to all the same, and other things that I would propose &c. whereupon his Holynes departing streyght to the Consistorie, I returned to your said Ambassadors, telling them what I had doon, and what Answer I had. That after noone I and Mr. *Penyston* (whom I entended aswel in the Popes Answeres, as also in other my Doinge, to use as a Wittnes if the Cause should soe require,) repayred to the Palace, and bycause that Audience was assigned unto many, and among others unto the Ambassador of *Millan*, I tarried there the Space of an Howre and Halfe, and finally was called into the Pope's Secret Chamber, where (taking with me Mr. *Penyston*) I founde his Holines having only with hym *Godsadyn* of *Bononie*; The Pope perceyving that I had brought one with me, looked much upon hym, and a great deale the more, in my Opinion, bycause that in the Morning I did speak with his Holines alone, Mr. *Penyston* albeit beyng in the said Chambre, and seying what I did, yet not resorting nye unto his said Holines. And to put the Pope out of this Fantasie, and somewhat to colour my Entent, I tolde his Holynes that the said Mr. *Penyston* was the Gentilman that had brought unto me Commission and Letters from your Highnes, to intimate unto his Holynes the Provocation and Appeal forsaid; the Pope percase not fully herewith satisfied, and supposing that I would (as I indede entended) have recorde upon my Doyngs, said, that it were good for him to have his Datarie, and also other of his Counsell, to hear and see what were done in that Behalfe, and thereupon called for his Datarie, *Symonetta*, and *Capisucchi*. In the mean whyle, they beyng absent, and sent for, his Holynes leaning in his Wyndow towardes the West syde, after a little Pawse turned unto me, and asked me of my Lord of *Winchester* how he did, and likewise afterward of Mr. *Brian*; but after that sort that we thought he would make me believe that he knew not of his being here, saying thos Words; How doth Mr. *Brian*, is he here now: and after that I had answered hereunto, his Holynes not a little seeming to lament the Death of Mr. Doctor *Bennet*, whom he said was a Faithfull and Good True Servant unto your Holynes, enquired of me whether I was present at the Time of his Death, and falling out of that, and marvelling, as he said, that your Highness would use his Holyness after such sorte, as it appears ye did: I said that your Highnes no less did marveyll that his Holynes havyng found so much Benevolence and Kyndnes at your Handes in all Tymes passed, would for acquitall shewe such unkyndnes as of late he did, as well in not admitting your Excusator with your lawfull Defences, as alsoe pronouncing against your Highnes: and here we entered in Comunication upon two Poyntes, oon was that his Holynes having comitted in Tymes passed, and in moost ample Forme, the Cause into the Realm, promising not to revoke the said Commission, and over that to confirm the Processe and Sentence of the Commisaries, being Two Cardinalles and Legates of his See, should not especially

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at the Poynt of Sentence, have advoked the Cause from their Hands, reteyning it at *Rome*, but at the left, he shoulde have committed the same to some other indifferent Judges within your Realme, making herein that it could not be retayned at *Rome*: This Argument was Either his Holynes would have the Matter examyned and ended, or he would not: If he would, then either he would have it examined and ended in a Place whither your Highness might personally come, and ellse bende to send your Proctor, or else in that Place whither your Highnes nother couud or ought personally to come unto; Ne yet bounde to sende a Proctor; if he intended in a Place whither your Highnes might personally come, and elles bound to send a Proctor he intended well and ought to have provided accordingly. If he entended that the Matter shuld be examyned and ended in that Place wher your Highnes neither could nor ought personally to come, nor yet bounde to send a Proctor then his Holynes did not well and justly. Seying that ether your Highness shuld therbie be compelled to make a Proctor in Matter of such Importance against your Will; or enforced to a Thing unto you impossible, or elles to be left without Defence, having just Cause of Absence. And for as much as *Rome* was a Place whither your Highnes could not ne yet ought personally come unto, and alsoe was not bound to send thither your Proctor: I said therefore that his Holynes justly shuld not have retayned the Matter at *Rome*. The Second Point was that your Highnes Cause beyng in the Opinion of the best Learned Men in *Christendome* approved Good and Just, and so many wayes known unto his Holynes; the same shuld not soe long have retayned it in his Hands without Judgment: His Holynes answering to the same, as touching the First Poynt, said that if the Quene (meanyng the late Wife of Prince *Arthure*, calling her alway in his Conversation, the Queen) had not given an Oath *perhorrascentiæ & quod non sperabat consequi Justitiæ complementum impartibus*, refusing the Judges as suspect, he would not have advoked the Matter at all, but been content it shuld have been examyned and ended in your Realm; but seyng she gave that Othe and refused the Judges as suspect, appealling also to his Courte, he said he might and ought to hear her, his Promise made to your Highnes, which was qualified, notwithstanding. And as touching the Seconde Poynt, his Holynes said that your Highnes only was the Defaut thereof, bycause ye woulde not send a Proxie unto the Cause, without which he said the same coude not be determyned, And albeit I replied aswell against his Answere to the First Poynt, saying that his Holynes cou'd ne yet thereupon retaine the Matter at *Rome*, and proceed against your Highnes there, and likewise against the Seconde Poynt, saying that your Highnes was not bounde to sende any Proxie, yet his Holynes seeing that the Datarir was come in upon this last Conclusion, said only that al these Matters had been oft, and many Tymes fully talked upon at *Rome*, and therefore willed me to omitte ferther communication thereupon, and to proceede to the Declaration, and doing of such Things, that I was specially sent for: Whereupon making Protestation of your Highnes Mynde and Intent towardes the Church, and See Apostolique, not intending any Thing to doe in contempt of the

same,

ſame I exhibited unto his Holynes the Commiſſion which your Highnes had ſent unto me under your private Seale (the other ſent by *Frances* the Curror not beyng then come) deſiring and asking according to the Tenour thereof, and his Holynes delivering it to the Datarie commanded hym to rede it, and hereing in the ſame thes Wordes, *Gravaminibus & injuriis nobis ab eodem ſanctiſſimo Patre illatis & comminatis*, began to loke up after a new ſorte and ſaid, *O queſto & multo vero*, this is much true, meanyng that it was not true indede. And verily ſure not only in this but alſo in many Partes of the ſaid Commiſſion as they were red he ſhewed hymſelf grevouſlie offended: inſomuch that when thoſe Wordes, *Ad ſacro-ſanctum concilium generale proxime jam futurum legittimum & in loco congruenti celebrandum*, were red, he fell in a marvelous great Cholere and Rage, not only declaring the ſame by his Geſture and Manner, but alſo by Wordes: ſpeaking with great Vehemence, and ſaying, Why did not the King (meanyng your Majeſtie) when I wrote to my Nuncio this you paſſed to ſpeke, unto hym for this Generall Councell, giff no Anſwer unto my ſaid Nuncio, but referred hym for Anſwere therein to the *French* King; at what Tyme he might perceive by my doyng (he ſaid) that I was very well diſpoſed and much ſpake for it: the thing ſo ſtanding, now to ſpeke of a General Councel, O good Lord. But well! his Commiſſion, and all other his Writings cannot be but welcome unto me, he ſaid, whiche laſt Wordes we thought he ſpake willing to hide his Choler, and make me byleve that he was nothing angrie with this Doyngs, where in very dede I perceived by many Arguments that it was otherwiſe: and one among another was taken here for Unfallible with them that knoweth the Popes Conditions, that he was contynually folding up and unwynding of his Handkerchefe, which he never doth but when he is tykled to the very Hert with great Choler. And albeit he was lothe to leave Converſation of this Generall Councel to eaſe his Stomack, yet at the laſt he commanded the Datarie to rede further: which he did. And by and by, upon the reding of thoos Clauſes, *ſi oportat Rever. Patribus, &c.* and *poſt*

and his Holynes eftſones chafed greatly; finally ſaying, *Queſto e boon fiatto*, this is but well doon. And what tyme that Clauſe *Proteſtando, &c.* and alſo that oother, *Nos ad ea Juris & facti remedia*, was red by the Datarie, he cauſed hym to rede theym again; which doon, his Holynes not a litle chafyng with hymſelf asked what I had moore. And then I repeting my Proteſtation, did exhibit unto him your Highnes Provocation, which incontenently he delivered to the Datarie to rede, and in this alſo he founde hym ſelf much greived, notyng in the Begynnyng not oonly thoſe Wordes *Archiepiſcopo Eboracenſi*, but alſo thus, *Citra tum renocat. quorum cumque procuratorum*: at which he made good pawſe, conjectering therebie as I toke it, that ther were Proctors made which might excerciſe and appear in your Name if your Highnes had ther with be contented. The Datarie reding ferther and comyng to thoſe Woords *quod non eſt noſtræ intentionis, &c.* his Holynes with great Vehemence ſays, that thoughe your Highnes in your Proteſtation had reſpect to the Church and Authorite of the See Apoſtolique, yet you had noon to hym at al; whereunto I anſwered and ſaid it was not ſoc,

as his Holynes should perceyve in the other Writings. But of truth say what I say wooled ther was in Manor never a Clause in the said Provocation that soe pleased him, but he woold wrynge and whrist it to the worst Sense; as in Annotations upon the Margynes aswell of Provocation as alsoe Appellations, I shall fully declare unto your Highness; which yet nevertheles at this time bycause it cannot be perfect at th[illegible]arture of this Byrer I doo not send it to your Highnes. As th[illegible] was reding this Provocation, came in *Symoneta*, and even [illegible] ords, *Sed deinde publico eantur judicio.* Wherin the Pope snarlin[illegible] and sayeing that *publicum*, *Symoneta* said no such was never had. *Symoneta* said, now syne they spake of that Archbishop, I suppose, that made that good Processe, the Cause depending afore your Holynes in the Consistorie. A said the Pope a worshipful Processe and Judgment. And as he was chasing hereupon, ther came oon of his Chamber to tell hym that the *French* King did comme to speke with his Holynes: And incontenently hereapon the Pope made great hast to mete hym; and even at the very Door they mette together, the *French* King makyng very lowe Curtisie, putting of his Bonet, and keping it of, till he came to a Table in the Popes Chamber. And albeit I much dout not that the *French* King knew right well what Doyngs was in hand, advertised thereof by oon *Nicolas* his Secretarie and also of the Popes Pryvey Chamber, yet his Grace asked of the Pope what his Holynes did. And the same gave Answer and said, *Questi signori Inglesi sono stati qui per intimare certi provocationi & appellationi e di fare altre cose*, Theis Gentlemen of *England* be here to intimate certeyn Provocations and Appelles and to do other things. Whereupon they two secretly did fall in Conversation; but what it was I cannot tell: the *French* Kinge his Back was against me, and I understood not what he said. Trouth it is, when the *French* King had spoke a longe tyme and made ende of his Tale, the Pope said those Wordes, *Questa e per la bonta vostra*, This is of your Goodnes. Proceding ferther in Conversation and laughing meryly together they so talked the Space of three Quarters of an Hower, it beyng then after Six of the Clock in the Nyght, and in Conclusion the *French* Kinge making great Reverance toke his leave, but the Pope went with him to the Chamber Dorre, and albeit the *French* King woold not have suffered hym further to have goon, yet his Holynes following hym out of the Doore toke hym by the Hande and brought him to the Doore of the Seconde Chamber, where making great Ceremonies the oon to the other, they departed, the Pope returnyng to his Chamber, and seyng me stande at Doore, willed me to enter with hym. And so I did havyng with me Mr. *Penyston.* And then and ther the Datarie red out the rest of the Provocation: interrupted yet many tymes by the Pope, which ofte for the Easement of his Mynde made his Interpretations and Notes, especially if it touched the Mariage which of late your Highnes made with the Quene that now is, or the Processe made by the Archbishoppe of *Canturburie.*

The Provocations red, with muche a doo, I under Protestations forsaid did intimate unto him the two Appelles, made also by your Highnes to the Generall Councell afor my Lord of *Winchester*, which

his Holynes delyvered to his Datarie commanding hym to rede theym. Notyng and marking well all Manner and Contentes thereof: and noo lesse offended therbie then he was with the oother. In the reding whereof came in the Cardinal *de Medices*, whiche stoode bare headed contynually during the reding thereof, casting down his Hede to the Grounde, and not a litle marvelling, as it appered unto me, that the Pope was so troubled and mourned. When this was doon, his Holynes said that forasmuch as this was a Matter of great Weyght, and Importance, towching alsoe the Cardinalls, he woold consulte and deliberate with them hereupon in the Consistorie, and afterwardes gif me Answer therein. I contented therewith, desired ferther his Holynes that forasmuch as he had hard all the Provocations and Apelles, seying alſo the Original Writings thereupon, that I might have thym again; bycause I said I must aswell to the Cardinales as alsoe to other Judges and Persons havyng Interest, make Intimation accordingly. His Holynes in the Begynnyng was precise that I should in noe wise have thym; but they to remain with hym. Nevertheles afterward perceyvyng that I much stode upon it, he answered and said that like wise as concernyng the Provocations and Appelles with my Petition concernyng the same, he entended to giff me Answer after that he had consulted with the Cardinalles in the Consistorie, so alsoe he entended to doo accordyng redelyvering of the said Writings. And hereupon departed from him about Eight of the Clocke in the Nyght, havyng remayned afar mor then three Howers, I repayred to my Lord of *Winchester* and other your Highnes Ambassadors here, telling them what I had doon, and what Answer alsoe was giffen unto me.

On the Morowe following which was *Saatterday*, albeit ther was Consistorie yet the same was extraordinarie, chiefly for the Declaration of the newe Cardinalles, the Bishop of *Beziers*, the Bishop of *Langres*, the great Maysters Nevew, and the Duke of *Albanie* his Brother. And in the said Consistorie as far as I could learn ther was nothing specially spoken or determyned concernyng the said Provocations and Appelles, or Answer to be given unto the same. Upon *Sonday* the ixth of this present at after noone havyng the said Mr. *Penyston* with me I repayred to the Palace, and spake ther with the Datarie to knowe when I should have Answer of the Pope, and he told me that the Day following shuld be the Consistorie, and that the Pope after the same would giff me Answer, and albeit that the said Datarie thus said unto me, yet willing to be sure, I induced on *Carol de Blanchis* my great Acquaintance and one of the chieff Cameraries with the Pope, to enquire of his Holynes when I should receive and have Answer to the Provocations and Appelles, with other things purposed afor by me unto his Holynes. And his Holynes gave unto hym to be declared unto me the self same Answer that the Datarie afor had gyven unto me, whereupon I departed for that Day.

Apon *Monday* the xth of this was ordinary Consistorie, and thider I, having with me the said Mr. *Penyston*, repayred. Tarieng ther alsoo unto the Tyme that all were commaunded furth, savyng the Cardinals: And understanding then eftsones by the Datarie that I must come agayne at Afternoone for Answer, I did for that

 Tyme

Tyme departe, resorting at Afternoon unto the Palace, and after that I had taried ther ij Howers, in the Chamber next unto the Pope, which all that Tyme continually was occupied in Blessing of Bedes, Giving his Blessing, and suffering the Ladies and Nobles of the Court to kiss his Foot: I was called in unto hym, ther beyng ther only in the Chamber Cardinal *Salviati* and the Datarie. At my comyng he said unto me, *Domine Doctor quid vultis?* And I told his Holynes that I loked for Answer acording as his Holynes had promised me afor. And then he said that his Mynde towards your Highnes alwayes hath been to mynister Justice, and do Pleasure unto you, albeit it hath not been so taken. And he never injustely griefed your Grace that he knoweth, nor entendeth hereafter to doo. And as concernyng the Appellations made by your Highnes unto the General Counsel, he said that forasmuche as ther was a Constitution of Pope *Pius* his Predecessor, that did condemne and reprove all such Appelles, he therfor did reject your Grace Appeales as frivolous, forbidden, and unlawful. And as touching the Generall Councel, he woold doo his best Deligence therin that it should take Effect; repeting agayn how in Tymes passed he had used alwayes Diligence for that Purpose, writing therein to all Christen Princes, your Highnes yet not answering thereunto, but remitting his Nuncio to the *French* King. Which notwithstanding he saith he wool yet do his Duty, and procure the best he can that it shall succeede, nevertheles adding that he thought when it were well considered, that the King of *England* ought not, nor had Autoritie to call any General Councel, but that the Convoking thereof apperteyned unto his Holynes. Finally concluding, that for his Part he woold alwayes do his Dutie as apperteyned. And as concernynge the Restitution of the Publique Writings made upon the Provocation and Appelles forsaid, he said he woold not restore theym, but woold kepe theym, and that safely. Saying therwithal, that I might have when I woold, *ab Episcopo Vintoniensi*, and other afor whom they were made, as many as I woold. And albeit that I shewed hym his own Lawe to be, that he coued not detayne them, yet he saying that it was but *de Lana Caprina*, and refusing to make Redeliverie therof, commanded the Datarie only to gife me the Answere in Writinge, and soo bade me fare well.

Goyng with the Datarie to his Chamber for that Purpose, I perceyved ther that the Answer was alredy writ, howbeit that it was not touching so many Thinges as the Pope had by Mouth afor declared unto me, ne yet subscribed with the Dataries Hande, acording to the accustomed maner. And requyring the Datarie to make it perfect, and delyver it unto me subscribed with his Hande; He willed me to come the Day folowyng early in the Mornyng, and I shuld have it. Whereapon I deperted, and came in the Mornyng to the Dataries Chamber in the Palace, but he was goon afor to the Pope. Wherefor repayring to the Popes Chamber and fynding him ther, I requyerd the said Answer in Writing. And he goyng with me to his Chamber, delyvered me for Answer the self-same that was written the Day befor, adding only in the Ende these Words, *Et hæc*

hæc ad præsens, salvo Jure, latius & particularius si videbimus respondendi; Subscribing the same with his own Hande, keping one other Copie with hymself. Which had, without hope of any other as then, I repaired to my Lord of *Winchester*, and other your Highe Ambassadours, to shew theym al the same.

And by this your Highnes may now perceyve, whether that the Pope will staye Process apon any your Provocations or Appelles, howsomever they be made, or after what Sorte they be intymated unto hym, and allso whether that unto such Tyme he receive Inhibition from the General Councel, his Process shall be taken in Lawe as nought. I feare that at his Returne to *Rome*, he will doo much Displeasure, if by some good Policy he be not stay'd. The Original Answer delivered unto me by the Datary, forsaid I doe at this Tyme send unto your Highnes, only retaynyng with me the Copie thereof.

And syne albeit your Graces Commandement, declared by your Letters dated at *Chatham* the xth of *August* last passed, sent unto me seemed to be, that Devysing some Busynes of my own, I shuld folowe alwayes and be present where the Pope resorteth, still residing and demouring, noting, marking and enserching what is doon, and gyving your Highnes diligent Advertisement thereof, as the Case and Importance of the Mater shuld require; yet for as much as in this late Congress, ther was nothing in maner doon by the Pope at the Contemplation of any in your Highnes Favour, and that the Appellations and Provocations of your Highnes being intimated, it is not like any thing of great Moment to be loked for, especially all Things standing as they do; I not knowyng your Highnes ferther determinat Pleasure, and thinking that by reason of the Premisses, your Highnes woold not that I shuld ferther interprise in that behalf, have therfor (the Pope beyng goon towardes *Rome* from hence the twelfth of this present) taken my Jorney towards *Lyons* the thirteenth of the same, your Highnes Ambassadors by reason of the Departure of the *French* Kinges soe alsoe doyng: And from thence I intend towards your Graces Realme, unless I receive your Commands to the contrarie.

To declare unto your Highnes, in what Perplexitie and Anxietie of Mynde I was in until that this Intimation was made, what Zele and Affection I have borne therein, how glad I woold have been such Things might have commen to pass, which your Highnes so much hath desired, and generally of all my Doyngs here, without Fear or Displeasure of any Man, it shall not be needful. Partely bycause I trust your Highnes dowteth not thereof, and partely bycause the Bearer hereof, untill Mr. *Brian*, to whom I moost accompte my self much bounden unto, will I suppose at large declare all the same, with other things here doing; of whom your Highnes I doute not shall perceyve that although the *Frenchmen* were made pryvey of our Doyngs concernyng the Intimation, and in Maner willing the same, two or three Dayes afor the Popes Departure, yet now for Excuse they saye that all their Matters and yours also be destroyed therby. And thus most humblie I recommend me unto your Highnes

nes, beseeching Almighty God to conserve the same in Felicity many Yeares.

From *Marselles*, the xiiith of *Novembre*, 1533.

Your Highnes moost bounde Subject and poore Servant,

Edmond Boner.

Number 24.

Cranmer's *Letter*, *for an Appeal to be made in his Name.*

An Original.

Cotton Library, *Cleop. E.* 6. P. 234.

IN my right harty maner I commend me to you. So it is (as ye know right well) I stande in drede, lest our Holy Father the Pope, do entende to make some maner of prejudicial processe against me and my Church, and therfore having probable Conjectures therof, I have provoked from his Holyness to the General Counsell, accordingly as the King's Highness and his Counsell have advised me to do; which my Provocation and a Procuracie under my Scale, I do send unto you herwith, desiering you right hartely to have me commended to my Lord of *Winchester*, and with his Advise and Counsell to intimate the said Provocation, after the best maner that his Lordship and you shall think most expedient for me. I am the bolder thus to write unto you, because the King's Highnes commanded me thus to do, as ye shall (I trust) further perceve by his Graces Letters, nothing doubting in your Goodness, but at this myne owne desier ye woll be contented to take this Peynes, tho' his Highness shall percase forget to write unto you therin: which your Peynes and Kindness (if it shall lye in me in tyme to come to recompense) I woll not forget it with God's Grace, who presearve you as my self. From *Lambeth*, the xxijd Day of *November*.

Thomas Cantuar.

Number

Number 25.

A Minute of a Letter sent by the King to his Ambassador at Rome.

TRusty and Right-welbiloved, we grete youe wel. And forasmuch as not only by the Relacion and Reaporte of our Trusty Chaplain Maister Doctor *Boner*, but also by certayne Letters writtyn by Sir *Gregory*, afore the Dispeche of Doctor *Boner*, uppon the lyvely Communications had by the Pope to the Emperor, in Justification and Favour of our Cause; by wych it appereth unto us, that his Holyness favering the Justice of our Great Cause, maketh Countnance and Demonstracion now to shew himself more propense and redy to the Administration of Justice to our Contentation therin, thenne he hathe been accustumed in tymes past: Discending for Demonstration herof as you take it to those Particularities folowyng, whyche Sir *Gregory* hath also sent by way of Instructions to *Bonner*; that is to say, that in cace we woll be content to sende a Mandate requiring the Remission of our Cause into an indifferent Place, He wold be content to appoint *Locum indifferentem*, and a Legate and Two Auditors from thense, *ad formand' Processum*, reserving always the Jugement therof to himself; or else if we woll consent and be agreable, inducing also our good Brother and perpetual Allye the *French* King, to be also content to conclude and establish for iij or iiij Yeres, a General Truix; that then the Popes Holiness is pleased, if we and our said good Brother wol agree therunto, to indicte with al celeritie a General Counsail, wherunto his Holynes would remyt our Cause to be finished and determyned. Which Overtures being also proponed and declared unto us by the Popes Nuncio here, be set forth by him, and also in a Letter to hym, as thoughe they had been by the said Sir *Gregory* in our Name desired of the Popes Holyness, and by him assented to, for our Contentacion and Satisfaction, in that Behaulf: wherof we doo not a litle mervayl, considering that we of late never gave unto the said Sir *Gregory* or any other, any suche Commission or Instructions for that purpose, but fully to the contrary. Neverthelefs forasmoch as bothe by the Relation of our said Chaplain and by the Purporte and Effecte of the fore said Letters, Instructions, and also by the Behaviour of the Popes Ambassadour here, and by such Overtures as he on the Popes behalfe hathe made unto us, We nowe considering the Benevolent and towarde Mynde of his said Holines expressed and declared in the same, have moche Cause to conceyve in our Mynd, as we doo indede, good Hope, that he depely pondering the Justnes of our said Cause, wil now take more respecte to put us in more Quietnes therein, thenne we had any Expectation heretofore: And therfor our Pleasure is that you discretly relating to his Holynes in what good parte we doo accepte and take his Overtures and Persuasions, doo gyve unto him our right harty Thanks for the same, adding

ding thereunto that we veraylie trust and be now of that Opinion that his Holynes calling to his Remembrance the manifold Commodities, Profitts, and Gratuities heretofor shewed by us, to him, and the See Apostolique, demanding nothing for Reciprocation of Frendship and mutual Amytie to be shewed at his Hand, but only Justice in our great Matior, according to the Lawes of God, and the Ordenances of the Holy Counsailes, for the Encrease of Vertue, Extirpation of Vice, and Quiet of al *Christendom*, established by our Forsathers, wil now in Discharge of his Duetie towards God, shewing unto us Correspondence of Frendship according to our Deserts, putting aparte all Shadowes of Delayes, more benivolently extende his good Wil and Gratuitie towards us in the Acceleration and speedye finishing of our said Cause, thenne those Overtures doo purporte, whyche if it come so to pass, hys Holines maye be wel assured to have us and our Realme as benevolent and loving towards him and the See Apostolique as hath at any Tyme hertofor been accustumed. And as concernyng the General Truix for three or four Yeres, albeit we do inwardly considre the greate good therof, and be of our oune Nature asmoche inclyned therunto as any Prince Christened, and on thother Side asmoche desirous to avoyde Contencion, wherupon many Tymes ensueth Extremytie, to the Hurte of many; yet neverthelefs two things at this Tyme enforceth us to absteyne and forbere sodenly to consent to the same: One is, that we being afflicted, troubeled, and encombered in our oune Conscience, and our Realme therby greatly perplexed, cannot sodenly resolve our self to innovate or renewe any perfite Establishment of Peax with other, tyl we may be satisfied and have pure and syncere Peax in our owne Harte: and cause seying that it is wonly wyll and unkynd Stubbernes with Oblivion of former Kyndnes, whyche occasions the Lette of the Spede finishyng of our Cause, whyche ye may say that hys Holynes yf it please hym may soon redres, havyng so good Gronds for our part as he haveth, yf he wyl hartely therto applye hym, and then summe good Effecte myght happen to come therof. An other Cause there is also that we being moost perfitely by an indissoluble Amyte and Leage unite and knyt unto our good Brother and perpetual Allye the *French* King, maye not in any wise, nor wil put our Consent to any such Request without the Knowledge and Assent of our said good Brother, and other our and hys Confederates: and notwithstandyng yf hys Holynes thynketh that myne Endeavour and Labour herin may do hym any Gratuyte and Pleasure, or confer to hys Purpose in any thyng, he advertesyng us therof, shall well persayve that there shall lack no goode Diligens in us, to set forthe suche thyngs as may stonde with our Honour, and be also pleasant to hym, he shewyng to us sume Corespondnes of Kyndnes in thys our Just and Wayghte Cause. And as touching our Consent to the Indiction of a General Counsail, thoughe sundry Respects and Considerations at the Tyme nowe present, move us to thinke it not necessary, and that we nothing doubte but our Cause being remytted to the same, we shuld withal convenient celeritie, that begonne have our desired End therein; yet we being nowe in veray good Hope that the Popes Holynes at the last digesting thoroughly the Justness of our Cause, wil so use us in the same that according to

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Trouth and Equitie good and ſpeedye Succeſſe therof ſhal folowe in other admyttyng the Excuſatory, or elſe in remyttyng bothe the Knowlege of the Fact and finall Diſcition of the Cauſe into thys Realme where it was begon, accordyng to the olde Sanctions of Generall Concilles and divers of his Predeceſſours Aſſent, and as he hymſelfe confeſſeth in hys Commyſſion giffyn unto the Cardinall for thys Pourpoſe; We have now alſo ſuſpended therfor our Aſſent and Conſent therunto uppon two Reſpects, wherof the firſt requireth a neceſſary Suſpencion of our ſaid Conſent, foraſmoch as the ſame dependeth uppon the Aſſent of our ſaid good Brother and other our Confederates, and that the oon of us without the other canne ne will in any wiſe conſent to any Acte of ſuch highe Importance as this is, which toucheth the hole Bodye of *Chriſtendome*. The Seconde is, that in our Opinion which our Pleaſure is ye with good Dexteritie declare unto hys Holynes the good Reſpecte had of the State of the Worlde, and of the Time preſent; It were not expedient for the Pope himſelf to conſent therunto, conſidering that Themperour is in maner compelled by the Importunytie of the *Germaynes* and the *Luthcran* Secte to cauſe the Pope to indicte the ſaid Council. And howe the ſaid *Germaynes* be mynded towards him and the See Apoſtolique, we doubte not but his Holynes dothe depely pondre and conſidre. But ye ſhal ſaye unto the Popes Holynes on our behaulf, that finding him towards us good and kinde, brefely expedyteyng our Cauſe as affore is reherſy'd, wherof we now perceyve ſome lightlywood, and perceyving him to contynue and perſever erneſtly mynding the ſpedy Ende and Determynation therof, for our Satisfaction, we canne do no leſſe for Reacquital therof, thenne to procure and practiſe by al Wayes and Meanes, aſwell with our ſaid good Brother as with al other our Allyes, Confederates and Friends, to do all things that maye be mooſt for the Surety of his Holynes and the Commodities of the See Apoſtolique, whyche we ſhall not faylle to do, yf he wyll dyſcloſe to us the Menys how far. As touching the ſending of a Mandate to require that the Cauſe might be harde in an indifferent Place, with Reſervation of the Sentence to himſelf, ye ſhall ſignifie unto hys Holynes that albeit we well conſidering hys towarde Mynde for the ſpedy finiſhing of our ſaid Cauſe, if we were a private Perſon wold nothing miſtruſt to conſent to his ſaid Overtures, ne the good Effects that might enſue of the ſame; yet neverthelcs this Perſuaſion ſoo toucheth contraryele to Generall Concilles, to the Libertie, Regalitie, and Juriſdiction of all Prynces, and moſt eſpecially to our Prerogatyffe Royall, Privileages of our Realme, wherof we be Hed and Soveraign; within the whiche, by the Ancient Lawes of the ſame, al Cauſes of Matrymonye ther bygon and ſolemnized, cummyng after in Queſtion, ought to have their Original Commencement, and fynall Diſcuſſe and Diſcition by the *Engliſh* Churche. Whyche Thyngs well conſideryd, he havyng alſo Regarde to hys Othe, in the Reſayte of hys Dyngnitie, whych he ther actually gyffeth for Obſervence both of the Generall Conſelles, and the Antique Lauys of the Faders of the Chyrch; Conſideryng alſo with himſelf, how we at the Tyme of our Coronation, be likewyſe obligyd by Othe, to Support and Maintayne, the Immunities and Pryncely Liberties of our Realme

and Croone, whych to contrary, I make my ſelf ſure hys Holynes well informyd, will never requyre, ſyns it is prohybite bothe by Gods Precept, and Lawe of Nature, by theſe Words, *Quod tibi, non vis fieri, alteri ne facias.* Wherfore we fermely truſt, that hys Holynes, ponderyng and wayng in the Balance of hys Juſt Hart and Equal Jugement, theſe moſt urgent both Reſons and Cauſes, with the Reſpect of hys Duty to God, in Minyſtryng Juſtice and Equitie; And conſideryng alſo the Obligation, whych we as King thowght not wordy, but by his Election, be bonde to our Realme, *Scilicet defendere Privilegias Coronæ & Regni*, wyll not at thys Tyme thynk any Unkindnes in us, thowght that thys hys Requeſt, *ſcilicet*, to ſend a Mandate, or to have it in any other Place than in thys Realme determynyd by us, at thys Tyme be not acceptyd. For ſurly it ſo hyghtly touchyt the Prerogatyffe Riall of thys Realme, that thowght I wer myndyd to do it, yett muſt abſtayne wythout the Aſſent of our Court of Parliament, whyche I thynke verely wyll never condeſcent to it. Neverthelefs, ye may ſhew unto hys Holines, that for thys Offerre, we aſcribe non Unkyndnes to hym, but rather take it in good Part; conſideryng that by hys Ambaſſadour wee doo parſayve, that hys Mynde was to gratify and do Pleaſure herin to us, thys Overture procedyng oppon *Gregory*'s Motion, werin to ſpeke of that Sort, I enſure you of us he had non Commiſſion, but rather to the contrary. And ſo we wyll ye ſhew the Pope; aſſuryng forther hys Holynes, that we be ryght ſory that thys Overture was no more reſonable, or conſonant to our Honour. For ſurly in all reſonable Thyngs, we wold gladly ſhew our ſelfe benivolent to hym, as long as we perſayve any maner of Gratuitie in hym. More ye may ſay, that we thynke that we nor our Realme have hytherto gyven any Occaſion to his Holynes, wherby he ſhuld be moved at the Contemplacion of any privie Perſon, to attempte the Violation of the Immunities and Liberties of thys our Realme, or to bring the ſame in any publique Contention, wherby he may compell us in the Mayntenance of them, to ſhew and declare meny Thyngs peraventure it unknowne prejudiciall and hurtfull to the Papall Dyngnitie, *as it is now uſyd*, whych not compellyd we intende not to do. Yet an other gret Reſon as we thynk you may ſhew hys Holines, gederyd owght of his own Law, whych is thys: I beyng a Commune Parſon, am not bondyn *in re arduâ*, as thys is to appere in hys Court, and I beyng not bonden to appere, am not bonde to ſende a Proxtour. Wherfore his owne Law ſhewyth evydently, that this Mater owght not to be determynyd by hys Court, but *per Anglicanam Eccleſiam*: For yf hys Court were Juge, I ſhuld be obligyd to appere there. And ye ſhal further underſtand, that we have conceyved by certain Lettres lately ſent unto us by the ſaid Sir *Gregory de Caſſalis*, that the Popes Holynes, amongs other Perſuaſions, in the Furtheraunce of our Cauſe ſhewed unto hym, that the Laweis being of the contrary Parte of our Cauſe, doo agree, that the Pope in our Cauſe may not Diſpence, without an Urgent Cauſe. Which Opinion hys Holynes thinketh moche more to the

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avaunce the Goodnes of our Matier, thenne the General Opinion of the Devynes and Lawyers on our Parte, which doo affirm, that the Pope in noo wise maye Dispense. Whiche Matier being also persuaded by his Holynes to Themperour, who declared, that at the Tyme of the Dispensation, there was extreme Warres betwene our Derest Father of Noble Memory, whose Soule God pardon, and King *Ferdinando*, Father to the Quene. And for Pacifieng therof the said Dispensation was obteyned; wherupon the Mariage ensued: Which bereth a Visage of an urgent Cause, if it were true, as it is not. And therfore, as wel for the Satisfaction of the Pope's Holynes in that Behaulf, as for a clere Resolution of the Doubte by his Holynes proponed, whether the Quene were *Cognita* by our Brother Prince *Arthure*, or noo; Our Pleasure is, that ye shal signifie to his Holynes, that in the League betwene our said Derest Father, and the said *Ferdinando*, Renoveled and Concluded, Sealed and Signed with the said King *Ferdinando*, and the Quene his Wief Hands, wherupon the Dispensation for the Mariage betwene us and the Quene was obteyned, appereth no maner of Cause. But playnly declaring the said twoo Princes to be thenne and afor more perfitely Established, Unyted, and Confederate in Frendship and Amytie, thenne eny other Prince of *Christendom*, setteth forthe the Cause of the Dispensation and Agrement for the said Mariage, to be only for Contynuaunce and Augmentation of their said Amytie, and for the Vertuouse Modestie and other Qualities of the Quene. In which League is also playnly mencyoned and expressed in two Places therof, that the Mariage betwene our said Brother and Her, was solemnized and perfitely consummate; wherby, and by the Depositions of a great Nomber of Noble and Honorable Personages, which hertofor by their Othes have been examyned uppon the same, manifestly and playnly appereth to al indifferent Herers, without Doubt therof, that the Quene was Carnally Knowen by our said Brother Prince *Arthur*; and the same Dispensation soo proceeding, without urgent Cause to be reputed *invalida*. The Transumpte of which League autentiquely transumed, we sende unto youe herwith, to thintent ye may the better perceyve theffecte of the same. And finally, ye shall firther signifie to his Holynes, that of the Good Successe of this our Cause, dependeth the Suretie of our Succession, and therupon ensueth the Rest, Peax, and Tranquillitie of al our Realme, and by the protracting thereof many perilous Daungers maye and is like to ensue to the same, which above all Things, we and our Realme ought to have Respect unto. Wherfor it is more convenient, and consonant to Reason and Equitie, that this our said Cause shuld be determyned by them, to whose Dammage or Commoditie the Successe of the Cause may ensue, and not by his Holynes, which canne have no certain Knowleage of the State of the same. And yet nevertheles, if his Holynes remytting the final Discusse of the principal Cause to our *English* Churche, as apperteineth, will after that, of his Gratuitie ratifie and confirme suche Sentence as they shal determyn in the same, shal therby not only adquire Christen Obedience of us and our People, moche to his Commoditie and Contentacion, and also profitable

table to the See Apostolique, but also pacifie the Contradiction, to the Rest and Quietnes of al *Christendom.* Willing you by thise and other discrete Persuasions, as ye can with al Diligence and Dexteritie to allure his Holynes, being now sumwhat attempered and disposed to do us good, to condiscend to more benivolent Gratuities, than as yet is set forth by the said Overtures; and to ascertain us with all Diligence and Celeritie, what Towardnes ye shal perceyve in him in this Behaulf, not mynding that ye shall declare this as our resolute Answer. But uppon other and further Overtures, and after more Deliberation and Consultation uppon these weighty Causes, we wil study and enserche, by al Honourable Wayes and Meanes that we canne, to concurre with the towardly Minde of his Holynes, if he ernestly wil applie himself, and persever in suche Opinion, as may be for the Acceleration of thende of our said Cause: Willing you, with all Diligence and Dexteritie, to put your good Endevour to the same; and likewise to procure the said Sir *Gregory*, according to our Expectation in that Behaulfe.

Number 26.

The Judgment of the Convocation of the Province of York, *rejecting the Pope's Authority.*

ILlustrissimo & Excellentissimo Principi & Domino Domino Henrico VIII. Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, & Domino Hiberniæ. Edwardus, Permissione Divinâ, Eboracensis Archiepiscopus, Angliæ Primas & Metropolitanus, Salutem in eo, per quem Reges regnant, & Principes dominantur. Vestræ Regiæ Celsitudini, Tenore Præsentium, innotescimus & significamus, Quod, cum juxta vestræ Regiæ Majestatis Mandatum, coram Prælatis & Clero Eboracensi, Provinciæ in Sacra Synodo Provinciali, sive Convocatione Prælatorum & Cleri ejusdem Provinciæ Eboracensis, in Domo Capitulari Ecclesiæ Metropoliticæ Eborum, quinto Die Mensis Maij, Anno Domini M.D.XXXIV. jam instanti, celebrata, & de Diebus indies continuata congregatis proposita fuit sequens Conclusio, Quod Episcopus Romanus, in Sacris Scripturis, non habet aliquam majorem Jurisdictionem in Regno Angliæ, quam quivis alius extraneus Episcopus. Ac insuper, ex Parte Præsidentium in eadem Synodo, per Nos deputatorum memorati Prælati & Clerus, rogati & requisiti ut illam Conclusionem suo Consensu confirmarent & corroborarent, si illam Veritati consonam, & Sacris Scripturis non repugnantem, existimarent aut judicarent. Tandem dicti Prælati, & Clerus Eboracensis Provinciæ antedictæ, post diligentem Tractatum in ea Parte habitum, ac maturam Deliberationem, unanimiter & concorditer, nemine eorum discrepante, prædictam Conclusionem fuisse & esse veram affirmarunt, & eidem concorditer consenserunt.

Quæ

Quæ omnia & singula vestræ Regiæ Celsitudini, Tenore Præsentium, intimamus & significamus.

In quorum omnium & singulorum Fidem & Testimonium, Sigillum nostrum apponi fecimus. Dat. in Manerio nostro de Cawodd, Primo Die Mensis Junij, Anno Domini, M.D.XXXIV. & nostræ Consecrationis Anno Tertio.

Number 27.

The Judgment of the University of Oxford, *rejecting the Pope's Authority.*

In a Book, stiled, Registrum, sive Epistolæ Regum & Magnatum ad Academiam Oxon. Unà cum Responsis. *MS. Archiv. A.* 117. *ad An.* 1534. P. 127.

Part of the King's Letter to the University.

OUR Pleasure and Commandement is, that ye, as shall beseem Men of Vertue and profound Literature, diligently Intreating, Examining, and Discussing a certaine Question sent from Us to you, concerning the Power and Primacie of the Bishop of *Rome*; send again to Us in Writing under your Common Seale, with convenient Speed and Celeritie, your Mind, Sentence, and Assertion of the Question, according to the meere and sincere Truth of the same: Willing you to give Credence to our trusty and well-beloved, this Bringer, your Commissarie, as well touching our further Pleeasure in the Premisses, as for other Matters, *&c.* Yeven under our Signett, at our Mannor of *Greenewich*, the Eighteenth Day of *May*.

The University's Answer to the King.

UNiversis Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ Filiis, ad quos præsentes Literæ pervenerint, Johannes, Permissione Divina, Lincolniensis Episcopus, Almæ Universitatis Oxon. Cancellarius: Nec non universus Doctorum ac Magistrorum, Regentium & non Regentium in eadem Cœtus, Salutem in Auctore Salutis. Quum Illustrissimus simul ac Potentissimus Princeps & Dominus noster Henricus Octavus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, & Dominus Hiberniæ, assiduis Petitionibus & Querelis Subditorum suorum in summo suo Parliamento, super intolerabilibus Exterarum Potestatum, Exactionibus

nibus nuper Propositis, Controversiisque quibusdam habitis, super Potestate ac Jurisdictione Romani Episcopi, variisque & urgentibus Causis, contra eundem Episcopum tunc ibidem expositis & declaratis, aditus atque rogatus fuerit, ut commodis suorum Subditorum in hac parte consuleret, & Querelis satisfaceret : Ipse tanquam prudentissimus Solomon, sollicitè curans quæ suorum sunt Subditorum, quibus in hoc Regno, divina disponente Clementia, præest, altiusque secum considerans, quo Pacto commodissimas Regno suo sanciret Leges; denique ante omnia præcavens, ne contra Sacram Scripturam aliquid statuat, (quam vel ad Sanguinem usq; defendere semper fuit, eritque paratissimus) solerti suo Ingenio, sagaciq; Industria, quandam Quæstionem ad hanc ejus Academiam Oxon. publicè & solenniter, per Doctores & Magistros ejusdem disputandam transmisit: Viz. *An Romanus Episcopus habeat majorem aliquam Jurisdictionem, sibi à Deo collatam in Sacra Scriptura, in hoc Regno Angliæ, quàm alius quivis externus Episcopus?* Mandavitque, ut habita super hac Questione matura Deliberatione, & Examinatione diligenti, quid Sacræ Literæ in hac Parte nostro Judicio statuunt, eundem certiorem facere suo Instrumento, Sigillo communi Universitatis, communito & firmato curaremus. Nos igitur Cancellarius, Doctores ac Magistri prædicti, sæpe reminiscentes, ac penitius apud nos pensitantes, quanta sit Virtus, Sanctitas, ac nostræ Professioni quam consona res, & debita Submissioni, Obedientiæ, Reverentiæ, ac Charitati congrua, præmonstrare viam Justitiæ ac Veritatis cupientibus, Sacrarum Literarum Vestigiis * inserrere, securiorique & tranquilliori Conscientia, in Lege Dei sacram, ut aiunt, suam Anchoram reponere; non potuimus non invigilare, sedulo quin in Petitione tam justa ac honesta, tanto Principi (cui velut auspicatissimo nostro Supremo Moderatori obtemperare tenemur) modis omnibus satisfaceremus. Post susceptam itaque per nos Questionem antedictam, cum omni Humilitate, Devotione, ac debita Reverentia, convocatis undique dictæ nostræ Academiæ Theologis, habitoque complurium dierum spatio, ac deliberandi tempore satis amplo, quo interim cum omni qua potuimus Diligentia, Justitiæ Zelo, Religione & Conscientia incorrupta, perscrutaremur tam Sacræ Scripturæ Libros, quam super eisdem approbatissimos Interpretes, & eos quidem sæpe ac sæpius à nobis evolutos, & exactissimè collatos, repetitos & examinatos; deinde & Disputationibus solennibus, palam & publicè habitis & celebratis, tandem in hanc Sententiam unanimiter omnes convenimus, ac concordes fuimus; Viz. Romanum Episcopum majorem aliquam Jurisdictionem non habere, sibi à Deo collatam in Sacra Scriptura, in hoc Regno Angliæ, quàm alium quemvis externum Episcopum. Quam nostram Assertionem, Sententiam, sive Determinationem, sic ex Deliberatione discussam, ac juxta Exigentiam Statutorum & Ordinationum, hujus nostræ Universitatis per nos conclusam, publicè totius Academiæ Nomine, tanquam veram, certam, Sacræq; Scripturæ consonam, affirmamus (&) testificamur per Præsentes. In quorum omnium & * Fidem & Testimonium has Literas fieri, & Sigillo nostræ Universitatis communi, roborari fecimus. Dat. in Domo Congregationis nostræ, 27. Die Mensis Junij, Anno à Christo nato M. D. XXXIV.

* Leg. insistere.

* *Not very Legible; but it seems, it was* singulorum.

Number

Number 28.

The Judgment of the Prior *and* Chapter *of* Worcester, *concerning the* Pope's *Authority.*

Ordo quidam observandus erga Dominum Regem Henricum Octavum, &c. Et in quali æstimatione habebimus Episcopum Romanum.

Copied out of the Register *of* Worcester.

QUum ea sit non solum Christianæ Religionis & Pietatis Ratio, sed nostræ etiam Obedientiæ Regula, Domino Regi nostro Henrico Octavo, (cui uni & soli, post Christum Jesum Servatorem nostrum, debemus Universa,) non modo omnimodam in Christo, & eandem sinceram, integram, perpetuamque Animi Devotionem, Fidem & Observantiam, Honorem, Cultum, Reverentiam, præstemus; sed etiam de eadem Fide & Observantia nostra Rationem quotiescunque postulabitur, reddamus, & palam omnibus, si res poscat libentissimè testemur. Noverint universi ad quos Scriptum præsens pervenerit, Quod nos Willielmus, Prior Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, sive Monasterii Beatæ Mariæ Wigorn' Ordinis Sancti Benedicti & ejusdem Loci Conventus sive Capitulum Wigorn' Dioc' uno Ore & Voce, atque unanimi omnium Consensu & Assensu, hoc Scripto nostro sub Sigillo nostro communi, in Domo nostra Capitulari dato, pro Nobis & successoribus nostris, omnibus & singulis in perpetuum profitemur, testamur, ac fidelitur promittimus & spondemus, nos dictos Priorem & Conventum, sive Capitulum, & Successores nostros omnes & singulos, integram, inviolatam, sinceram, perpetuamque Fidem, Observantiam & Obedientiam, semper præstaturos, erga Dominum Regem nostrum Henricum Octavum, & erga Annam Reginam, Uxorem ejusdem, & erga Sobolem ejus ex eadem Anna legitimè tam progenitam, quam progenerandam. Et quod hæc eadem Populo notificabimus, prædicabimus, & suadebimus, ubicunque dabitur Locus & Occasio. Item, quod confirmatum ratumque habemus, semperque & perpetuo habituri sumus, quod prædictus Rex noster Henricus, est Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. Item, quod Episcopus Romanus, qui in suis Bullis Papæ nomen, usurpat, & summi Pontificis Principatum sibi arrogat, non habet Majorem aliqua Jurisdictionem à Deo sibi collatam, in hoc Regno Angliæ, quam quivis alius externus Episcopus. Item, quod nullus nostrum, in ulla Sacra Concione, privatim vel publicè habenda, eundem Episcopum Romanum appellabit Nomine Papæ, aut summi Pontificis, sed Nomine Episcopi Romani, vel Ecclesiæ Romanæ: Et quod nullus nostrum orabit pro eo tanquam Papa, sed tanquam Episcopo Romano. Item, quod soli dicto Domino Regi &

& Successoribus suis adhærebimus & ejus Leges ac Decreta manutenebimus. Episcopi Romani Legibus, Decretis & Canonibus, qui contra Legem Divinam, & Sacram Scripturam, aut contra Jura hujus Regni esse invenientur, in perpetuum renunciantes. Item, quod nullus nostrum omnium, in ulla, vel privata vel publica Concione, quicquam ex Sacris Scripturis desumptum ad alienum Sensum detorquere præsumat: Sed quisque Christum, ejusque Verba & Facta, simpliciter, apertè, sincerè, & ad Normam seu Regulam Sacrarum Scripturarum, & verè Catholicorum & Orthodoxorum Doctorum, prædicabit catholicè & orthodoxè. Item, quod unusquisque nostrum, in suis Orationibus & Comprecationibus, de more faciendis, primum omnium Regem, tanquam Supremum Caput Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, Deo & Populi Precibus commendabit; deinde Reginam Annam, cum sua Sobole; tum demum Archiepiscopos Cantuariensem & Eboracensem, cum cæteris Cleri Ordinibus pro ut videbitur. Item, quod omnes & singuli prædicti Prior & Conventus, sive Capitulum, & Successores nostri, Conscientia & Jurisjurandi Sacramento, nosmet firmiter obligamus, quod omnia & Singula Prædicta, fideliter, in perpetuum observabimus. In cujus Rei Testimonium, huic Scripto nostro, commune Sigillum nostrum appendimus, & nostra Nomina Propria quisque Manu Scripsimus. Dat. in Domo nostra Capitulari, xvii Die Mensis August, Anno Regni Regis nostri Henrici Octavi, Vicessimo Sexto.

Then follows an Oath made to King Henry *the* VIIIth, *agreeing exactly with that* Pag. 146. *of the* First Vol. *of* The History of the Reformation; *except, that the Words* alonely *in the First Line, and* damage *in the last Line but Two of that Oath, are wanting.*

ILLustrissimo & Potentissimo in Christo Principi & Domino nostro, Henrico Octavo, Dei Gratia Anglicæ & Franciæ Regi, Defensori Fidei, Domino Hiberniæ, in Terris Supremo Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, sub Christo, Capiti; Vestri humiles Subditi, & devotissimi Oratores, Henricus Holbecke, Prior Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wigorn' & ejusdem Loci Conventus, Ordinis Sancti Benedicti Wigorniensis Dioceseos, Reverentiam & Obedientiam, tam Excellenti & Præpotenti Principi debitas & condignas, cum omni Subjectionis Honore. Noverit Majestas Vestra Regia, Quod nos Prior & Conventus memorati, non Vi aut Metu coacti, Dolore, aut aliqua alia sinistra Machinatione ad hoc inducti, sive seducti, sed ex nostris certis Scientiis, Animis deliberatis, merisque & spontaneis Voluntatibus, pure, sponte & absolute, profitemur, spondemus, ac ad Sancta Dei Evangelia, per nos corporaliter tacta, juramus, illustrissimæ veræ Regiæ Majestati, Singulari & Summo Domino nostro & Patrono, Henrico Octavo, Dei Gratia, Angliæ & Franciæ Regi, Fidei Defensori, Domino Hiberniæ, ac in Terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Supremo immediate sub Christo Capiti; quod posthac nullo externo Imperatori Regi Principi aut Prælato nec Romano Pontifici (quem Papam vocant) Fidelitatem aut Obedientiam, Verbo vel Scripto simpliciter, vel sub juramento, promittemus aut dabimus, vel dari curabimus, sed omni tempore Casu & Conditione

Partes veſtræ regiæ Majeſtatis ac Succeſſorum veſtrorum ſequemur & Obſervabimus, & pro viribus Defendemus, contra omnem Hominem quem veſtræ Majeſtati aut Succeſſoribus veſtris adverſarium cognoſcemus vel ſuſpicabimur. Solique veſtræ Regiæ Majeſtati velut Supremo noſtro Principi quem etiam Supremum in Terris Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſub Chriſto Caput agnoſcimus & acceptamus, & Succeſſoribus veſtris Fidelitatem & Obedientiam ſincere & ex animo præſtabimus. Papatum Romanum non eſſe a Deo in Sacris Literis Ordinatum profitemur. Sed Humanitus traditum conſtanter affirmamus, & palam declaramus & declarabimus, & ut alii ſic publicent diligentur curabimus. Nec tractatum cum quocunque mortalium privatim aut publicè inibimus, quod Epiſcopus Romanus aliquam Auctoritatem vel Juriſdictionem amplius hic habeat aut exerceat, vel ad ullam poſthac reſtituatur, ipſumque Romanum Epiſcopum modernum aut ejus in illo Epiſcopatu Succeſſorum quemcunque non Papam, non ſummum Pontificem, non Univerſalem Epiſcopum, nec Sanctiſſimum Dominum, ſed ſolum Romanum Epiſcopum vel Pontificem (ut priſcis mos erat) ſcienter publicè aſſeremus. Juraque & Statuta hujus Regni pro extirpatione & ſublatione Papatus ac Auctoritatis & Juriſdictionis ejuſdem Romani Epiſcopi quandocunque edita ſive ſancita pro viribus ſcientia & ingeniolis noſtris ipſi firmiter Obſervabimus ac pro ab aliis quantum in nobis fuerit ſic obſervari curabimus atque efficiemus: nec poſthac ad dictum Romanum Epiſcopum appellabimus aut appellarit conſentiemus: nec in ejus curia pro Jure aut Juſtitia agemus aut agenti Reſpondebimus, nec ibidem Accuſatoris aut Rei Perſonam Suſtinebimus. Et ſi quid dictus Epiſcopus per Nuncium vel per Literas ſignificaverit, qualecunque id fuerit, illud quam citiſſime commode poterimus, aut veſtræ Regiæ Majeſtati & veſtris à Secreti, Conſiliariis, veſtriſve Succeſſoribus aut eorum à Secretis Conſiliariis ſignificabimus aut ſignificari faciemus. Noſque Literas aut Nuncium ad eundum Romanum Epiſcopum, vel ejus curiam nec mittemus, nec mitti faciemus, niſi veſtra Majeſtate conſcia & conſentiente aut veſtro Succeſſore quod dictæ Literæ vel Nuncius ad illum deferentur; Bullas, Brevia, aut reſcripta quæcunque pro nobis vel aliis, ab Epiſcopo Romano vel ejus curia non impetrabimus, vel ut talia à quovis impetrentur non conſulemus. Et ſi talia pro nobis inſciis aut Ignorantibus generaliter, vel ſpecialiter impetrabuntur vel alio quomodolibet concedentur, eis Renunciabimus & non Conſentiemus: nec utemur iiſdem ullo pacto ſeu modo. At eas veſtræ Majeſtati & Succeſſoribus veſtris tradi curabimus, omnibuſque dicti Romani Epiſcopi Conceſſionibus, Privilegiis, largitionibus & indultis cujuſcunque Naturæ ſeu qualitatis exiſtant, ac ſub quocunque Verborum tenore conceſſæ fuerint, à dicta ſede Romana directe vel indirecte, mediate vel immediate aut alias qualitercunque dicti Romani Epiſcopi Auctoritate largitis ſive conſenſis quibuſcunque publicè & expreſſe in his Scriptis renunciavimus, eaſque irritas & inanes eſſe Volumus. Et ſoli veſtræ Regiæ Majeſtati velut Supremo noſtro Principi & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Capiti & Succeſſoribus veſtris nos ſubditos & ſubjectos fore profitemur & nos ac Succeſſores noſtros ſubjicimus: Et ſolummodo ſubditos fore ſpondemus. Nos eidem Romano Epiſcopo vel ejus Nunciis Oratoribus, Collectoribus aut Legatis ullam procurationem, penſionem, portionem cenſum aut

quamcunque aliam Pecuniarum Summam quocunque nomine appelletur, per nos aut interpositam Personam vel Personas solvemus nec solvi faciemus. Statutumque de Successione vestra Regia in Parlimento vestro tento apud Westmon' Anno Regni vestri 28 ac omnia & singula in eodem contenta juxta vim formam & effectum ejusdem fideliter Observabimus. Præterea in Vim Pacti profitemur & spondemus ac sub Fidelitate vestræ Majestati debita, & nostra coram Deo Conscientia, promittemus quod contra hanc nostram professionem & sponsionem, nulla dispensatione, nulla exceptione, nulla appellatione aut provocatione; nulloque juris aut facti remedio, nos tuebimur: & si quam protestationem in præjudicium hujus nostræ Professionis faciemus, eam in præsens & in omne tempus futurum revocamus & eidem renunciamus per præsentes Literas; quibus propriis manibus nomina nostra subscripsimus, ac eas sigilli nostri communis appensione & Notarii Publici Subscripti signo & Subscriptione communiri fecimus & curavimus. Dat. & act. in Domo nostra Capitulari XXVI Die Mensis Augusti, Anno Domini Millessimo Quingentissimo Tricessimo Sexto, Anno Regni vestræ Regiæ Majestatis Vicessimo Octavo. Præsentibus tunc ibidem discretis Viris Johanne Tyson, Olivero Lloyde, & Rogero Hughes, in legibus & decretis respective Baccalaureis, & Ricardo Bedle Notario Publico testibus ad præmissa specialiter vocatis & requisitis.

Number 29.

An Order for Preaching, and bidding of the Beades in all Sermons to be made within this Realm. 1535.

Cotton Library, *Cleop.* E. 5. P. 286.

FIRST, whosoever shall preache in the Presence of the King's Highnes, and the Queen's Grace, shall in the bidding of the Beades, pray for the Hole Catholike Church of Crist, aswell Quick as Ded, and specyallie for the Catholique Church of this Realme; And First as we be most bounden for our Soveringe Lord King *Henry* the VIIIth, being ymediately next unto God, the onelie and Supreme Hed of this Catholike Churche of *England*, and for the most Gracious Lady Queen *Anne* his Wife; and for the Lady *Elizabeth*, Daughter and Heire to them both, our Pryncesse, and no ferther.

Item, The Preacher in all other Places of this Realme then in the Presence of the King's saide Highnes, and the Queen's Grace, shall in the bidding of the Beads, pray First in Manner and Form, and Worde for Worde as is above ordeyned and lymyted; adding thereunto in the Seconde Parte, for all Archebishopes and Bishopes, and for all the hole Clergie of this Realme; and speciallie for suche as shall please the Preacher to name of his Devotion; and Thirdly for all Dukes, Earls, Marques, and for all the hole Temporaltie of this

Realme;

Realme; and speciallie for suche as the Preacher shall Name of Devocyon: And sygnallie for the Soules of all them that be Ded, and speciallie of such as it shall please the Preacher to Name.

Item, It is Ordeyned that every Preacher shall Preach ones in the Presence of the greatist Audience against the usurped Power of the Bishop of *Rome*, and so after at his Lybertee: And that no Man shal be suffered to defend, or mayntene the foresaid usurped Power: Ferthermore to keep Unyte and Quyetnes in this Realme, it is ordeyned that no Preachers shall contende openly in Pulpet one against another, nor uncharytablie deprave one another in open Audience; but if any of them be greved one with another, let them Complayne to the King's Highnes; or to the Archbishope, or Bishope of the Diocs where such Chaunce shall happen, and there to be remedied if there be Cause why; and if the Complaynt be not trew, the Complayner to be punished.

Item, Also to forsende that no Preachers for a Year, shall Preach neyther with, nor against Purgatory, honouring of Saynts, that Priests may have Wives; that Faith onelie justefieth; to go on Pilgrimages; to forge Miracles; considering these Things have caused Discension amongst the Subjects of this Realme alredy, which thanked be God is now well pacyfied.

Item, That from hensfourth all Preachers shall purelie, syncerelie, and justlie preache the Scripture, and Worde of Christe, and not myxe them with Man's Institutions, nor make Men believe that the Force of Goddes Law, and Man's Law is like; nor that any Man is able, or hathe Power to dispence with Godes Law.

Item, It is also ordened that the Declaration of the Sentence which hathe ben used in the Church Four Tymes in the Year, shall not from henceforth, neyther be published, nor esteemed in any Point contrary to the Præmynce and Jurisdiction Royall of our King and his Realme, or Laws and Liberties of the same; and any so doing to be competently punyshed by the Bishop of that Diocs where it shall Fortune him to be, or inhabite: And this thoroughout the Realme and Domynyons of our Soveraigne, shortlie the Bishopes to sett Order in.

Item, It is also ordened that the Colects for the Preservation of the King and Queen by Name, be from henceforth comunely and usuallie used and sayed in every Cathedrall Churche, Religious House, and Peroche Church, in all their High Masses thorough out all the Realme and Domynyons of our King and Sovereigne.

Item, It is ferther ordeyned that wheresoever the King's just Cause of Matrimony hath eyther ben detracted, and the incestious and injuste set fourth, or in Placs where as it hathe not been dilated, that in all those Placs till the People be fully satisfied and justlie instructe, all manner of Preachers whatsoever they be, happenning to come into any such Parte of the Realme, shall from henceforth open and declare the mere veryte and justnes of this later Matrymony, as nigh as their Learning can serve them, and according to the trew Determynacions of a greate Number of the most Famous and Esteemed Universities of *Christendom*; according also to the just Resolution and Diffinicyon of both the Convocationes of this Realme, concurring

 also

alſo in the ſame Opynyon, by the Hole Aſſent of Parliament, our Pryrice, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commones of this Realme; wherefore now they muſt declare this Matier, neyther doubtful nor diſputable, but to be a Thing of mere Veryte, and ſo to be allowed in all Men's Opynyons.

Item, It is ferther ordeyned that the foreſaid Preachers ſhall alſo declare the falſe and injuſte Handelinge of the Biſhop of *Rome*, pretending to have Juriſdiction to Judge this Cauſe at *Rome*; which in the Firſt Hering thereof did both declare and confeſſe in Word and Writing the Juſtnes thereof to be uppon our Soveraignes ſide, inſomuch as by a Decretall delyvered to the Legate here then ſitting for the ſame Cauſe, he did clearly determyn that if Prince *Arthur* was our Princes Brother, and then of competent Age allowed in the Law when he Maried the Lady *Katharine*, ſhe being ſo likewiſe, and that as far as Preſumptions can prove Carnall Copulation enſued between them; that theſe proved, before the ſaid Cardinales and Legates (which in dede were accordingly to the Lawes juſtlie proved) that then the unjuſt Copulacion between our Sovereigne and the ſaid Lady *Katheryn*, was neyther Lawfull, nor ought to be ſuffered, and ſo, *eo facto*, pronounced in the foreſaide Decretall, the nullite, invaldite, and unlawfulnes of their pretenſed Matrimony, which was by his Law ſufficient Judgement of the Cauſe; which Decretall by his Commandment, after and becauſe he would not have the Effect thereof to enſue, was, after the Sight thereof, imbeſiled by the foreſaid Cardinalls; and one which then was here his Cubicular, contrary to all Juſtnes and Equytee, wherein he hath done our Sovereigne moſt extreme Wrong.

Secondly, Contrary to all Equite and Determination of Generall Counſailes, he hath called the Cauſe (which ought to be determyned here) to *Rome*, where our Sovereigne is neyther bounde to appere, nor ſend Proctor: And yet hath he deteyned wrongfully the Cauſe there theſe Three or Four Years at the Inſtance of the other Partie, which ſued to have it there, becauſe they knowe he durſt not diſpleaſe the Emperor, who maketh himſelf a Partie in it, as by the Sequele it doth evydentlie appere, and ſo could our Prince gett no Juſtice at his Hande, but was wrongfully delayed to no ſmall hinderance, both to his Succeſſion, and this his Realme, emynente Daunger.

Thirdlie, Where it is a naturall Defence that the Subject ought, and may Defende his naturall Sovereigne, or Maſter, both in Word and Deed, and ought thereto to be admytted, this forſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, contrary to this Equite in Nature, hath rejected our Sovereigns Excuſator, contrary both to his own Lawes (which he moſt ſetteth by) and alſo Gods Law, which he ought to prefer. Upon which Cauſe, and other great Injuries, our Sovereigne did Appeale to the General Counſaile; notwithſtanding the which, he hath contrary to all Juſtice proceded, *ad ulteriora*, wherein by a General Counſaile he is dampned as an Heretick; yet thus injurioſlie from the begynnyng hitherto, he hathe handled our Princes Cauſe and Matier there.

Fourthely,

Fourthely, The said Bishope of *Rome* syns our Princes Appeal, hering of the Laws, and Acts of Parliament which we then went about, and that our King having just ground (the Premisses considered) would provide according to his bounden Duetie, both for the Suretie of his Succession and Realme, gave out a Sentence in Maner of Excommunycation and Interdiction of him and his Realme, in which when he was spoken to for the Iniquitie and Unjustnes thereof, by our Princes Agents, he and his Counsaile could nor did otherwise excuse them (the Facte being so contrary to all Lawes and Right) but that the Faulte was in a New Officer late come to the Court, which for his lew'd doing should grevouslie be punyshed, and the Processe to cesse. This they promised our Princes Agente, which notwithstanding, was set up in *Flanders* to the great Injurie of our Prynce, and for parcyalite to the other Parte, as it may well appear by the forsaide Sentence.

Fyvethlie, The said Bishope of *Rome* sought all the Ways possible with fair Words and Promises both by his Ambassadors and our Sovereigns owne, which by any Meanes could be invented, to have abused our Prynce and Sovereigne; which when he saw that by none of his Crafts our Prince would be no longer abused with them, then sewed he to the *French* King, to be a Mediator between our Sovereigne and him: Declaring to him and his Counsaile that he would gladly do for our Sovereigne, allowing the Justnes of his Cause; so that they would fynd the Means that our Sovereigne would not proceed in his Acts and Lawes till that were proved. And that he would meet with him at *Mercelles* for the fynishing thereof, for at *Rome* he durst not do it for fear of the Emperor. The good *French* King admonyshed our Prince hereof, offering to him to do all Pleasure and Kyndnes that lay in him in this Cause, trusting that if the Bishop of *Rome* came ones to *Marcelles*, he should give Sentence for our Sovereigne in his just Cause, and therefore prayed our Prince to be content with that Meting, in which he would labor for it effectuouslie, and so he did: To the which our Prince answered, that touching the Meting he was content, but touching the forbering of making Lawes, he prayed his good Brother to hold him excused, for he knew well ynough both the Crafte and Delayes of the Bishop of *Rome*; by which from thencforth he would never be abused: And that likewise he fered that he would abuse his good Brother, which so indede after followed; for after he had gotten the Maryage of the Duke of *Orleance*, he then promised the *French* King to give Judgment for our Maister, so he would send a Proxie, which the said Bishop of *Rome* knew well before, that he neyther would, nor was bound to do; yet notwithstanding his subtill ymagynacions, his Promise was to the *French* King, that our Prynce sending a Proctor, should there before his Departure have Judgment for him in the Principall Cause; for he openly confessed ferther, that our Maister had the Right: But because our Prince and Maister would not prejudicate for his Jurisdictione, and uphold his usurped Power by sending a Proctor, ye may evydentlie here see that this was onelie the Cause why the Judgment of the Bishop of *Rome* was not given in his Favour; whereby it may appere that there lacked not

not any Justnes in our Princes Cause, but that Ambition, Vaine-Glory, and to much mundanytee, weare the Letts thereof: Wherefore, Good People, I exhorte you to sticke to the Trueth, and our Prince according to our bounden Dueties, and Dispise thes noughtie Doings of this Bishop of *Rome*; and charytably pray that he and all others, abusers of Christs Worde and Workes, may have Grace to amend.

Number 30.

Instructions given by the Kinges Highnes, to his Trusty and Well-beloved Servant William Pagett, *one of the Clearkes of his Signet, whom his Highnes sendeth at this Tyme unto the Kinge of* Pole, *the Dukes of* Pomeray *and of* Pruce; *and to the Cities of* Dantiske, Stetin, *and* Connynburgh, *for the Purposes ensueinge.*

An Original.

Henry R.

Cotton Libr. *Vitell.* B. 14. Fol. *66.*

FIrst the said *Pagett* takeinge with him the Kinges Highnes Letters of Credence to the Princes aforesaide, with the Coppies of certeine other Bookes and Writeings prepared for his Dispatch, shall with all Diligence, takeing his Jorney from hence, repaire unto the said Princes, as to his Wisdome shall be thought best for the Expedicion of his Jorney most convenient. After his Arrival there, takeing the best Opportunity he can for his Audience, and deliverie of the Kings Highnes said Letters, with his Highnes most harty Recommendacions: The said *Pagett* shall say that the Kinges Highnes consideringe not only the Olde Love, and Perfect Friendship, which hath now of long Tyme been contracted, and by mutual Offices of Amity, established between his Highnes and the said Princes; But also the singular Affection, and entire Zeal, which his Highnes by sondry and manifold Arguments, hath and doth daily perceive to be in them, to the searchinge, furtheringe, defence, and mainteininge of the Sincere Truth, and Right Understanding of Gods Word, and the Justice of his Lawes, and the Extirpacion of such inveterate, old, and corrupt Errors, Customes, and Abusiones, whereby Christes People have bin nowe of longe Tyme seduced, and kept more bound, thrall'd, and captive under the Yoke of the Bishops of *Rome*, then ever the *Jewish* People were under the Ceremonies of *Moyses* Lawe; his Highnes hath sent nowe presently the said *Pagett* unto the said Princes, and to every one of them severally, as aforesaid, to open and declare on his Highnes Behalf the great Desire which his Highnes

hath, to do all Things for his Part; whereby not only the Friendship may be nourished and encreased, but alsoe the Common Cause of all Christend Men may be reduced to such Ende as shall be agreeable to the due Order of Christs Faith and his Precepts, and Lawes given unto us by his Worde and Spirit, and expressed in his Gospell. And for as much as the Chiefe Pointe, and the greatest Demonstracion of true Friendship, is Freindes to communicate and breake Friendly each to other, *Et deponere in sinum Amici*, the whoal Estate of their Causes, and what Things be pleasaunt and acceptable unto them, or contrary, wherein they find themselves grieved, wronged, or injuried; the said *Pagett* shall further say that the Kings Highnes hath given him in Commaundment to oppen and declare unto the same severally the whoall Progresse of his great and weighty Cause of Matrimony, with the intollerable Wronges and Injuries donn unto his Highnes in the same by the Bishop of *Rome*, called the Pope: And in what Termes the same nowe consisteth. And finally by what Waies and Means his Highnes purposeth and intendeth nowe to defende his said most just and right wise Cause and to resist the Malicious Attemptats of the said Bishop of *Rome*.

And for his Entry into the Matter, the said *Pagett* shall note and regarde Two principall and speciall Pointes; that is to say, the Justice of the King's Cause, and the Order and Processe which hath binn used therein. And as concerninge the first Pointe, the said *Pagett* shall shewe howe the King's Highnes hath so used himself, as no Man may lawefully complaine of the same. For as touchinge the Justice of his Highnes Cause, that is to say, the Declaration of his Marriadge with the Princesse Dowager to be nought, of noe Moment nor Effecte; but against the Lawe of God's Nature and Man, and therefore indispensable by the Pope, and in no wise availeable; The said *Paget* shall shewe, howe the King's Highnes hath don therein as much as becommeth a Cristian Prince to doe for Discharge of his Conscience: and hath founde soe certaine, soe evident, soe manifest, soe oppen and soe approved Trueth therein, as whereunto he ought of Necessity to give place, and to allowe and receive the same; not as a Matter doubtfull and disputable, but as a plaine and discussed Verity, of the true Understandinge of God's Worde and Lawe, which all Cristian Men must follow and obey, and to all worldly Respecte preferre and execute. In attaininge the Knowledge whereof, if his Highnes had used his owne particular Judgment and Sentence, or the Mind only and Opinion of his own Naturall Subjecte, altho' the same might in his owne Conscience have sufficed; yet his Highnes would not have much repugned, if some other had made Difficulty to assent in the same, untill further Discussion had bin made thereuppon. But now, for as much as beside the King's owne certeine Understandinge, and the Agreement of the wholl Clergie of both Provinces of his Realme, unto the same; His Highnes hath alsoe for him the Determinations of the most Famous Universities of *Christendom*, which be indifferent to pronounce and give Sentence in this his Cause, and therewithe alsoe the evident Wordes of God's Lawe; his Highnes hath thought himself, in Honour and Duty to the Obligation of God's Commandements,

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obliged neceſſarily to imbrace and receive the ſame; and there, by the Conſent of his Nobles Spirituall and Temporall, and with the ſinguler Contentation, Rejoice and Comforte, of all his Commons and Subjecte. And finally, by the Judgement and Decree of the Archbiſhoppe of *Canterbury*, moſt ſolemply and autentiquely paſſed in that Behalf, hath now, for the Diſcharge of his owne Conſcience, which was before merveileouſly greived and offended with the Opinion of Inceſt Matrimony, and for the avoideinge of extreame Dangers of his Succeſſion, and the Ruyne of his Realms, which was by reaſon thereof imynent and manifeſtly apparant to inſue, divorced and ſeperated himſelf from the Yoake and Bande of that unlawfull Marriadge, which was of longe time uſurped and continued betweene his Highnes and the ſaid Princeſſe Dowager, and hath eſpouſed and maried to his lawfull Wife, the Noble Lady, Dame *Ann* Marques of *Pembroke*, whoſe approved and excellent Vertues, that is to ſay, the Purity of her Life, her conſtant Verginity, her maidenly and womanly Pudicity, her Sobernes, her Chaſtenes, her Meekenes, her Wiſdome, her Diſcent of Ancient Right Noble and Highe Parentage, her Education in all good and lawefull Shewes and Manners, her Aptnes to Procreation of Children, with her other infinite good Qualityes, more to be regarded and eſteemed then the only Progeny, be of ſuch approved Excellency, as cannot be but moſt acceptable unto Almighty God, and deſerve his highe Grace and Favour to the ſingular Weale and Benefitte of the King's Realme and Subjects. Albeit in caiſe any Objection ſhal be made hereunto by the ſaid Princes, or any of their Concill, *de Ratione Scandali*, by reaſon that the King's Highnes hath not obſerv'd in all Pointes the common Order and Manner of the Pope's Lawes, the ſaid *Paget* ſhall, thereunto replying and anſwering, founde themſelves firſt uppon the moſt ſtedfaſt Grounds of Scripture, viz. *Quia juſto Lex non eſt poſita; ſed ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi Libertas eſt: Et ſi Spiritu Dei ducimini, non eſtis ſub Lege. Hoc eſt, Spiritûs Sancti & Conſcientiæ motum ſequentes, ſub Lege primaque privatæ cedere debet, nequaquam ſumus conſtituti. In prohibitis autem Lege Divinâ, parendum eſt Conſcientiæ, in aliis vero Eccleſiæ: Et qui Lege privatâ ducitur, nulla ratio exigit ut Lege publica conſtringatur.* And thereuppon the ſaid *Paget* ſhall inferre, that althoughe in the Lawe, every Man's private Conſcience be but a private Court, yet it is the Higheſt and Supreame Courte for Judgement or Juſtice, condempninge or approvinge of Mens Actes and Deedes in the Sight of God; accordinge to the Saying of St. *Paule* to the *Romanes*, *Gentes quæ Legem non habent, ſibi ipſis ſunt Lex; qui oſtendunt Opus Legis ſcriptum in Cordibus ſuis; ſimul atteſtante ipſorum Conſcientia, ex Cogitationibus eorum, inter ſe aut accuſantibus aut excuſantibus, in eo die quo judicabit Deus occulta hominum.* And therefore the ſaid *Paget* ſhall ſay, that beinge the King's Highnes ſaid Cauſe fully examined, diſcuſſed, and reſolved in his owne Conſcience; and being alſo the ſame Court of his Conſcience inlightened and inſtructed, firſt by the Spirite of God, who poſſeſſeth and directeth the Hartes of Princes, and afterward eſtabliſhed and confirmed by ſuch wayes as is before expreſſed; pronounced and declared,

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to be discharged before God from the Contracte of his said first Matrimony, and be at Liberty to exercize and injoy the Benefite of God, for Procreation of Children, and the lawefull Use of Matrimony, necessary for the Releif of Man's Infirmity. No Man ought to inveigh at this his Doinge, but rather to interpretate the same into the best Parte, in that that the King's Highnes had more Regarde unto the Weale of his Soul, than to any Ceremonies of Mens Laws, which themselves decree and ordeine: That noe Man is bounde to obey them, or any other Man's Precept, of what Dignity or Preheminence soever he be, if the same do *militare, contra Deum & Conscientiam offendat: Primum etenim quærendum est regnum Dei, &c. Et quid prodest hujusmodi, si universum mundum lucretur, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiatur, &c.?* He may allso further say, that the King's Highnes knoweth well, that Respect is to be had unto the World, and doubteth not but that it is alsoe sufficiently declared and showed by his Actes and Proceedinges, howe much he hath laboured and travailed therein; but sithence that these Thinges, althoughe in their outward Visage be worldly, yet inwardly they touch and concerne the Perill of Soule, noe Man beinge *sinceri & candidi Pectoris*, cann arreste any Blame unto the King's Highnes, in that he hath after soe long Travaile, Labour and Studye, with intollerable Coste and Charges, without any Fruite susteined in that Behalf, be inforced and constreyned rather to followe and accomplishe the Determination of his own Conscience, and the Law of the same, consonant and agreeable in this Case to the Law of God, and therefore superior and excellinge all Lawes of Man, then to indure in perpetuall Sute, and continuall Trouble of Body and Mynde, doeing Injurie to Nature, and incomparable Dammage to his Realme; not doeing soe much as in him is, to provide for the same. And to the intente the said *Paget* may with the more Efficacy declare unto the said Princes, the ungodly and unlawful Demeanours of the Pope, in the whoall Progresse of the King's Highnes said Cause, handleing his Highnes by the Space of vij Years, and more, in Delayes and Dalliance; and how for Friendship and Justice, he hath alwayes ministred unto him Unkindnes and notable Injurie: By reason whereof, the King's Highnes hath binn thus constreined to doe as he hath don: The said *Paget* shall understande, how that first in the Beginninge of his Highnes greate Cause, his Grace beinge daily inquieted and molested with the Scruple of Incest and unlawefull Matrimony, did send unto the said Bishop, as unto him which presumed uppon him the Title and Name of Christ's Vicar in Earth; and which had the Keyes of Knowledge and Power, to discerne the very Worde of God from the Worde of Man; to the intent that he, according to his Office and Duty, should have ymediatly dissolved that Doubt and Scruple, which his Highnes in Conscience had before conceived, and should have restored him incontinently to the Quietnes and Rest of the same. Upon which Insynuation, the saide Bishop of *Rome* refuseing to take any Knowledge of the Kings said Cause of Matrimony, but would the King should take a Commission, and Commissioners to be sent into this his Grace Realme, to whom the said Bishop would give sufficient Authority, to decerne,

knowe, judge and determyne the ſaid Cauſe; then pretendinge, that it might in noe wiſe by the Order of the Lawes be intreated at *Rome*, but only within the King's owne Realme. And ſo he delegated his wholl Power to the Cardinal *Campegius*, and the Cardinall of *York*. Giveinge alſoe unto them, one other Speciall Commiſſion, in Forme of a Decretall: Wherein the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome* pronounced and gave Sentence, that the King's Highnes Matrimony was utterly nought and unlawfull; and that therefore his Highnes might *convolare ad ſecundas Nuptias*; and the Children procreated in the Seconde Marriadge were lawfull. And in this oppen Commiſſion, he gave alſoe unto the ſaid Legate full Authority to determyne this Matter, and to give Sentence for the King's Highnes; and yet ſecretly he gave them Inſtructions, to bring the ſaid Commiſſion Decretall, and not to proceede by Vertue thereof, or of any other Commiſſion, unto any finall End or Sentence, but to ſuſpend and put over the ſame. And at the Time of Sendinge of the ſaid Commiſſion, he ſent alſoe down unto the King's Highnes, a Briefe written with his owne Hande; wherein he did alſoe approve the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe, in like maner as he did in his Commiſſion Decretall; and promiſed unto the King's Highnes, *quam ſanctiſſimè ſub verbo Pontificis*, that he would never afterwarde advocate the ſaide Cauſe out of the Realme of *Englande*, but would ſuffer it to have the due Courſe and Order of Intreateinge of the ſame, within the King's Highnes Realme; which his Sentence and Promiſe notwithſtanding, yet the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, contrary to his own Conſcience and Knowledge, what was the very Trueth and Juſtice in the King's Highnes Cauſe; and to the intente he might moleſt and trouble the ſame, decreed out ſundry Citations, whereby he would needes inforce the King's Highnes to appeare at *Rome* in his own Perſon, to the Subverſion of him, his Dignity, and the Privileges of his Realme; or elſe to conſtreine him in the Exhibition of a Proxie there: The Iniquity of both which Things, is ſo evident and notable, *ut nulla rerum facie defendi queat*. For it is a common Principle of the Lawe, *Quoties autem citatus ex Privilegio, vel aliqua alia Materia, in voce expreſſa, venire non teneatur, in eo caſu nec tenetur aliquam ſui copiam facere, neque Se, neque Procuratorem ſiſtere*. It is alſo notorius, that the Liberties and Prerogatives of the King's Realme, to the Obſervation whereof he is bounde by his Oath at his Coronation; and that alſoe the Priviledges of Princes, beinge publique Perſons, beſides other great and urgent Cauſes, doe neceſſarily let the King's Perſon to appeare at *Rome*, and lawefully defendeth and excuſeth his Abſence from thence. And beſides all this, that his Highnes ought not to be cited to *Rome*; it is enacted by the Holy Councilles of *Nice*, of *Affrique*, and of *Melevitan*; and it is agreeable alſoe to all Lawes, Reaſon and Equity, that Kings ſhould not be compelled to repair to *Rome* at the Pope's Callinge, ne be bounden in a Matter of ſo highe Weight and Conſequence as this is, to ſende out of their Realmes and Dominions, their Writeinges, Inſtrumentes, and Munimentes, conteyneinge the Secretyes of their Affaires, or to make and truſt a Proctor in ſoe farr diſtant Parts, and in a Matter of

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ſuch Gravity and Importance, to abide and fullfill that which the ſaid Proctor ſhall agree unto there. And hereunto the ſaid Paget may adde, howe this Matter toucheth the Dignity of all Chriſtian Princes very highly, to ſuffer themſelves to be ſo yoaked with the ſaid Biſhop's Authority. And that it is Tyme for Princes, nowe that the ſame Biſhop maketh this Enterpriſe uppon them, to inſerche and knowe the Grounde and Bottome of his and their Authorities. For what and the Pope would cite and call all Chriſtian Princes to appeare before him at *Rome*; that is to ſay, to cauſe them to abandon and forſake their owne Realmes, and neglect the Cure and Office committed unto them by God, and to anſwere there upon ſuch Matters, as the Pope ſhould for his Pleaſure object againſt them? *Eſſet quidem illud durum; ſed tamen ſi vellet Pontifex, hæc poſſet facere, qua etenim ratione unum conſtringere; omnes etiam Reges cogere poſſet:* And ſo it ſhould be always in the Pope's Authority and Libertie, to remove and depoſe what Kings it pleaſed him from his Crowne, and to rule and govern all Kingdomes after his own Arbitre and Pleaſure: One other notable Iniquity, is alſo in that the Pope by his Citation would needs enforce the Kinges Highnes to appear at *Rome*; foraſmuch as *Rome* is by all Laws a Place Unlawful, yea, and thereto moſt ſuſpect and unſure, not only for the Kings Highnes owne Perſon, being the Principale Parte, but alſoe for the Perſon of his Proctor, if he ſhould ſend any ſuch thither; and eſpecially for the ſelf Cauſe to be intreated there: Now it is a Principle in the Lawe, *quod citando ad locum non tutum & precedendo Index facit inique quia legibus id prohibentibus necnon antiquiſſimis conſiliis & Pont' Romanorum definitionibus repugnantibus id facit non ſolum inique ſed etiam nulliter facit:* And yet further, the Pope not ſatisfied with theſe Injuries and Wronges don unto his Highnes, yea, and to Juſtice it ſelf, in Manner as is above rehearſed; but being then, and at ſuch Tyme as the ſaid Citations were publiſhed, Reſident at *Rome*, One Doctor *Kerne*, the Kinges Subject underſtandinge how his Highnes was called there to appeare to one *Cappiſucchi* Deane of the *Rota*, to make Anſwer unto the Princes Dowagers Complainte, and exhibiting Reaſonable Cauſes, and Lawful Matters Excuſatory why his Grace ſhould not be bound either to appeare at *Rome*, or to ſende a Proctor thither; which Things he did as the Kinges Subject, and as one who by Law of Nature is bounden to Defende his Kinge and Sovereigne Lord; and by all Laws admitted to alledge that in Defence of him that is Abſent, which in Equity ought to preſerve him from Condemnacion; yet this notwithſtandinge, the ſaid *Cappiſucchi*, *idque approbante Pontifice*, not regardinge nor conſideringe the Matters ſoe by the ſaid Doctor *Kerne* alleadged, but demaunding whether he had any Proxie from the Kinges Highnes for ſuch Purpoſe or noe; the ſaid *Cappiſucchi*, for Default of ſuch Proxie, (which was not neceſſary in this Caſe) rejected the ſaid Doctor *Kerne* from the Office of an Excuſator there, and proceeded in the Principall Cauſe: by Reaſon whereof the ſaid Doctor *Kerne* appelled to the Pope alleadginge Injurie to be don not only to the Kings Highnes, but alſoe unto himſelf, for that ſuch Matter as he (havinge Intereſte in) did alleadge was not conſidered nor regarded, but Proceſſe

made notwithstanding, to which Appellation the said *Cappisucchi* gave an ambiguous and doubtful Answer, promiseinge afterward to open his said Answere and Sentence more plainely, and to give determinate Resolucions therein, which neverthelefs he would not doe, albeit he was diverse Tymes required and pressed thereunto, but soe passed he the Tyme and suddenly returned to Processe; whereupon the said Doctor oftentimes appealed and put upp again a Supplicacion to the Pope for the Admission of the said Appeal, by reason whereof the said Matter was reasoned in the Signature; where althoughe by noe lawe it woud be shewed why the said Doctor *Kerne* ought not to be admitted to alleage the said Matters Excusatory in the Defence of the Kinges Highnes; yet they gave their Voices there as the Pope saide, that Doctor *Kerne* should not be heard without the Kinges Proxie; whereunto when Dr. *Kerne* replied, sayinge that whatsoever they decreed or saide, yet there was no Lawe to maintayne and bear it: It was answered again by the said Bishope, called Pope, that he might Judge all Things after his own Conscience. And upon this Resolucion, without any other Decree given, or at least notified and declared, they proceeded in the Principal Cause, intendinge by this Injurie and Wronge, to enforce the Kinges Highnes to the Exhibition of a Proxie there, to his high Prejudice, and the derogation of the Libertyes, and Prerogatives of his Realme, and to the pernicious Example of the like to be done unto other Princes in Tyme comeing. And althoughe at the same Time, the Kinges Ambassadors there Resident, did shewe unto the Pope the Determinacion of the Universities of *Paris* and *Orleance*, with the Opinions and Sentences of the best and most Famous Learned Men of *Italy* and *Fraunce*, determyning all with one Consent, that these the Popes doeinges were meere Injuries and Wronges, and contrary to his own Lawes, wherein it is conteined, *Quod Pontifex Romanus non potest cogere aliquem Principem Christianum ut Romam veniat, ut in Causa Matrimonii ibidem respondeat. Aut in eorum gratiam procuratorem constituat & quod subditus cujuscunque Principis poterit sine mandato & sine Satisdatione ejusdem absenciæ sine non comparentiæ allagere & quod debeat ad id admitti: quodque propositis per eundem justes Causis absenciæ non poterit contra absentem Principem ulterius procedi. Sed quod omnis talis processus si quis contra eundem factus fuerat, sit jure ipso facto nullus.* Yet he continuynge still in the Discussinge and Disputacion of the same Pointes: And perceiveinge well the Kinges Highnes Adversaries to be in the wronge Parte, did still neverthelefs rejecte the said Mr. *Kerne* from the Lawfull Defence of the Kings Highnes, and ceased not to make Processe against his Grace in the Principall Cause to the expresse Wronge and Injurie of his Highnes, and soe continuynge still in accumulateinge from Tyme to Time, new Griefes and Injuries against the Justice of the Kinges Cause; and sending out very slaunderous Griefes against the Kings Highnes, with diverse other unseemeinge and ungodly Demeanors used by him and his Ministers in the Discousse and Doinge of the said Injuries. Finally to accomplishe his longe and indurate Malice, he decreed and determined to publishe out against the Kings Highnes, the Sentence of Excommunication, and soe the Kings Highnes, being advertised of the said Determinacion and Purpose, and mynding to use his

lawefull and naturall Defence of Provocation and Appellation against the same. After that his Highnes had soe made Authentiquely his said Provocacion and Appellation from the Pope to the Generall Councell, which shall be nowe next indicted, and lawefully congregated; and alsoe caused the same to be intimated unto the Pope by one of his Subjects, the said Pope would in no wise admitte the same, *& deferre hujusmodum Appellacioni*, but pretendinge for his Defence a certeine Bull made by Pope *Pius*, and that he was Superior to all Generall Counsailes, did most Arrogantly and contempteously reject the Kinges Highnes' said Appellacions, alleadging the same to be nought; and they were Heretiques and Traytors to his Person, which would Appeal from him to any General Counsell, or would attempt to doe any Thinge whereby his Authority should be seene to be Inferior unto the Authority of Generall Counsells.

The Iniquity of all which Thinges beinge thus opened unto the said Princes, and sett forth by the said *Pagett*, with the best Perswasions he can devise for that Purpose, he shall further shewe unto the same, that thence it is now evidently seene that the said Bishop of *Rome* for the Defence of his own corrupt Affections of Glorie and Ambition, regardeth not what Injurie he doth to Christian Princes, yea, and to abuse and subject so much as in him is, not only contrary to the Trueth, but alsoe to the due Order both of God and Mans Lawes, sheweinge himself therein rather to be the Child of Wrath and Discorde, then the Imitator and Follower of Christ; It shall nowe apperteine unto the Office of every good Christian Prince on tother side, to have more Spirituall Regarde to the Preservation of their one Estate and Dignity, and the Maintenance of Gods Lawes, then they have had in Times past. And to study nowe by all Means rather to confounde and destroy these Presumptions of Men, which forge themselves such a Throne and Power as soundeth greatly to the Blasphemy of Christ and his very Spouse the Church, then to suffer the same any further to encrease.

And forasmuch as the Kinges Highnes not only for want of Justice in his said Cause at the Popes Hande, but alsо for the Defence of those extreme Injuries, which the said Pope hath enforced unto him and the Justice of his Cause, and for the Maintenance of his Estate Royal, with the Lawes and Privileges of his Realme, conforme and agreeable to the Lawe of God, is nowe utterly determined, havinge God and his Word upon his Party, to resist and withstand the said Bishops malicious Attempts and reduce the said Popes Power, *Ad justos & legitimos mediocritatis suæ modos*, so as within this his Highnes Realme, he shall not be suffered to exercise any other Power and Jurisdiction, then is granted unto him by expresse Scripture. The said *Paget* shall shewe unto the said Princes; that the Kinges Highnes trustinge not a little to their greate Vertue, Wisdome, and Ould Amity hath commaunded him not only to open and declare unto the said Princes the wholl Circumstances of all the Premisses, and of what Mynd and Disposicion the Kings Highnes is nowe towarde the said Pope, and the Court of *Rome*: But alsoe to exhorte and instantly to require the same on the Kings Highnes Behalf, that it shall please them to adhere and sticke with the Kings Highnes

Highnes in his said righteous Cause to the repaire of the said Injuries at such Tyme as the same shall be intreated in the General Counsell. And in the mean Season to give unto his Highnes their Assistance and best Advice how he shall proceede to the Accomplishment of his desired Purposes, according to such Articles, as be written in a certaine Scedule and be delivered unto the said *Paget*, and signed with the Kings Highnes Hand, which he shall also exhibite and shewe unto the said Princes; and to every of them, as by his Wisdome he shall perceive may be most Beneficiall unto the Kinges Highnes Affaires: and to require also the said Princes and Potentates, that in Case there be any Articles, Causes, or Matters in those Parties touchinge any Abuses, Evil Customes, or Opinions, which for the Common-Wealth of *Christendom*, and the Maintenance of Gods Worde the said Prince and Potentate, or any of them, shall think necessary and requisite to be reformed and redressed, the said *Paget* shall say that the Kinges Mynde and full Determinacion is, his Highnes beinge advertised of the Specialties of the same, either by the Letters of the said *Paget*, or otherwise by Letters of the same Princes; or by the Messengers, Servants, or Orators of them, or any of them, will not faile, but like as the same his Highnes at this Time declareth his Griefes, and desireth their Assistance in this his Suit and righteous Causes and Quarrels, even so likewise his Highnes will not only right thankfully and kindly admitte the same Causes, to his most favourable Audience; but alsoe will with all Effecte and Sincerity to him possible, indeavour himself both to the Exturpacion and Puttinge away of the said Abuses and Evil Customes soundinge against Gods Worde and Lawes, and also further doe that Thing that may lye in him for Reformacion thereof, and Establishinge the good Intentes and Purposes of the said Princes, as most specially may be for the Maintenance of Gods Word, the Faith of Christ, and Wealth of *Christendome*, like as unto the Office of a very Christian Prince, and the Perfectnes of Amity and Friendship contracted betweene his Highnes and the said Princes shall apperteine. Finallie, for as much as it is doubtfull of what Minde, Intention, and Purpose, the said Princes be or at least some of them, that is to witte, whither they be soe dedicated to the Popes Devocion, that there is no likelihood of any good Success touchinge the Kings Purposes to be don or gotten at their Hande, the said *Paget* shall First and before the deliveringe of the Kings said Letters to any of the said Princes, and Declaracion of this his Charge by all Dexterity, Wayes and Meanes to him possible insearch, inquire, and knowe the Disposicion and Inclinacion of the said Prince, and of every of them severally, and soe thereafter accordinge to their Wisdomes and Discretions to deliver or retaine the Kings said Letters, with Declaracions or without Declaracions of their said Charge, as to their Wisdomes shall be thought most necessary and requisite for atchieveinge of the Kings Highnes Purposes in this Behalf.

2 *Henry R.*

Number

Number 31.

Propositions to the King's Counsell; marked in some Places on the Margin in King Henry's *own Hand.* 1533.

An Original.

FYrste to sende for all the Bishops of this Realme, and specyallie for suche as be nerest unto the Courte; and to examyne them aparte, whether they, by the Law of God, can prove and justefie, that he that now is called the Pope of *Rome* is above the Generall Counsell, or the Generall Counsell above him? Or whether he hathe gyven unto him by the Law of God, any more Auctoryte within the Realme, than any other Foreign Bishop?

Cotton Library, Cleop. E. 6. P. 319.

2. *Item*, To desire, with all the Bishops of this Realm, to set forth, preach, and cause to be preached to the King's People, that the said Bishop of *Rome*, called the Pope, is not in Auctoryte above the Generall Counselle, but the Generall Counsell is above him, and all Bishops. And that he hath not, by God's Lawe, any more Jurisdiction within this Realme, than any other Foreign Bishop (being of any other Realm) hathe. And that such Auctoryte as he before this hathe usurped within this Realme, is both against Godes Law, and also against the Generall Counsells. Which Usurpations of Auctorite, onelie hath grown to him, by the Sufferance of Princes of this Realme, and by none Auctoryte from God.

3. *Item*, Therefore that Order be taken, for suche as shall preach at *Paul*'s Cross from henceforthe, shall contynually from *Sunday* to *Sunday* preach there, and also teache and declare to the People, that he that now calleth himself Pope, nor any of his Predecessours, is, and were but only the Bishops of *Rome*; and hath no more Auctorite and Jurisdiction, by Godes Lawe, within this Realme, than any other Foreign Bishop hath; which is nothing at all. And that such Auctoryte as he hathe claymed heretofore, hath been onlie by Usurpation and Sufferaunce of Prynces of this Realme. And that the Bishop of *London* may be bounde to suffer none other to preach at *Paul*'s Cross, as he will answer, but such as will preach, and set forth the same.

4. *Item*, That all the Bishops within this Realme, be bound and ordered in the same wise, and to cause the same to be preached thorough out all their Dioces.

5. *Item*, That a specyall Practise be made, and a streight Commandement gyven to all Provyncyalls, Ministers, and Rulers of all the Foure Orders of Friers within this Realme; commanding them to cause the same to be preched by all the Preachers of their Religions, in and thorough the hole Realme.

6. *Item*, To practise with all the Friers observants of this Realme, and to commande them to preach in lyke wise; or elles that they may

may be ftayed, and not fuffered to preach in no Place of the Realme.

7. *Item*, That every Abbote, Pryor, and other Heddes of Religious Houfes within this Realme, fhall in like manner teche theire Convents and Brethren, to teach and declare the fame.

8. *Item*, That every Bifhop fhall make fpecyall Commandements to every Perfon, Vicare and Curate, within his Dyoces, to preach and declare to theyr Parochians in lyke wife.

9. *Item*, Proclamations to be made thorough out the Realme, conteyning the hole Acte of Appeles : And that the fame Acte may be impreffed, tranfumed, and fet up on every Church Dore in *England*; to the Intent, that no Parfon, Vycar, Curate, nor any other of the King's Subjects, fhall make themfelfs ignorant thereof.

10. *Item*, The King's Provocation and Appellations, made from the Bifhop of *Rome* unto the Generall Counfell, may alfo be tranfumed, impreffed, publifhed and fet up on every Church Dore in *England*; to the Intent, that if any Cenfures fhould be fulmynate againft the King or his Realm, that then it may appear to all the World, that the Cenfures be of none Effecte; confidering that the King hathe already, and alfo before any Cenfures promulged, bothe provoked and Appeled.

11. *Item*, Like Tranfumpts to be made, and fent into all other Realmes and Domynyons, and fpecyally into *Flanders*, concerning the King's faide Provocations and Appellations; to the intente the Falfhode, Iniquite, Malice and Injuftice of the Bifhop of *Rome*, may thereby appere to all the World : And alfo to the intent that all the World may know, that the King's Highnes ftanding under thofe Appeles, no Cenfures can prevayle, nor take any Effecte againft him and his Realme.

vet done, [illegible] be done before the Parliament.

12. *Item*, A Letter to be conceyved from all the Nobles, as well Spirituall as Temporall, of this Realme; unto the Bifhop of *Rome*, declaring the Wrongs, Injuries and Ufurpations, ufed againft the King's Highnes and this Realme.

For to fend Letters to my Lord *Dacres*, my Lord of *Norfolk*, and Sir *T. Clifford*.

13. *Item*, To fende Exploratours and Efpies into *Scotland*; and to fee and perceyve their Practifes, and what they intend there; and whether they will confeder themfelfs with any other outwarde Prynce.

In the King's Arbitrement.

14. *Item*, Certen difcrete and grave Perfons, to be appointed to repair into the Partes of *Germany*, to practife and conclude fome Lege or Amyte with the Prince and Potentats of *Germany*; that is to fay, the King of *Pole*, King *John* of *Hungary*, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Duke of *Bavyere*, Duke *Frederyke*, the Landegrave *Van Heffe*, the Bifhop of *Magons*, the Bifhop of *Treuers*, the Bifhop of *Coleyn*, and other the Potentats of *Germany*; and alfo to enferch, of what Inclination the faid Prynces and Potentats be of, towards the King and his Realme.

To know this of the King.

15. *Item*, Like Practife to be made and practifed with the Cyties of *Lubeke*, *Danfke*, *Hamburgh*, *Brunfwyke*, and all other the Stedes of the *Hannfe Tutonick*; and to enferche of what Inclination they be towards the King, and this Realme.

16. *Item*, Lyke Practise to be made and practised, with the Cities of *Norimbergh* and *Aughsbrough*.

17. *Item*, To remember the Marchiants Adventurers haunting the Domynyons of *Braband*, and to speke with them. This is already done.

18. *Item*, To set Order and Establishment of the Princes Dowager's House with all Celerity, and also of my Lady *Mary*'s House. The Order is taken.

19. *Item*, A full Conclusion and Determination, to be taken for my Lady Princes House. The Orders taken.

Number 32.

By the King.

A Letter against the Pope's Authority, and his Followers, setting forth their Treasons.

An Original.

HENRY R.

TRusty and right Welbeloved, We grete you well. And wher as heretofore, as ye know, both upon most just and vertuouse Fundations, grownded upon the Lawes of Almighty God and Holly Scripture, and also by the deliberate Advice, Consultation, Consent and Agreement, as well of the Bishops and Clergie, as by the Nobles and Comons Temporall of this our Realme, assembled in our High Court of Parliament, and by Auctoritie of the same, the Abuses of the Bishop of *Rome* his Auctoritie and Jurisdiction, of longe time usurped against us, have been not only utterly extirped, abolished and secluded; but also the same our Nobles and Comons, both of the Clergie and Temporaltie, by another severall Acte and upon like Fundation for the publique Weale of this our Realme, have united, knyt and annexed to us and the Corone Imperiall of this our Realme, the Title, Dignitie and Stile of Supreme Hed in Earthe, immediatly under God, of the Church of *England*, as undoubtedly evermore we have been. Which Things also the said Bishops and Clergie, particularly in their Convocations, have holly and entierly consented, recognised, ratified, confermed and approved autentiquely in Writing, both by their Speciall Othes, Profession and Wryting, under their Signes and Seales. So utterly renouncyng all other Othes, Obedience and Jurisdiction, either of the said Bishop of *Rome*, or of any other Potentate, we late you witt, that perpendyng and consideryng the Charge and Commission in this Behalf geven unto us by Almighty God, together with the great Quietnes,

Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 6. P. 214.

etnes, Rest and Tranquillite, that hereby may ensue to our faithful Subjects, both in their Consciences, and other wise to the Pleasure of Almighty God, in case the said Bishops and Clergie of this our Realme, should sincerely, truly and faithfully sett forth, declare and preach unto our said Subjects, the very true Word of God, and without all maner or culor of Dissimulation, Hipocrisie, manifest, publishe and declare, the great and innumerable Enormities and Abuses, which the said Bishop of *Rome*, as well in Title and Stile, as also in Auctoritie and Jurisdiction, of long Tyme unlawfully and injustly hath usurped upon Us, our Progenitors, and all other Christen Princes; have not only addressed our Letters Generall to all and every the same Bishops, straitly chargyng and commanding them, not only in their proper Persons, to declare, teach and preach unto the People, the true, mere and sincere Word of God: And how the said Title, Stile, and Jurisdiction of Supreme Hed, apperteyneth unto Us, our Corone and Dignitie Royall. And to gyve like Warnyng, Monition and Charge, to all Abbots, Priors, Deanes, Arche Deacons, Provosts, Parsons, Vicars, Curats, Scole Masters, and all other Ecclesiastical Persons within their Dioces, to do the Semblable, in their Churches, every *Sunday* and Solem Feast, and also in their Scoles; and to cause all maner of Prayers, Orisons, Rubrics and Canons in Masse Books, and all other Books used in Churches, wherin the said Bishop is named, utterly to be abolished, eradicat, and rased out in such wise, as the said Bishop of *Rome*, his Name and Memorie for evermore, (except to his Contumelly and Reproche) may be extinct, suppressed and obscured: But also to the Justices of our Peas, that they, in every Place within the Precint of their Commissions, do make and cause to be made diligent Serche wayse and especially, whether the said Bishops and Clergie do truly and sincerely, without any Maner Cloke or Dissimulation, execute and accomplish their said Charge to them commytted in this Behalf; and to satisfie Us and our Councill, of such of them that should omytt or leave undone any Parte of the Premisses, or elles in the Execution therof, should coldely, fainedly use any maner of synister Addition, Interpretation or Cloke, as more plainly is expressed in our said Letters. We considering the great Good and Furderaunce, that ye may do in these Matters in the Parts about you, and specially at your being at Sises and Sessions; in the Declaration of the Premisses, have thought it good, necessary and expedient, to write these our Letters unto you; whom we esteem to be of such singuler Zeale and Affection towards the Glory of Almighty God, and of so faithfull and loving Harte towards us, as ye woll not only, with all your Wisdome, Diligences and Labours, accomplish all such Things, as might be to the Preferment and setting forward of Godes Worde, and the Amplification, Defence and Maintenance of our said Interests, Right, Title, Stile, Jurisdiction and Auctoritie, apperteyning unto Us, our Dignitie, Prerogative, and Corone Imperiall of this our Realme, woll and desire you, and nevertheles straitely charge and command you, that laying aparte all vain Affections, Respects, and Carnal Considerations; and setting before your Eyes the Mirror of Truth, the Glorie of God, the Right and Dignitie of your Soveraigne

raigne Lord; thus tending to the ineſtimable Unitie and Commoditie both of your ſelf, and all other our Loving and Faithfull Subjects, ye do not only make diligent ſearch within the Precinct of your Commiſſion and Auctoritie, whether the ſaid Biſhops and Clergie doe truly, ſincerely as before, Preach and Teach, and declare to the People the Premiſſes, according to their Duties, but alſo at your ſaid ſetting in Siſes and Seſſions ye do perſuade, ſhewe, and declare unto the ſame People the Tenor, Effect, and Purpoſe of the Premiſſes in ſuch wiſe, as the ſaid Biſhops, and Clergie, may the better, not only do therby, and execute their ſaid Dueties, but that alſo the Parents, and Rulers of Families, may declare, teach, and informe their Children and Servants in the Specialties of the ſame, to the utter extirpacion of the ſaid Biſhops uſurped Authority, Name, and Juriſdiction; for ever ſhewyng and declarying alſo to the People at your ſaid Seſſions the Treaſons trayterouſly commytted againſt us and our Lawes, by the late Biſhop of *Rocheſtre*, and Sir *Thomas Moore*, Knight, who thereby, and by diverſe Secrete Practiſes of their malicious Mynds againſt us intended, to ſemynate, engender, and brede amongs our People and Subjects, moſt miſchievous and ſediciouſe Opynyon, not only to their own Confuſion, but alſo of divers others who lately have condignely ſuffered Execucion according to their Demerites, and in ſuch wiſe dilating the ſame with Perſuacions to the ſame our People, as they may be the better fixed, eſtabliſhed, and ſatisffied in the Truth, and conſequently, that all our Faythfull and true Subjects may therby deteſt and abhore in their Harts and Deeds, the moſt recreant and traiterouſe Abuſes, and Behaveours of the ſaid Maliciouſe Malefactors as they be moſt Worthy, and fynding any Defaulte, Negligence, or Diſſimulacion in any manner of Perſon, or Perſons, not doyng his Duetie in this Partie, ye immediately doe advertiſe us and our Counſel of the Defaulte, Manner, and Facion of the ſame, lating you witt, that conſidering the greate Moment, Weight, and Importance of this Matter, as wherupon dependeth the Unity, Reſt, and Quietnes of this our Realme, yf ye ſhould contrary to your Ducties, and our Expectations, and Truſt, neglect, be ſlake, or omytte to doe diligently your Dueties in the true Performance and Execucion of our Mynde, Pleaſure, and Commandment as before, or wold halte or ſtumble at any Perſon, or Specialtie of the ſame, be ye aſſured that we, like a Prince of Juſtice, well ſo puniſh and correct your Defaulte and Negligence thereyn, as it ſhall be an Example to all others, how contrary to their Allegeance, Othes and Dueties, they do fruſtrate and deceive, and diſobey the juſt and lawfull Commandment of their Soveraign Lord, in ſuch Things as by the true Hartie and Faithfull Execucion whereof, they ſhall not only prefer the Honour and Glory of God, and ſett forth the Majeſty and Imperial Dignitie of their Soveraign Lord, but allſo importe and bring an ineſtimable Unitie, Concorde, and Tranquillitie of the Publique, and Common State of this Realme: whereunto both by the Lawes of God and Nature and Man, they be utterly obliged and bounden, and therefore fail ye not moſt effectually, erneſtly, and entierly to ſee the Premiſſes done and executed upon Paine of your Allegeance; and as

ye woll advoyde our High Indignacion and Displeasure, at your uttermost Perills : Given under our Signet at our Manor besids *Westminster*, the xxvth Day of *June*.

Number 33.

By the King,

A Proclamation against Seditious Preachers.

HENRY VIIIth.

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 6.

RIght Trusty and Well-beloved Cousyn, we grete you well, and where it is commen to our Knowledge that sundry Persons aswell Religious, as Secular Priests and Curats in their Parishes, and divers Places within this our Realme, do dailly asmuch as in them is, sett forthe and extolle the Jurisdiction and Auctoritie of the Bishop of *Rome*, otherwise called Pope, sowyng their Sediciouse, Pestylent, and False Doctryne, praying for him in the Pulpyt, and makyng him a God, to the great Deceyte, illudyng and seducyng of our Subjects, bryngyng them into Errors, Sedicion, and Evil Opynyons, more preferryng the Powers, Lawes, and Jurisdiction of the said Bishop of *Rome*, then the most Holly Lawes and Precepts of Almighty God. We therefore myndyng not only to provide for an Unitie and Quietnes, to be had and contynued amongs our said Subjects, but also covetyng and desyryng them to be brought to a Profession and Knowledge of the mere Verity and Truth, and no longer to be seduced, nor blynded with any such Supersticiouse and False Doctryne of any Earthly Usurper of Gods Lawes, Woll therefore and Command you, that wher and whensoever ye shall fynde, perceive, know, or here tell of any such Sedicious Personnes, that in such wise do spreade, teach, or preach, or otherwise sett forth any such Opynions and Perniciouse Doctryne, to the Exaltacion of the Power of the Bishop of *Rome*; bryngging therby our Subjects into Error, Grudge, and Murmurracion, indelaydly do apprehend and take them, or cause them to be apprehended and taken, and so committed to Warde, there to remayne without Bayl or Maynprize, untyll upon your Advertisement thereof unto us, or our Council, ye shall know our further Pleasure in that Behalfe : Given under our Signet, at our Manor of *Grenewich* the XII Day of *April*.

Number

Number 34.

A Letter of the Archbishop of York's, *setting forth his Zeal in the King's Service, and against the Pope's Authority.*

Cotton Library, *Cleop.* *E.* 6. P. 236.

PLease it youre Highnes to understande, that the VIIIth Daye of *June*, I received by the Hands of Sir *Francise Bygott*, your moste Honorable Letters; by tenor whereof I perceive, that your Highnes is enformed, and so doth take it, that wher as the same your Highnes, as well by Convocations of your Clergies of both Provinces, as by your Highe Courte of Parliament is declared the *Supreme Hed* in Yerthe of the Church of *England*, and also by the Clergie of the said Convocations, it is avowed, that the Bishop of *Rome* by Gods Lawe hathe no more Jurisdiction within this Realme than any other Foreign Bishope; and therefore ordre taken by your Highe Courte of Parliament, by the Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commens in the same assembled, as well for the Unitynge and Knittenge of your sayde Style and Title of *Supreme Hed* to your Imperiall Crowne, as for the Abolishement of the saide Bishope of *Rome*'s Autoritie and Jurisdiction, yet I neverthelesss, nodre remembring my Consent given to the same, by my Subscription and Profession, signed with my Hande, and sealed with my Seal, have not done my dewe Endevorment to teache the same, nor cause to be taught within my Diocese and Province; so that the foresaid Truths myght be imprinted and rooted in the Harts of the Ignorant People your Highnes Subjects, wherefore your Highnes commandeth me, not onlie to Preache the forsaide Things in my Person, and also to commande others to Preache the same, but also to give Commandment in your Highnes Name, to all maner of Prelates and Ecclesiastical Persons within my Diocese and Province, to declare and cause to be declared everie *Sunday*; and therwith to open to the People your Highnes just and raysonable Cause, moveing the same to refuse and to exclude out of your Realm all the Jurisdiction and Autoritie of the said Bishop of *Rome*; and ferthermore your Highnes commandeth me to cause all Collects and Places of the Masse-Booke, wher anie mention is made of the saide Bishope of *Rome* to be rased out, and nodre the sayd Collects, nor any other Thing, wherbie the said Bishops Autoritie is magnified, to be had anie more in Use, but to be utterlie suppressed with Silence; and besides this, your Highnes in the same your most honorable Letters, giveth order for Scole-Masters, how they shall instill and inculke the forsaid Trueths into the Harts of theyre Disciples, to the intent, that so beeing enplanted and rooted in tender Aige, they may so allwaies continue. In moste humble Maner prostrate, I beseech your Highnes to take in good Parte my Answer. I trust your Highnes is not unremembred, that about this Tyme the last Year, anoune after my Return from your Highnes, my

my Lord of *Canterburie* by your Commandment sent to me a Booke, wherein was an Order for Preachinge, and in the same Forme devised, as well for Preachers as Curats, for the Beads; in which Forme, your Highnes Style and Title of *Suppreme Hedde* is mentioned, and ferther in the same Booke, your Highnes hath given Commandment, that every Preacher sholde afore *Easter* last past ones in solempne Audience declare the usurped Jurisdiction within this Realme of the Bishope of *Rome*, and your Highnes just Causes to decline from the same; and also to open and declare such Things, as myght avowe and justifie your Highnes refusall of Mariage with the Princes Doager, and Lawfull Contract of now with your most dear Wife Queen *Ann*, and in the same an Order also given for the Suppression of the Generall Sentence; After the Recepte of which Booke, the *Sunday* next following, which was then the Second *Sunday* after *Trinitie Sunday*, I went from *Cawood* to *York*, and ther in my own Person, declared as well your Highnes Cause touchinge the Matrimonie, as also your Refusall of the Popes Jurisdiction, furnishinge both so at leangth, that I trust that nothing that needed to be opened and spoken, was left unspoken: And to the Intent, that I wolde have the Thing the more spred abrode, I forthwith upon the Recepte of the forsaide Booke, sent to *York* to publishe ther, that I wolde be ther *Sundaye* followinge, and cawsed the Churches to make an Order of theyre Service, in suche Tyme, as everie Man myght have oportunities to be at the Sermon, and speciallie required the Mayer and his Bretherne, and your Faithfull Chaplaine and Servants, Mr. *Magnus*, and Sir *George Lawson* to be ther, and ther and than afore a great Multitude, and as it is to be supposed in that Multitude werr a great number of sundry Parts of the Contree, which never lack in that Citie, it may be thought ther was the greater number, because it was noysed that I sholde Preache, takenge occasion of thees Words in the Gospell of that Daye, *Uxorem duxi ideo non possum venire*, so I uttered, explained, declared, and opened both the forsaide Matters, and the Injuries doon to your Highnes by the Bishope of *Rome Clement*, that your saide Chapleyne and Servants, Mr. *Magnus* and Sir *George Lawson*, thought that the Audience was satisfied. These ij bee my Witnesse hearin, with a very great Multitude besides them, that I nothinge fayne heerin. As for your Highnes Title of *Supreme Hed*, I touched not than, for somutche, as no order was given than, but onlie to meke mention therof in the Prayors; and it is well known to all that have herde me Preache ever sins my first commynge into my Diocese, that for more speed of Tyme, and more utteraince of Mater, I never have made Prayours in any Sermond, but proceded forward without stope, nor have anie Thinge, or not muche, rehersed in *Latin*, but *English* it in course, for the same Purpose. Also opon the Recept of the same Booke, furthwith I commanded my Officers and others that coulde Write, to make out a great Number of the saide Books, and cause to be delivered to everie Preacher within my Dyocese a hole Booke, chargenge them, to doe according to the Instruction therof, and generallie everie Curate a Booke comprisenge as muche as touched theyre Charge, and if he were a Preacher, he had the hole. And I assured your Highnes, I have not yet

I herde,

herde, but that every one of the ſaid Curats foloweth theyre Books in everie Poynte; and ſpeciallie praye for your Highnes as Chief Hedde of the Church, and all other Things obſerve in the ſame; and yet I have done my Diligence to herken and know if it were otherwiſe. And I doe not know but all the Preachers have done theyre Duetie; and to the great Number of them I ſpake my ſelfe, and delivered them Books, and charged them. And ferther, I charged all Curatts and others, that they ſholde ſuffer no Man to preache in theyr Churches; to the intent, that all that would preache, ſhould be conſtrained to come to me, that I might deliver them the forſaid Inſtructions. And never yet anie had Licence of me to preache, but he had ſuche a Book delivered hym. To every Houſe of Fryars, and other Religiouſe Houſes, wher anie Preachers werr, I gave Books; and likewies to all that I knewe, or coulde learne to be within my Dyoceſe, with Charge that they ſholde folow the Booke. Whan anie Religiouſe Men came to me for Counſell, I told them what I had done, and gave them Counſell to doe the ſame. Of divers Sorts have come to me, both Obſervants and *Cartuſians*, and others. Opon *Good Frydaye* laſt paſt, I charged the Treaſurer of *Yorke*, that he ſholde leave out the Collect *pro Papa*. Lykewies I charged the Deacon that ſonge the Hyme *Exultet Angelica*, in the Halowinge of the Paſchall, that he ſholde leave out mention therin made *de Papa*. The Trueth of all theſe Things may be examined and known, if it ſhall ſo pleaſe your Highnes: By wiche it ſhall appear, I truſt, that I ame not in ſuche Blaſme as your Highnes imputethe to me; enformed by them, peradventure, that be not my Friends. Your Highnes ſomewhat knoweth me. I have been allwayes open and plain, and hidreto I dare avowe I never deceived you, nor herafter ſhall in any Thing that I take upon me, as my Lernynge and Conſcience woll ſerve. And now, after the Receipte of your moſt Honorable Letters by Sir *Francis Bygott*, I forthwith cauſed Letters to be made to my Lord of *Dureſme* and *Carliſle*, and to all Archedeacons, gevinge to them (on your Highnes behalf) ſtreight Commandement, to follow truelie and ſyncerlie theffecte of ſuche Commandements, as your Highnes hath given me in your moſt Honourable Letters; and have charged all Archedeacons to ſee, that all Things, according to the Tenor of your ſaide moſt Honorable Commandment, bee done without Delaye; and have charged them to deliver Books to all Curats and others, of the olde Inſtructions, putting to them all that is nowe encreaſed in theſe your Highnes laſt moſt Honorable Letters: So that I truſt, all Things ſhall bee done according to your Highnes Commandment, with all Speed, Efficacie and Diligence, wherunto I ſhall hearken. And for my Parte, I have (on *Sunday* laſt paſt, which next followed the Receipte of your Highnes moſt Honourable Letters) declared all Things compriſed in the ſame; ſo that, I truſt, the Audience was ſatisfied. I cauſed the Citie to be warned afore, and diverſe of the Conttee were preſent. And your faythfull Chapleigne and Servants, *Magnus* and Sir *George Lawſon*, I ſpecially required to be ther; as in deed they werr, and can reaport what they think therof.

Ther

Ther werr also present the Abbot of Saincte *Maries* of *Yorke*, the Treasorer of *Yorke*, Sir *Francis Bygott*; these werr there, your Servants and Chapleignes, and many others. I trust your Highnes shall never fynde in me, but that I promise, I shall fullfill, and all Things doe with good Haste, that I may doe, at your Highnes Commandement, God not offended. And most humblie prostrate, I beseche your Highnes to be so graciouse, good Lord, not to beleive any Complaynts of me, afore you have herde my Answer. The Tyme is now suche, that some Men think they doo highe Sacrifice, whan they may bring into your Highnes Displeasure, such a poor Priest as I am: But I trust in our Lorde, that your Highnes dothe not soe take it, and that our Lorde woll continewe your Highnes graciouse Mynde towards your poore Preests and Chapleignes; and that he shall sende to them, that cawsleslie provoke the grevouse Displeasure of your Highnes against our saide Preests, better Grace hereafter. For which, and for the continuall Keeping of your Highnes in his Governaunce, I shall, as I am most bounde, continuallie praye. From *Bishops-Thorpe*, the xivth of *June* 1535.

Your Highnes most humble

Preest and Beadman,

Edwarde Ebor'

Number 35.

A Letter of Cromwell's *to the King's Ambassador in* France, *full of Expostulations.*

SIR,

August *the* 23*d.*

AFter my most Hertie Recommendations, these shall be to advertise you, That the 17th Day of this Moneth I receyved from you a Packet of Letters, which indelayedlie I delyvred unto the King's Highnes, and conferred with his Grace. Theffecte both of your Letters, and all others within the saide Packet, being directed aswell to his Highnes as to me. And after his Highnes had with me perused the hole Contents thoroughlie of your saide Letters, perceyving not onelie the lykelyhood of the not Repairee into *Fraunce* of *Philip Melanchthon*, but also your Communications had with the *Frensh* King, upon your Demaunde made of the King's Highnes *Pencions*, with also your discrete Answers and Replications made in that behalf; for the which his Majestee gyveth unto you his

his Hertie and Condigne Thanks. Ye ſhall underſtande, that his Highnes comaunded me to make you Anſwer in this wiſe folowing. Firſt, as touching the King's Money, his Highnes doubtith not, but ſeeing both the *French* King, and alſo the Grete Mayſter, have promiſed you it ſhall be depeched; ye will, as the Caſe ſhall requyre, not ceaſe to call uppon them till it be depeched. And ferther conſidering, that the ſaid *French* King, upon youre ſaide Demaunde of the ſaide Penſions, ſo ſodaynelye fell into Communication with you, aſwell of his Frendeſhip and Humanyte ſhewed to the King's Highnes; alledging, that He at all tymes hathe anſwered for the King's Highnes, ſpecially being laſt at *Marcells* with Pope *Clement*, with other Thyngs, as in your ſaide Letters appereth. As alſo concernyng the Executions lately done here within this Realme, the King's Highnes not a little mervaileth thereat, and thinketh it good, that as of your ſelf ye take ſome Occaſion at convenyent Tyme and Opertunyte to Renovate the ſaide Communication, both with the *French* King, or at the leeſt with the Grete Maiſter; ſaying unto them, that where the ſaide *French* King alledgeth, that he hathe at all tymes anſwered for the Kyng's Highnes in his Cauſe; and ſpecially to the ſaide *Pope* Clement *at* Marcells; affirmyng his Proceedyngs to be Juſt and Upright concernyng the *Matrymony*, as ye do wryte in that. Albeit the King's Highnes Proceedings, in all his Affaires within this Realme, being of ſuch Equyte and Juſtnes of themſelf as they be, nedeth not any Defence or Aſſiſtence ayenſt *Pope Clement*, or any other Foreyn Power, having *Goddes Worde* and Lawes only ſufficient to defende him; Yet in that that the ſaide *French* Kyng hathe, as he ſayeth, anſwered at all Tymes on the King's Parte, he hathe don nothing but the Parte of a Brother, in Juſtefieng and Vereſyeng the Trueth; and ſo continuyng, ſhall do as apperteyneth to a Prynce of Honour, which the King's Highnes doubtith not he hath, and will doe only in Reſpecte to the Veryte and Trewth, beſid the Amyte betwixt them both juſtlye requyryng the ſame. And concerning thexecutions don within this Realme, ye ſhall ſey to the ſaide *French* Kyng, that the ſame were not ſo marvelous extreme, as he alledgeth. For, touching Mr. *More*, and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, with ſuche others as were executed here, their Treaſons, Conſpiracies and Practiſes ſecretely practiſyd, aſwell within the Realme as without, to move and ſtyrre Diſcenſion, and to ſowe ſedicyon within the Realme, intending thereby not onelye the Diſtruction of the Kyng, but alſo the whole Subverſion of his Highnes Realme, being explained and declared, and ſo manifeſtly proved afore them, that they could not avoyde nor denye it: And they thereof openly detected, and lawfully convicted, adjudged and condempned of High Treaſon, by the due Order of the Lawes of this Realme, it ſhall and may well appere to all the Worlde, that they having ſuch Malice roted in their Herts agenſt their Prynce and Sovereigne, and the totall Diſtruction of the Comen Weale of this Realme, were well woerthie, if they had had a Thouſand Lyves, to have ſuffered ten tymes a more terrible Deth and Execution then any of them did ſuffer. And touching ſuche Wordes as the ſaide

French King spake unto you, concerning how Mr. *More* dyed, and what he saide to his Daughter going to his Judgement, and also what Exhortacions he should gyve unto the Kyng's Subjects, to be trew and obedient to his Grace; assuring you that there *was no such Thing*, whereof the Grete Master promysed you a Double at length: in that the King's Pleasure is, that ye shall not onelie procure the said Double, and sende it hither, but also sey unto the saide *French* King, that the King's Highnes cannot otherwise take it but verye unkyndly, that the saide *French* King, or any of his Counsaile, at whose Hands he hathe so moche meryted, and to whom he hathe mynystered so many Grete Benefits, Pleasures and Commodytees, shoulde so *lightly* gyve Eare, Faith and Credence to any such vayne Brutes and fleeng Tales; not havyng first Knowlege or Advertisement from the King's Highnes here, and his Counsaile, of the Veryte and Trewth; affirming it to be the Office of a Freinde, hering any suche Tales of so Noble a Prynce, rather to have compressed the Bruters thereof to Sylence, or at the leest not permitted to have dyvulged the same, untill such Tyme as the King's Majestee being so dere a Frende had ben advertesed thereof, and the Trewth knowen, before he shoulde so lightly beleve or alledge any suche Reporte. Which ingrate and unkynde Demeanure of the saide *French* King, used in this Behalf, argueth playnly not to remayn in his Brest such Integryte of Herte, and syncere Amyte towards the King's Highnes, and his Proceedings, as his Highnes alwayes heretofore hathe expected and loked for: Which Thing ye may propone and alledge unto the saide *French* King, and the Grete Master, or to one of them, with suche Modestie and Sobrenes, as ye thinke they maye perceyve that the King's Highnes hathe Good and Just Cause in this Parte, somewhat to take their Light Credence unkyndly. And whereas the saide *French* King sayeth, that touching such Lawes as the King's Holynes hathe made, he will not medle withall; alledging it not to be mete, that one Prynce shoulde desire another to chaunge his Lawes; sayeing, that his be too olde to be chaunged. To that ye shall say, That such Lawes as the King's Highnes hath made here, be not made without Substauncyall Grounds, by Grete and Mature Advise, Counsaile and Deliberation, of the hole Polycie of this Realme, and are in Dede no new Lawes, but of grete Antiquyte, and many Yeres passed, were made and executed within this Realme, as now they be renovate and renewed onlie in Respecte to the Comen Weale of the same. And it is not a little to his Highnes Mervule, that the saide *French* King ever would counsaile or advise him, if in case hereafter any such like Offenders should happen to be in this Realme, that he should rather banysh them, than in such wise execute them. And specyallie considering, that the saide *French* King himself, in Commonyng with you at the Tyme, not only confessed the extreme Execucyons and grete Bruyllie, of late don in his Realme, but also that he now intendeth to withdraw the same, and to Revoke and Call Home agayn suche as be out of his Realme: The King's Highnes, therefore, the more straungely taketh his saide Advise and Counsaile, supposing it to be neither thoffice of a Frend,

nor

nor of a Brother, that he wold determyn himself to call home into his Realme agayn his Subjects being out of the same, for speking agenst the Bishop of *Rome*'s usurped Auctorite, and counsaile the Kings Highnes to banyshe his Traytours into straunge Parts, where they myght have good Occasion, Tyme, Place, and Oportunyte to wourke their Feats of Treason and Conspiracie the better agaynst the Kings Highnes and this his Realme: In whiche Parte ye shall somewhat engreve the Matier after suche sorte as it may well appere to the saide *French* King, that not only the Kings Highnes might take those his Counsailes and Communications, both straungely and unkyndely, thinking the same not to procede of mere Amyte and Friendship, but also using such Polycie and Austeryte in proponyng the same with the said *French* King, and the Grete Maister, taking such Tyme and Oportunyte as may best serve for the same, as they may well perceyve the Kings Highnes Proceedings here within the Realme, both concerning the saide Execucyons, and all other Things to be onely grounded uppon Justice and the Equyte of his Lawes, which be no new Lawes, but Auncyet Lawes made and established of many Yeres, passed within this Realme, and now renovate and renewed as it is aforsaide, for the better Order, Weale, and Suretie of the same. And ye may ferther say, that if the *French* King and his Counsaile well consyder, as they ought to do, that it were moch better to advaunce the Punyshment of Traytours and Rebells, for their Offences, then to ponyshe such as do speke agenst the usurped Auctoryte of the Bishop of *Rome*, who Daylie goeth about to suppresse and subdue Kyngs and Princes, and their Auctoritee gyven to them by Goddes Worde; all which Matiers the Kinges Pleasure is, that ye shall take Tyme and Occasion, as ye talkyng agayn with the *French* King, or the Grete Maister may declare your Mynd, as before is prescribed unto you: Adding thereunto such Matier, with such Reasons, after your accustomed Dexteryte and Discression, as ye shall thinke most Expedient, and to serve best for the Kings Purpose, Defence of his Proceedings, and the Profe of the *French* Kings Ingratitude, shewed in this Behalf; not doubting in your Wisdom, good Industrie, and discrete Circumspection, for thordering and well-handelling of the same accordinglie.

And touching *Melanchton*, considering there is no likelehood of his Repayree into *Fraunce*, as I have well perceved by your Letters; the Kings Highnes therfore hathe appointed *Cristofer Mount*, indelaiedlie to take his Journey where *Melanchton* is: And if he can, to prevente Mounsieur *de Langie* in suche wise, as the said *Melanchton* his Repayree into *Fraunce*, may be stayed and dyverted into *England*, not doubting but the same shall take Effecte accordinglie.

And as to Mr. *Heynes*, the King's Pleasure is, that he shall go to *Parys*, there to lerne and dissiphre the Oppynyons of the Lerned Men, and their Inclinations and Affections aswell towards the Kyngs Highnes Proccedings, as to the Bishop of *Rome* his usurped Power and Auctoryte, after such sorte as the Kings saide Highnes hathe now wrytten to hym, by his Gracious Letters addressed both to him, and the saide *Cristofer Mount*; dyrecting them what they shall do in all Things comytted to their Charge at this Tyme, as I doubt not,

they will put there unto their Devoires for the Accomplishment of the Kings Pleasure as apperteyneth. And thus makyng an Ende, prayeng you to use your Discression in the proponing of the Premisses to the *French* King, and the Grete Master, or the one or both of them, using the same as a Medecyn, and after such sorte, that as nere as ye can, it be not moch displeasanntly taken, adverteſing the Kings Highnes from Tyme to Tyme of the Successes therof; and of all other Occurrauuts as the Case shall require. I shall for this Tyme bid you most Hertelie Farewell, *&c.*

Thornebery the 23d Day of *August.*

Number 36.

The Engagement sent over by the French *King, to King* Henry, *promising that he would adhere to him, in condemning his First, and in justifying his Second Marriage.*

FRancifcus Dei Gratia Francorum Rex Christianissimus, omnibus & singulis presentes Lecturis & Audituris salutem. Non honoris solum nostri, verum etiam officii & pietatis ratio illud à nobis efflagitat, ut non modo fortunas, sed etiam fidem, Autoritatem, gratiam, & studium omne nostrum adhibeamus, ne cum amici longe charissimi, & de nobis optimè meriti, injuria justitia etiam & veritas negligantur. Hinc est quod cum Serenissimus & Innictiss. Princeps Henricus Dei Gratia Angliæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Dominus Hiberniæ, & Secundum Deum, Supremum in Terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Caput, Charissimus Frater ac Consanguineus & perpetuus Confederatus noster, vigore cujusdam dispensacionis a bonæ memoriæ Julio papa, illius nominis secundo, cum nobili Muliere Catherina, preclaræ memoriæ Ferdinandi & Elisabeth Hispaniarum Regum, Filia, ac preclaræ memoriæ Illustris Principis Arthuri, dicti sereniss. Regis Henrici FratrisNaturalis & Legitimi, relicta, Matrimonium olim de facto contraxerit, & ex eadem in eodem pretenso Matrimonio, Filiam adhuc superstitem Mariam nomine susceperit, cumque idem Serenissimus Rex dicti incesti Matrimonii conscientia motus, à prefata Domina Catherina diverterit, ac justissimis gravissimis que de Causis, nobis etiam satis cognitis & perspectis, ad id inductus, Matrimonium cum Clarissima & Nobilissima Domina Anna nunc Angliæ Regina, rite, legitime & realiter mierit, contraxerit, & in facie Ecclesiæ Solemnizaverit,& Preclarissimam Dominam Elizabeth Angliæ Principem ex eadem & in eodem Matrimonio Procreaverit, & susceperit, cumq; preterea super illius Dispensationis & Matrimonii viribus ac justicia, necnon super dictæ Dominæ Mariæ Legitimitate & natalium defectu, multæ gravesque questiones subortæ fuerint, in quibus tractandis ac in judicio & veritate discutiendis, nos bene multis

Argumentis perſpeximus, non eam (quam oportuit) equitatis rationem ab ipſo Pontifice Romano habitam fuiſſe; & multa ſive temporum iniquitate ſive hominum vitio contra omne jus phaſque in premiſſis & circa ea definita. Voluimus in hac Cauſa tam gravi integerimos quoſq; Regni noſtri viros, ac non modo in Sacra Theologia Peritiſſimos, verum etiam juris Eccleſiaſtici Callentiſſimos conſulere: quibus etiam Mandavinus ut quid in tota hac Cauſa Secundam Deum & conſcientiam ſentirent, fideliter nobis referrent atque reſponderent. Quoniam his autem habitis prius inter dictos truditiſſimos Viros matura Deliberatione, diligenti Examinatione, ac longo tractatu, nos ex eorum omnium & ſingulorum unanimi ſententia & conformi relatione, liquido comperimus, invenimus, & plene intelleximus, non ſolum quod dicta diſpenſatio fuit & eſt omnino nulla, inefficax & invalida tam propter ſurreptionis & obreptionis vicia, quam propter alias Cauſas, maxime vero propter Poteſtatis in diſpenſante defectum, ex eo viz. Quod Matrimonia cum relictis Fratrum decedentium ſine Liberis contracta, ſint de jure Naturali & Divino prohibita, nec Romanus Pontifex nec ulla alia humana poteſtas poſſit diſpenſare, ut illa aliquo modo legitima fiant aut conſiſtant; verum etiam quod prefatum Matrimonium inter dictum Chariſſimum Fratrem noſtrum ac prefatam nobilem mulierem dominam Catherinam de facto ut prefertur contractum, fuit & eſt Inceſtum, ac prorſus nullum, ac etiam contra Sacroſancta Dei percepta, atque adeo contra omnia jura tam Divina quam humana uſurpatum, quodque proinde dicta Domina Maria in eodem pretenſo Matrimonio ut prefertur, ſuſcepta & procreata, ad omnem juris effectum ſpuria & illegitima proles, ac ex illicito & inceſto coitu genita fuit & eſt, ſicque ab omnibus reputari, cenſeri, & haberi debuit, ac debeat omnino: ac etiam quod dictum Matrimonium quod idem chariſſimus Frater noſter cum dicta clariſſima Domina Anna Angliæ Regina contraxit, fuit & eſt modis omnibus Sacroſanctum, legitimum & validum: quodque dicta Illuſtris Domina Eliſabeth Angliæ Princeps ex eodem Matrimonio, ſuſcepta necnon alia quæcumque proles ex eodem Matrimonio, Divina Bonitate in poſterum ſuſtipienda, Legitima fuit & eſt, eritq; & eſſe debet. Ac deniq; cum non ſolum multi ex Reverendiſſimus Romanæ ſedis Cardinalibus inter quos imprimis fuit Cardinales ille quondam Aucomtanus, verum etiam nuper bonæ memoriæ Clemens Papa Septimus, ex certa & deliberata Animi ſui Sententia, cum nobis ipſis Marſiliæ tunc exiſtentibus, tum alias ſæpe Oratoribus noſtris tunc Romæ agentibus, palam ac vivæ vocis ſue oraculo confeſſus ſit, & expreſſe declaravit ſe ſentire, dictam Diſpenſationem & Matrimonium cum dicta domina Catherina contractum, fuiſſe & eſſe nulla prorſus, & de jure invalida, quodque eadem ſic fuiſſe & eſſe per ſuam ſententiam definitinam ſeu finale decretum, declaraſſet, pronunciaſſet, & definiviſſet ſi privati quidam affectus & reſpectus humani non obſtitiſſent. Nos igitur Franciſcus Francorum Rex antedictus, ut juſtum veritati ſuffragium ferentes, ſimul & juſtiſſimæ chariſſimi Fratris noſtri Cauſæ patrocinemur, notum facimus & in publicam teſtationem deduci volumus, per preſentes, quod nos primam quidem dictam diſpenſationem quæ a dicto Julio Secundo ut predicitur emanavit, nullam prorſus ac minus validam, & ex dictis cauſis inefficarem irritam & inanem fuiſſe ſemper, & eſſe, deinde ipſum

Matrimonium

Matrimonium quod ejusdem Dispensationis virtute cum dicta domina Catherina olim de facto contractum fuit, incestuosum, nullum ac omnino illegitimum, ac naturali Juri & Divinæ contrarium fuisse & esse, ac pro incestuoso, nullo minusque legitimo haberi debere: denique dictam Dominam Mariam ex eo Matrimonio ut premittitur susceptam, prorsus illegitimam & ad succedendum in Paterna Hereditate prorsus inhabilem fuisse & esse, & pro tali haberi censerique debere, reputamus, acceptamus, judicamus, asserimus, censemus & affirmamus. Similiter reputamus acceptamus, judicamus, asserimus, censemus & affirmamus quod Matrimonium illud quod idem Serenissimus Rex & Charissimus Frater noster, cum prefata Illustrissima Domina Anna contraxit, fuit & est modis omnibus Sacrosanctum, legitimum & validem, & quod proles ex eodem Matrimonio suscepta seu suscipienda, maxime autem dicta clarissima Domina Elisabeth nunc Angliæ Princeps ex eisdem ut prefertur procreata, ad omnem juris effectum legitima fuit & est, eritque & esse debet. Quodque non solum omnia & singula quæ dictus Serenissimus Rex & Charissimus Frater noster, pro confirmando & stabiliendo hujusmodi Matrimonio suo quod cum præfata Illustrissima Domina Anna Angliæ Regina contraxit, necnon predictæ Dominæ Elisabeth Filiæ suæ, ac aliorum liberorum qui ex hoc Matrimonio procreabuntur, Legitima & Hereditaria in Regnum suum Successione, statuit, ordinavit, aut promulgavit, justissimis fundamentis innitantur & subsistant, verum etiam quod omnia & singula Sententiæ, censuræ, decreta, alii quicumque processus & judicia contra præmissa, ac eorum occasione per bonæ memoriæ Clementem nuper Pontificem Romanum, aut alium quemcunque Judicem, sive aliam Autoritatem quamcunque facta, edita aut promulgata, aut imposterum edenda, ferenda, facienda sive promulganda, sint ipso jure nulla, irrita, injusta & iniqua, ac pro talibus haberi, reputari, adjudicari, & censeri debere certo credimus, constanter attestamur, censemus, asserimus, & affiirmamus per presentes. Promittimus insuper in fide ac verbo Regio, ac sub Hypotheca omnium bonorum nostrorum Patrimonialium & fiscalium, necnon bonorum subditorum nostrorum, etiam in forma contractus Garenticii Paratam Executionem habentis, obligamus nos, Heredes & Successores nostros, dicto Serenissimo Henrico Charissimo Fratri nostro, Heredibus & Successoribus suis, quod nos hanc Animi nostri Sententiam, & Judicium, quod super Præmissis nos habere vere & ex Animo Declaravimus, semper & ubique locorum, maxime autem in omnibus & singulis futuris Synodis, aut Conciliis generalibus, & coram quibuscunque Judicibus, necnon apud & contra omnes Homines; quicunque eidem Sententiæ nostræ quacunque ratione adversabuntur, cujuscunque Autoritatis, pre-eminenciæ aut Dignitatis, etiam si Supremæ fuerint, per nos ac nostros subditos quoscumque, tam in Judicio quæ extra, manutenebimus propugnabimus, ac si opus fuerit, etiam manu forti defendemus, ac pro viribus justificabimus: nec ullo unquam modo aut tempore imposterum publice aut occulte, directe aut indirecte, eidem Sententiæ nostræ contraveniemus: nec quicquam unquam attemptabimus, moliemur, aut faciemus, nec ab aliis imposterum cujuscumque Autoritatis fuerint, fieri aut attemptari quantum in nobis est, permittemus, quod in irritationem, enervationem

tionem, prejudicium, aut in contrarium huic noſtræ Sententiæ cedat, aut cedere poſſit quovifmodo. In cujus Rei Teſtimonium, &c.

Marked on the Back, thus :

Inſtrument of Francys *the Firſt, King of* France, *whereby he juſtifieth the Mariage of King* Henry *the* VIIIth *with Queen* Anne, *and declareth the Invalidity of the former with Q.* Catherin, *notwithſtanding the Pope's Diſpenſation.*

In another Place, on the Back, and with another Ancienter Hand, (I believe, *Cromwell*'s)

An Inſtrument deviſed from the French *King, for his Juſtification and Defence of the Invalidity of the King's Highnes Fyrſt Mariage, and the Validyte of the Seconde.*

Number 37.

Cranmer's *Letter to* Cromwell; *juſtifying himſelf, upon ſome Complaints made by* Gardiner.

An Original.

RIght Worſhipful, in my moſte hartie wiſe I commend me unto you, moſt hartely thankyng you, for that you have ſignified unto me by my Chapleyn Maſter *Champion*, the Complaynte of the Biſhop of *Wyncheſter* unto the King's Highnes, in two Thyngs concernyng my Viſitation. The one is, that in my Stile I am written, *Totius Angliæ Primas*, to the Derogation and Prejudice of the King's Highe Power and Authoritie, beyng Supreme Hedde of the Church. The other is, That his Dioces (not paſte five Yeres agon) was viſited by my Predeceſſor, and muſte from hensfurthe paye the Tenth Parte of the Spiritualties, accordyng to the Acte granted in the laſt Seſſion of this Parliament; wherfore he thinketh, that his Dioces ſhuld not be charged with my Viſitation at this Tyme. Fyrſte, as concernyng my Stile, wherin I am named *Totius Angliæ Primas*. I ſuppoſe, that to make his Cauſe good, (which els in dede were nawghte) he doth myxe it with the Kyng's Cauſe, (as ye knowe the Man lacketh neither Lernyng in the Lawe, neither witty Invention, ne Crafte to ſett furth his Matiers to the beſt) that he myght appere not to maynteyne his own Cauſe, but the Kyng's; agaynſt whoſe Highnes, he knoweth right well, that I may maynteyne no Cauſe, but gyve place, and lay both my Cauſe and Self at my Prince's Feet. But to be playne, what I think of the Biſhope of *Wincheſter*, I cannot perſuade with my ſelf, that he ſo much

much tendereth the King's Cause, as he dothe his own, that I shuld not visite him: And that appereth by the very Tyme. For if he cast no farther, but the Defence of the Kyng's Grace's Authoritie, or if he entended that at all, why moved he not the Matier, before he receyved my Monytion for my Visitation; whiche was within Four Myles of *Winchester* delyvered unto hym the 24th Day of *April* last, as he came up to the Court? Moreover, I do not a litle marvaile why he shuld now fynde Faute, rather than he did before, whan he took the Bishop of *Rome* as Cheff Hedd: For though the Bishope of *Rome* was taken for Supreme Hedd, notwithstanding that, he had a great Nombre of Primates under hym; and by having his Primates under hym, his Supreme Authoritie was not less esteemed, but much the more. Why then may not the Kyng's Highnes, beyng Supreme Hedde, have Primates under hym, without any Dymynyshing, but with the Augmentyng of his said Supreme Authoritie. And of this I doubt not at all, but that the Bishope of *Winchester* knoweth as well as any Man lyving, that in case this said Stile, or Tytle, had byn in any Poynt Impediment or Hinderance to the Bishop of *Rome*'s usurped Authority, it would not have so long ben unreformed as it hath byn. For I doubt not, but all the Bishopes of *England*, would ever gladly have hadd the Archbishop's both Authoritie, and the Title taken away, that they myght have byn equall together; which well appereth by the many Contentions agaynst the Archbishops, for Jurisdiction, in the Courte of *Rome*; which had ben easily brought to pass, if the Bishops of *Rome* had thought the Archbishopes Titles and Stiles to be any Derrogation to their Supreme Authority. All this notwithstandyng, yf the Bishops of this Realme passe no more of their Names, Stiles and Titles, than I do of myn; the Kyng's Highnes shall sone order the Matter between us all. And if I saw that my Stile were agaynst the Kyng's Authoritie (wherunto I am specially sworne) I would sew my self unto his Grace, that I myghte leave it; and so wolde have don before this Tyme. For, I pray God never be mercyfull unto me at the Generall Judgement, if I perceyve in my Hert, that I sett more by any Title, Name, or Stile that I write, than I do by the Paryng of an Apple, farther than it shall be to the settyng furthe of God's Worde and Will. Yet I will not utterly excuse me herin, for God must be Judge, who knoweth the Botome of my Harte, and so do not I my self: But I speake forsomuch as I do fele in my Harte, for many evill Affections lye lurkyng ther, and will not lightly be espied. But yet I would not gladly leave any Juste Thyng, at the Pleasure and Sute of the Bishop of *Winchester*, he beyng none otherwise affectionate unto me, than he is. Even at the Begynyng furst of Christ's Profession, *Diotrephes* desyred *gerere Primatum in Ecclesia*, as saith St. *John* in his last Epistell. And syns, he hath had more Successours than all the Apostles hadd, of whom have come all theis Glorious Titles, Stiles, and Pompes into the Churche. But I would, that I, and all my Brethren, the Bishopes, wold leave all our Stiles, and write the Stile of our Offices, callyng our selves *Apostolos Jesu Christi*: So that we toke not upon us the Name vaynly, but were so even in dede; so that we myghte

ordre our Dioces in ſuche Sorte, that neither Paper, Parchemente, Leade nor Wexe, but the verie Chriſtian Converſation of the People, myght be the Letters and Seales of our Offices, as the *Corinthians* were unto *Paule*, to whome he ſaid, *Literæ noſtræ, & Signa Apoſtolatûs noſtri vos eſtis.*

Now for the Seconde; where the Biſhope of *Winchester* allegeth the Viſitation of my Predeceſſour, and the Tenth Parte now to be paid to the Kyng. Truth it is, that my Prediceſſour viſited the Dioces of *Wynchester*, after the Deceſſe of my Lord Cardynall, as he did all other Dioces (*Sede vacante*); but els I thynke it was not viſited by none of my Predeceſſours this Forty Yeres. And notwithſtandyng that, he hymſelf not conſidering thair Charges, at that Tyme charged them with an newe Viſitation, within leſſe than Half a Yere after; and that agaynſt all Righte, as Doctour *Incent* hath reported to my Chancellour, the Clergie at that Tyme paying to the Kyng Half of their Benefices in Five Yeres, whiche is the Tenth Parte every Yere, as they paid before, and have paid ſyns, and ſhall pay ſtill for ever by the laſte Acte. But I am verie gladde, that he hath now ſome Compaſſion of his Dioces, although at that Tyme he had verie ſmale, whan he did viſite them the ſame Yere that my Predeceſſour did viſite. And alſo other Biſhops, whos Courſe is to viſite this Yere, kepe thair Viſitation, (where I did viſite the laſte Yere) notwithſtanding the Tenth Parte to be paid to the Kyng's Grace. Howbeit I do not ſo in *Wynchester* Dioces, for it is now the Third Yere ſyns that Dioces was viſited by any Man, ſo that he hath the leſte Cauſe to complayne of any Biſhop, for it is longer ſyns his Dioces was viſited than the other. Therefore where he layeth to aggravate the Matter, the Charge of the late Acte graunted, it is no more agaynſte me, than agaynſt all other Biſhops that do viſit this Yere, nor makyth no more agaynſt me this Yere, than it made agaynſt me the laſte Yere, and ſhall do every Yere hereafter. For if ther were true Men, in Accomptyng and Paying the Kyng's Subſidie, they are no more charged by this newe Acte, than they were for the Space of Ten Yeres paſt, and ſhall be charged ever hereafter. And thus to conclude, Yf my ſaide Lorde of *Wynchester*'s Objections ſhuld be allowed this Yere, he myght (by ſuch Arguments) both diſallowe al Maner of Viſitations that hath be down thes Ten Yeres paſt, and that ever ſhall be don hereafter. Now I pray you, good Maiſter Secretary, of your Advice, Whither I ſhall nede to writte unto the Kyng's Highnes herin. And thus our Lorde have you ever in his Preſervation. At *Otteforde*, the xiith Daye of *Maye*.

Your own ever aſſured

Thomas Cantuar'

M Number

Number 38.

A Letter of Barlow's *to* Cromwell, *complaining of the Bishop and Clergy of St.* David's.

Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 4. P. 107.

PLeaseth your Good Mastership, with Compassion to advertise the Complaynt and unfayned Peticions of your Humble Oratour, disquietly vexed without Cause or any pretenced Occasion, motioned of your said Oratour's Parte: Whereas the Queen, of her Graciouse Bounte, advouched me not unworthy the Priorship of *Haverford West*, under her Grace's Foundation, syns the Tyme of my ther continuall Residence; Consideryng the hungry Famyne of heryng the Word of God, and desolate Scarcete of true Preachers, I have endeveryd my self, with no small Bodily Dainger against Antichrist, and all his Confederat Adherents, sincerely to preach the Gospell of Christ; whose Verite, as it is invincible, so it is incessantly assailted of faithles false Perverters; by Reason wherof, they which of Dutie ought to fortifie me in Mayntenyng the Truth, maliciously have conceiv'd a malevolent Mynde, causles to maligne against me in such wise, that I was forced (from their Tyranny) to appele unto the Kyng his Honourable Councills; as plainly apperith by the untrue, surmised Articles, falsely contrived by the Black Freer of *Haverford West*; which thoughe I presented to your Mastership, as the Act of his onely doing, yet was it the Mayntenans of the Bishop, and his ungostly Spirituall Officers; which is evident by the Reward of the Bishop to the Freer, at his departyng allso by his Lettters directed to Mr. Dean of the Arches, and to Doctor *Huys*, diligently to sollicite that I myght be suppressed in my just Matter: And where they sithe perceive that (Praise be to God) under the Favour of your righteouse Equite, they cannot prevaile against me as they willfully would, yet cease they not wrongfully to vex such as pertayne to me, troblyng them with Tyranny for my Sake, no such Tyranny deserving. As, where of late I sent a Servant Home about certain Busines; immediatly after his Comyng, the Bishop's Officers ascited hym to Apperance, ransacking his House, forced him to deliver such Books as he had; that is to say, an *Englishe* Testament, the Exposition of the vth and vith Chapters of *Matthew*, the Tenn Commandments, and the Epistle of Saynte *John*; violently with holding them with vehement Reproches, and clamorouse Exclamations against Heretikes: As if to have the Testament in *English* were horrible Heresie, to no litle dismaying and ferefull Discomfort of the sincere Favorers of God's Word. Moreover, they charged in the Kyng's Name, the Maire of *Tynby*, in payne of Fyve Hundreth Markes, to put in Warde the said Poore Man, his Wiff, and a certain Honest Widdowe of inculpable Fame, with whom they were at host, laying certen Articles to their Charge which they never thought nor spake, aud after most shamefull Ru-

mors

mors raysed upp to their Dyffamation, with slanderouse Wonderment of the Towne, all crayfty Means assayded to bryng in false Witnes, when no Accuser would appear openly; as a true Certificat under the Towns Seal, largely doth testify; the above mencyoned Officers without any Charitable Satisfaction to the said Parties wrongfully Imprisoned, badd the *Maire* do with them as he listed; and so thens departyng made their advaunt in Places where they came of their valyant Actes against Hereticks, meaning thereby the Favourers of Christs Gospell: In Consideration wherof, it may please your Singular Goodnes to provide a Redress, that from the Terrour of such Tyrannes, the Kings Faythfull Subjects, your porre Oratoures maye peaceably live according to Gods Lawes, without any suche unchristen Empeschment, and combrose Vexations.

Furthermore unfayndly to assertain your Maistership in what perilous Case greatly lamentable the Kings Faithfull Subjects, the poore *Resians* in the Dioces of Saynt *David*, your Suppliant Oratours are miserably ordered under the Clergy, requireth a farre larger Processe then here maye conveniently be comprised: For though we have semblably to other Dioceses, in outwarde Auctorite and exterior Ceremonies a Bishope, a Suffrigan, Archdeacons, Deanes, Commissaries, and other Bishoplike Officers, intitled with Spirituall Names; also a multitude of Mounks, Cannons, Freers, and Secular Pristes, yet among them all, so many in Number, and in so large a Dioces, is there not one that sincerely Preacheth Gods Word, nor scarce any that hartely favorith hit, but all utter Enemys ther against, whose stubborne Resistence cannot last without froward Rebellion against the Kings Graciouse Actes established upon the Verite of Gods Word. And concerning the enormous Vices, the fradulent Exactions, the mysordered Lyving, and Heathyn Idolatry, shamefully supported under the Clergies Jurisdiction; which by sequele of theyr blynd willful Ignorance, do consequently follow, no Dioces, I suppose, more corrupted, nor so far out of Frame, without hope of Reformacion, except your Lordship shall see a Redresse, in whom under the Kyngs Grace, the Trust of all those that meane well onely consistyth. Fynally theyr abused Fashiones at length to discover at your Commandment; I shall be ready with such certente of Truth, that no Advirsary shall be able to make contrary Denyall; which so performed, it may then please your good Mastershipe to licence me to departe, under the lawfull Favour of your Protection; without the which, nether can I without Perell repair Home, nor there in Safte contynue, among so odiouse Adversaries of Christs Doctrine, by whose Tyranny, that I may not be unjustly opprest, I most humbly beseeche your assistant Aide, howbeit no farder then the Write of Scripture will justifie my Cause; nether for no Carnall Commodite of any Worldly Preferment, but all onely for the Advancement of Christs Gospell, to the Honour of God, who evermore graciously presearve your Mastershipe in honourable Felicite.

Your Humble Oratour

William Barlo,

Prior of Haverford-West.

Number 39.

A Letter of D. Legh's, *concerning their Visitation at* York.

To Mr. *Cromwell*, Chief Secretary.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4. P. 104.

RYght Worshipful Sir, my Dewty pre-suppoſed, this is to advertiſe you, that Maſter Doctor *Layton* and I, the xith Day of *January*, war with the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, whom we according to your Pleaſure and Precepts have viſyted: Injoyning him to preach and teach the Word of God (according to his bownd Dewty,) to his Cure committed unto him, and allſo in the Knowledge concerning the Prerogative Power the Kings Grace have, and to ſee others here in his Juriſdiction being induyd with Good Qualities, having any Reſpect either to Gods Goodnes, Vertue, or Godlines, to performe the ſame, injoyning moreover to him to bring up unto you his Firſt, Second, and Third Foundations, wheruppon he enjoyeth his Office, and Prerogative Poore, with the Graunts, Privelegis and Conceſſions given to him, and to his See apperteyning; the which whan that you have red them, and knowe in all Points the hole Effect of them, I doe not doubt, but that ye ſhall ſee and rede many Things worthy Reformation. By the Knowledge whereof, I ſuppoſe the Kings Highnes and you will be glad, and do think it mete that every Biſhope war in likewiſe orderyd: then ſhuld they, them under the Governances Edifye much in Chriſt in his Doctrine and Teachings: And then the Poor Ignorante Perſons now by Blindnes and Ignorance ſedufid, might therby be brought to Light and Knowledge, wherby they ſhould profit muche, the Welthe of their own Soules, and the Commynaltye: and it ſhould be greatly Expedient to the Conſervation of their Fidelite toward their Prince, and to his Graces Succeſſion now begotten, or hereafter to be begotten. Now that I have enformed your Maſterſhip of our Acts and Deeds, done to a good Ende, as our Opinion ſerve us, that ſhall lie in your circumſpecte Prudencye and Wiſdom to order all Things, as ye ſhall think to your approved Diſcretion moſt mete, and to the farderans of the Glory of God, and Preſervation of the Common Wealthe, moſt Expedient and Neceſſary. For in the ſame Juriſdictions given heretofore either augmented or diminiſhed, to be miniſtred to their Biſhops as wall be thought to your Wiſdom moſt convenient; I do not dowght but it ſhall be much profitable, and commodious both to the Kings Highnes, and to your Maſterſhip, as knoweth God, who ever preſerve your Maſterſhip. From *Yorke* the xiiith Day of *January*.

Yours ever aſſured,

Thomas Legh.

Number 40.

A Letter of Tonstall's *upon the King's ordering the Bishops to send up their Bulls.*

An Original.

Cotton Lib. Cleop. E. 6. P. 246.

Right Honorable, in my humble Maner I recommend me unto your good Mastership. Advertising the same, that I have of late receivd a Letter from Master Doctor *Layton*, declaring unto me that ye willyd him to write unto me, that albeit the Kings Highnes hath directed his Letters Missives to all and singular his Bishops in this his Realme, to appere before his Grace immediately after the Feast of the Purificacyon next cominge, to the Intent that they shall deliver up unto his Graces Handes all their Bullys of Confirmation, or such other like, as they have had from *Rome* at any Time heretofore; yet his Grace consideringe my late Departure thens, for my more ease and quietnes, is well content that I make mine Abode here, so that I Write unto his Grace a Letter, therin declaringe that I will be content to doe as other Bishops do in this Behalf, and to gife up into his Handes all suche Bullys as his Graces Pleasure is to have of me. Advertising me further, that your Mastership, as my great Frende hath promised to the King, that I will accomplishe the Kings Desire and Pleasure herin: For whiche your most great Kindnes not only shewed unto me many Times hertofor, but allso nowe renewid at this Time, with making of such Assurance for me to the Kings Highnes I most humbly Thanke your Mastership. Advertising the same, that forasmuch as I could not perceive by any Part of Master *Layton*'s Letter to what Intent the Kinges Highnes wold have the said Bulles delivered into his Handes; and if in my Letter to be written unto his Grace I shuld mistake his Entent, I shuld not only therby offende his Grace, which I would be as lothe to doe as any Subject within his Realme, but also make him to be displeased with my Kinsman, that so blindly had Written unto me, and paradventure with your Mastership for usinge him for your Secretary in this Behalf: considering with my self the hole Effect of the same, better to be to have my Bulles into his Hands, thought that most best to send up the said Bulles there to be ready to be delivered at his Graces Will and Pleasure: Humbly beseechinge your Mastership to move the Kings Highnes to be Good and Graciouse Soveraigne Lord unto me, and to consider if I shuld nowe in my Age leif my Bishoprich, which I trust his Grace of his Goodnes meanith not to make me to doe, by demandinge of my Bulles to be delivered into his Handes, that shuld not only disapoint me of my Liffinge, but many other my Servants his Subjects, that have

have their Liffinge only by me, who if I ſhuld leve my Promotion ſhuld be thereby deſtitute of Succour; which being my ſpeciall Truſt that his Grace of his ineſtimable Goodnes will have reſpect unto, and that my Mind herein, not to leſe my Promotion, is neither Ambiciouſe nor Unreaſonable, nor contrary to his Graces Entent, I have ſent up the ſaid Bulles there to be redye, whiche Thinge ſens that is more then I was willed to doe by Maſter *Layton*'s Letter. I have forborne to wryte unto his Grace that I wold do that, ſeinge I do indeed accompliſhe his Graces Pleaſure. Praynge humbly your Maſterſhip upen Advertiſement geffen to the Kings Highnes, hereof to know his Will and Pleaſure what he will have to be done, and the ſame ſo knowne to declare unto this Bearer *William Redmayn*, who therupon ſhall deliver the ſaid Bullys into your Hands, or to whom the Kings Grace will appoynt to receyve them, yf the Kings Will and Pleaſure be to have them. Which I doe undoubtedly truſtinge that the Kinges Highnes will be as good to me, as he is to other Biſhops of his Realme beinge in like Caſe, ſeinge I had them by him, and did renounce all Things conteynd in them contrary to his Prerogative Royall, at ſuche Time as I preſented to his Grace his Bull unto him, as that will appere by the Othe of my Homage remayninge with the ſaid Bull in the Kings Records now beynge in your keeping, as all Biſhops ever have been accuſtumyd to doe by the Laws of this Realm heretofore uſed. The Bulls that I do ſend remayning in my Handes concerning my Biſhopryche be v. in Number, the other were delyvered to whom they were directed: One to the Kings Highnes, an other to my Lord Cardinall, then being my Metropolitan, whoſe Soul God Pardone, an other to my late Lord of *Rocheſter* to take my Othe to the Biſhop of *Rome*, which I think was ſent up to *Rome* with the Othe as hathe been accuſtomyd to be done. And ſo thoſe that I nowe ſend did remayne ſtill in my Handes. And other Bulles then theſe have I noon, humblye beſeeching your Maſterſhip in all mine Affayrs to be good Maſter unto me, and to be meane unto the Kings Highnes to be Good and Graciouſe Soveraigne Lorde unto me, and I ſhall according to my moſt bounden Dewty, daily pray for the Preſervation of his Royall Eſtate longe to endure; and likewiſe I ſhall contynewe daily Beedman to your Maſterſhip, whom Almighty Jheſu preſerve in long Life aud good Healthe to his Pleaſure and yours. From *Aukelande* the xxixth Day of *January*;

2

Your Maſterſhipes Humble Beedman

Cuthbert Dureſme.

Number 41.

A Letter of the Archbishop of York's, *concerning the Suppression of the Monasteries.*

Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4. P. 239.

RIght Honourable, after my Hertiest Commendation. According to your Request made to me, in your Letters, I have furthwith upon the Receipte of the same, sent Commandement to certayne Monasteries for beeing with me to *Yorke*, where I was than; and now I have given Commandement to all Archdeacons, to warne all Monasteries, of less yearly Value than Two Hundred Pound, being within their Archdeaconries, that they shall nothing imbecille, ne alien: And if they have, that they shall agayne call such Things aliened, or imbecilled, to their Hands. Some that were noted to have received some Goods of suche Monasteries, I called and warned, that they shold in no wiese meddle with any such Goods; and that if they had any such, that they shold restore them: And ferthermore, if any such Goods shall be offred to them, that they shold give me Warning. And forbicause most resorte for such Propose is to the Citie of *Yorke*, I have warned the Majour of *Yorke*, and other of his Brodren thereof, and speciallie the Maister of the Mynt, upon their Peril and Daunger, that they receive no Goods of any such Monastries. And ferther herin I entend to do from Time to Time, as I shall see nede, and daily do warn such as do resort to me, that they meddle not with any such Goods, that by them this Commandment may be the more published, as I trust it shall be now by the Archdeacons Officials, which be nowe all Abrode, and have Speciall Commandment to sett furthe this Propose.

Sir, I entierlie pray you to be good to me, for Two Places of the Patronaige of the Archbishopps of *Yorke*, that if you shall thinke opon such Considerations as I shall alledge, that I have Reason to sue for them, as you woll help me with your good Word, that they be not suppressed. The one of them named Saincte *Oswaldes*, is not of Foundation a Monasterie of Religious Men, but is *Libera Capella Archiepiscopi*. No Man hathe Title in it but the Archbishop: The Prior therof is removable at my Pleasure, and accomptable to me; and the Archbishoppe may put ther, if he woll, Seculer Prestes, and so would I have done at my Entre, if I had not ther found one of myne Acquayntance, whom I judged meete to be there under me. And moreover, the Archbishops of *Yorke* had it given to them by *William Rufus*, in Exchange for Recompense, as well of Lands as Jurisdiction, taken from them at the Coming in of *William* Conqueror, as appereth in my Registres, and other Old Books. And in the same it appereth, that the said Chapell enjoyeth all Privileges, like as all other the Kinges Free Chapells; for it was some tyme *Libera Capella Regia*: And for the Defence of the said Privilaiges, and Jurisdiction ther, my Predecessours have alwaies had Writts from the

King,

King, agaynst all Disturbers; because it is no other but *Libera Capella*, and some tyme was the Kinges.

The other is called *Hexham*, upon the Borders of *Scotland*, and was some Tyme *Sedes Episcopalis*; and many Holie Men, some time Bishops, ther be buried in that Church, Saincts of Name. And Wise Men, that knowe the Borders, think, That the Lands therof, although they were Ten tymes asmuch, cannot contrevaile the Damaige, that is like to ensue, if it be suppressed. And some waye, there is nevar a House between *Scotland* and the Lordshipp of *Hexham*; and Men feare, if the Monasterie go down, that in Processe all shall be waste muche within the Land. And what Comfort that Monasterie is daylie to the Contre ther, and speciallie in Tyme of Warre, not onlie the Contre Men do knowe, but also many of the Noble Men of this Realme, that hath done the King's Highnes Service in *Scotland*. I dout not, but that the Land of that Monasterie is better than Two Hundred Pound by Year; as likewise the Archbishop's Lands, war much better if they laye in a quiet Place. Some of my Predicessours have had ther 1300 Marcs by Year, and now it is (*communibus Annis*) undre 250. I enticrlie pray you, if you think that I have Reason, send for these Two, that you woll help me to save them. And as for *Hexham*, I think it is necessarie to be considred, as (I think) they that knowe the Borders woll saie.

Sir, According to the King's Commandment, I have generally given Commandment, that no Prechers shall be suffred, that withoute Discretion preche Novelties, and (as you right wiselie consider'd) do rather sowe Seeds of Dissention, than do any good: And some such as I have heard to use such Preaching, I have discharged; and yet they preach: But I make Processe agaynst them; and some of them say, they will get Licence of the Kyng to preach. If they obteine any such Licence, I then am discharged for them that have such Licence. But I trust, that you woll suffer no such Licence to pass, but that I shall knowe therof: And what your Pleasure is than, if they preach such Novelties, I pray you I may know by this Bearer. Some say, they have Licence of my Lord of *Canterbury*; but, I trust, they have no such: And if they have, none shall be obeyde here, but onlie the Kyng's and yours. And this in my hertiest maner. Fare you well. From *Cawed*, the xxiiid of *April* 1536.

Your own ever assured

Edward Ebor'

Number

Number 42.

Instructions for Sending Barnes, *and others to* Germany.

An Original.

Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 6. P. 330.

MAster Secretary, After our most hartie Commendations, ye shall understand, that having received the Letters sent unto you from Sir *John Wallop*, and shewed the same unto the King's Majestie; his Pleasure thereupon was, that we shuld dispatch these our Letters incontinently unto you, concernyng the Accomplishment and Doing of these Things ensuing. First, his Grace's Pleasure, that you shall immediatly (upon the Receipt herof) despech *Barnes* in Post, with *Deryk* in his Company, into *Germany*; commanding him to use such Diligence in his Jornaye, that he may and it be possible, meet with *Melancton* before his Aryvall in *France*: And in case he shall so meet with him, not only to diffuade his going thither; declaring how extremely the *French* King doth persecute those that will not grante unto the Bishop of *Rome*'s Usurped Power and Jurisdiction; using in this Parte all Persuasions, Reasons and Means, that he can devise, to empech and let his said Jornay thither; laying unto him, how much it shuld be to his Shame and Reproch, to vary and go nowe from that true Opinion wherin he hath so long contynued; but allso, on the other side, to persuade him all that he may, to convert his said Jornay hither, shewing as well the Conformitie of his Opinion and Doctrine here, as the Nobilitie and Vertues of the King's Majestie, with the good Entertaynement which undoubtedly he shall have here at his Grace's Hands. And if percase the said *Barnes* shall not meet with him before his Arryvall in *France*, then the said *Barnes* proceeding himself forth in his Jornay towards the Princes of *Germany*, shall (with all Diligence) returne in Post to King's Highnes the said *Deryk*, with Advertisement of the Certaintie of the said *Melanct* cummyng into *France*, and such other Occurrants as he shall then know. And if the said *Deryk* be not now redy to go with him, the King's Pleasure is, that ye shall in his stede, appoint and sende such one other with the said *Barnes*, as you shall think meet for that Purpose.

And when the said *Barnes* shall arrive with the said Princes of *Germany*, the King's Pleasure is, He shall (on his Grace's Behalf) aswell perswade them to persist and continue in their former good Opinion, concerning the Deniall of the Bishop of *Rome*'s Usurped Autoritie, declaring their own Honour, Reputation and Suretie, to depende therupon; and that they now may better mayntain their said Just Opinion therin then ever they might, having the King's Majestie (One of the most Noble and Puissant Princes of the World) of like Opinion and Judgment with them; who having

proceeded therin by great Advise, Deliberation, Consultation, and Judgments (of the most part) of the great and famous Clerks in *Christendome*, will in no wise relent, vary, or alter in that Behalf. Like as the said *Barnes* may declare and shew unto them, by a Book made by the Dean of the Chaple, and asmany of the Bishops Sermons as you have. Whiche Booke you shall receive herwith: The Copie wherof, and of the said Sermons, you must deliver unto the said *Barnes*, at his Departure, for his better Remembrance, and just Occasion. To whom also his Grace's Pleasure is, you shall shew as muche of Master *Wallop*'s Letter, (which we send you also again) as you shall see drawen and market with a Penne in the Margent of the same. As also exhorte and move them, in any wise to beware, how they commit any of their Affaiers to the Order, Direction, or Determination of the *French* King, considering he and his Counsell be altogether Papist, and addict and bent to the Maintenance and Conservation of the Bishop of *Rome*'s pretended Auctoritie. Furthermore, the King's Pleasure is, ye shall uppon the Receipt herof, immediatly cause Mr. *Haynes*, and *Christopher Mount*, in Post to repair into *France*, to Sir *John Wallop*, in as secrete maner as they canne; as commyng like his Friend, to visit him, and not as sent by the King. And in case they shall (by him, or otherwise) lerne and know that *Melanchthon* is there arryved; then his Grace woll, that the said *Haynes* and *Mount* shall (in such sort as they be not much noted) reasorte unto him: And for the desuading of the Contynuance there, or the Alteration of his Opinion, and the Alluring of him hither, to use suche Reasons and Persuasions as be before written, with suche other as they canne further devise for that Purpose. To the which *Haynes* and *Mount*, the King's Pleasure is, ye shall delyver like Copies of the said Dean's Book, and Bishop's Sermons, to be shewed unto the said *Melanchthon*, or otherwise used, as may be most expedient for the Atchievement of the King's Purpose in that Behalfe.

Ye shall allso understande, that the King's Pleasure is, ye shall write to Sir *John Wallop*, and send unto him therwith like Copies; willing him, in case he shall have certain Knowledge that the Articles be true, (written in these his Letters) concernyng the *French* King's Sending into *Germany*, for the Contynuance of the Bishop of *Rome*'s pretended Supremacy; to repair with the said Copies to the *French* King; and not only to set the same forth, with such Reasons as he canne devise in that Parte, shewing, how much it shall be against his Honour, both to give Himself subject to the said Bishop, and to move other to do the semblable; but allso to declare unto him, that the King's Highnes (remembring his old frendly Promises, concernyng the Mayntenance of his Cause, and of his Proceedings touching the same) cannot but think it a little strange, that the said *French* King (seing his Majestie hath, in his Doings touching the said Bishop of *Rome*, moved neither his, nor any Prince's Subjects) will move and styr the *Germaynes*, to condesend uppon a contrary Opinion, both to themselfs, and to his Grace in this Behalfe: And that his Majestie must nedes think his Amytie muche touched

in

in that he shulde move any State or Contrey, to do that Thing which is so much against the Kings Highnes and his own Promise, using all the Wayes he canne to disuade him from the dishonorable Obedience of the said Bishops, soe moving him to inclyne to the Kings just Opinion touching the same.

Finally, the Kings Pleasure is, ye shall write an other Letter to the Bishop of *Aberden*, signifieng that the Kings Majestie taketh it very unkindly that the King his Nephew wold now embrace without his Advice or Counsail, being his derest Freinde and Uncle, and now in Leage and Amytee with him, the Marriage of M. *de Vandoms* Daughter, wherunto he would give non Eare at his Graces Overture hertofor made of the same; in your said Letter, imputing a greate Negligence therin, to the said Bishop, and other of his Masters Counsail, seeing their Master sheweth not, in the doing therof, suche Amytie towards the Kings Highnes as the Friendship between them doth require: And to make an Ende, his Grace woll in no wise that *Barnes*, or *Haynes*, shall tary for any further Instructions of the Bishope of *Cantorbury*, or any other, having his Grace determyned to sende the same after, by Mr. *Almoner* and *Hethe*; but that he, Mr. *Haynes*, and *Mount*, shall withall possible Diligence departe immediately in Post, without longer tarieng thenne for this their Dispatche shall be necessary, soe as their Abode empeche not the Kings Purpose, touching the said *Melancton*: And thus fare youe most hartly Well, from *Langley* in much haste, this *Monday* at iij of the Clock, at after Noone.

Your Lovyng Friend

T. Norfolk.

George Rocheford.

Number 43.

The Smalcaldick *League.*

Cotton Lib. Cleop. E. 6. P. 303.

BY the Grace of God, We *John Frederich* Duke of *Saxony*, High Mareshall of the Empire of *Rome*, and Prince Elector, Lantgrave of *Truringie*, and Marquis of *Misne*, aswell in our own Name, as in the Name of the Noble Prince *John Ernest*, likewise Duke of *Saxonye*, our most beloved Brother, *Philippe*, *Ernest*, *Francis*, Brethren Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburg*; *Ulrich* Duke of *Wortenberg*, and in *Deck*, Erle in *Montbelyard*; *Philipp* Lantgrave of *Hessen*, Erle of *Catts* in *Dietz*, *Zigenham* and *Nyer*; *Berminus* and *Philip*, Dukes of *Stetin*,

Pomerp, *Cassaburn*, *Wenden*, Princes of *Rug*, Erles in *Guskan*; *Wolfgang John*, *George*, and *Joacnim*, Brethren Princes in *Anhalt*, Erles of *Ascanion*, and Lords in *Bernburg*; *Gebhard* and *Albert*, Brethren, Erles and Lords in *Mansfeld*; the Consules, Decurions, Tribunes, Senate, and People of the within named Cities of the *High-Germany*, *Saxon*, and Hanse, or on the See, that is to say, *Argentina*, *Augusta*, *Frankford*, *Constantia*, *Ulme*, *Esling*, *Rentling*, *Memingia*, *Linde*, *Bibrac*, *Isua*, *Magdeburgh*, *Breme*, *Brunswick*, *Goslaria*, *Hamibria*, *Gottingia*, *Embeck*, *Hamburgha*, *Lubeck*, and *Myndia*, do profess by these our Letters, in the Name of us, our Heyres and Successors, and do signifie to all Men that seen the State of this Season, is every where very perillouse, and appereth so, that many Men are about and practise to disturbe, such as do cause, and suffer the syncere Doctrine of the Gospell to be preached and taught in their Dukedoms, Provinces, Cities and Territories, (by the Grace of God) and which (abolishing all Abuses) doe studie to bring in Ceremonies consenting to the Word of God: and efforce them selfs to divert them from Christs Doctrine; yea, by Force and Violence: and seen also that the Office of every Christian Magestrate, is not onely to suffer that the syncere Worde of God be preached to his Subjects; but also with all his Studye, Care, and Sollitude to provide (to his Power) that the holesome Doctrine of the Gospell and the Truth, onse known and professed, be not violently extorted, and they deprived of the same: For this Cause, we doe knowledg that it is our most Duetie and Necessitie, of the Offices of our Magestrate, in case nowe or hereafter it shuld happen, that any Man wold attempt and assay to diverte us, or our Subjects, by Force or Dede, from the Worde of God, and the Truth known; and to bring in again, and restore the ungodlie Ceremonies and Abuses already abolished (which God by his good Clemence woll forbyd, as we trust that no Man woll attempt such Thing) for to represse such violence and Perill from the Bodys and Souls of us and our Subjects, by the Grace of God, and for to excuse and avoid the same to the Praise of God, to the Augmentation of the Syncere Doctrine of the Gospell, and to the Conservation of the Uniform Estate, Tranquillite, and Honestie Publick, in the Empire, for the Love of the Nation of *Alemayne*; and also for the Commendation, Honour, and Good of our Dukedoms, Provinces, Lordships, and Cities, onely to provide for the Cause of our Defence, and Tuicion; the which is permitted to every Man, not onely by the Lawe of Nature and of Men, but also by the Law Written. Therefore we have assembled and concluded, to give and be bound eche to other of a Christian, Lawfull and Friendly Leage and Confederation, and by the Vertue, Fource, and Reason of this our Letters, we agree, conclude, and bynde our Selfs eche to other upon a Confederation, with the Conditions that followeth, That is to say, that all and every of us shall be bound to favour eche other hartely and truely, and to warn eche other of all Imminent Danger, and to avoid it: And that noon of us, openly, or secretly, shall willingly give Passage to the Enemy, or Adversaries of the other, nor to warn, or support them.

And

And becaufe this Confederation is onely made for Caufe of our Tuicion and Defenfe, and not to the entent that any of us fhall move warr, if ther fhall happen any of us whatfoever he be, to be violently affawted for the Word of God, the Doctrine of the Gofpell and our Faith, or for fuch other Caufes as do depend of the Word of God, the Doctrine of the Gofpell, or our Faith, or be annexed thereunto; or if under any other Pretext or Colour, there fhuld be any Violence attempted againft any of us, and that we the reft, which fhuld not then be invaded myght thinke and judge that fuch Werr, or Violence, fhuld be moved for the Caufe of the Word of God, or of the Religion; And that he to whom the Werr, or Violence is Imminent, wold permitt it to our Knowledge, Arbitracion, and Decifeon; that then we all the reft of this Confederacion, and every of us, that be comprehended in this Chriften Confederacion fhall be bound to take no leffe to Herte, and take in hand as deligentely to provide for the fame, incontinently as fuch Perfons that be invaded, fhall require our Help, or that we fhall knowe it, (with all our Power) as though we fhuld be affawted our Selfs, and for our own proper Caufe: And therefore without any Delaye, and without any Decepte or Gyle, without taryeng for any other, with all our Might and Power, we fhall be bound to Succour, Defend, and Helpe him that fhall be affawted, after fuch Form and Manner, as for the Qualitie and Circumftances of the Thing, and the Tyme it fhall be adjudged moft util and moft commodioufe to the reft of us; And like as the Fidelite and Charite to be given and fhewed to the Neighbors upon his Confcience and Salut fhall teach him, And that we fhall truely adminifter and deale oon with another. And that in fuch Cafe never oon of us fhall agree, compound, or make any Tranfaction, or Trewes without the Affent and Will of the Reft.

Alfo that this our Chriften Confederation fhal be taken and underftanden to be in no wife Prejudicial or Hurtfull to the Emperors Majeftie, our Clementiffime Lord; nor to any State of the Empire, or any other: But onely for the Confervation of the Doctrine and Truth of the Gofpell, and of the Peace and Tranquillite in the Empyre and *Alemayns* Nation, and to withftand wrongfull Violence from us and our Subjects and Allyes; and onely in Cafe of Defence, and in fuch Cafe as every of us may bear and fuffer the juft Knowlege and Decifion of his own Caufe as is aforefaid, and none other wife; and if any Man wol be joyned to this our Confederacion, which is not comprehended in it already, fo that he be dedicate to the Worde of God, and fhall permitte the Syncere Doctrine of the Gofpell, conformable to our Confeffion, exhibited to the Emperors Majeftie, and to all the Orders of the Empire in the Affemble at *Augfburg*, freely to be preached, tought, and kept in his Lands, Province, and Dominions, and woll conftantely ftyck to the fame Doctrine, he or they ought to be afcribed and receyved in this Confederacion, by the Affent and Will of us all.

And bycaufe that Chriften Confederacion, which fhall be finifhed the *Sunday invocavit*, the Year of our Lord 1537, hath lafted the other 6 Years laft paft, between us, excepted us *Ulrich*, Duke of *Wertemberg, &c.* and us *Bernim* and *Philipp*, Dukes of *Pomeren*; us

us *John*, *George*, and *Joachim*, Princes of *Anhalt*; and the Cities of *Augsburgh*, *Frankford*, *Kempt*, *Hamibra*, and *Mynda*; We, at their Friendly and Diligent Peticion, have receyved them into this our Confederation, and we do bynde our Selfs eche to other agyn, that this Christen Leage shall be proroged and extended, begynning from the said *Sunday invocavit*, 1537, by the Space of Ten Yeres next ensuyng, as this Christen Leage by the Ten Yeres next ensuyng, ought to be kept and proroged constantely, syncerely, and *bona fide*, by us and every of us, without any Frawde, or Malign.

And if it shall happen us to entre Werre with any Man for the Doctrine of the Religion, or any other Cause depending of the same, that shuld not be finished within the Space of the said Ten Yeres, yet nevertheles, although the said Time of Ten Yeres be utterly expired, yet the said Expedicion, shall be contynued and prosecuted, and the Werre brought to an Ende; and that then it shall not be Lawfull for any of the Confederates to exempte him of the same, nor hope upon Exemption, and from that Tyme it shall be Lawfull for the Confederats, to protract and prolong this Confederation, if they shall so think good.

We the foresaid Electors and Princes, Erles and Magistrats of Cities by Interposition of our Feith insteed of an other, do Promise and take upon us, for us, and for our Heires constantly and perpetually to observe and performe all and singular the Premisses truely and syncerely as it behoveth Princes, and Good Men. And that we shall nor doe, nor procure any Thing in any wise to be done against this Leage and Confederation: But in all Points shall deale and procede truely and syncerely without any Frawde or Malengin. And for more Credence and Confirmacion of all and every those Things, every of us the said Electors, Princes, Erles, and Cities, in the Name of us our Highnes and Successors, have caused our Seales wittingly and willingly, to be sett to these Presents, which have been given the Yere of the Nativite of our Savyor Jesus Christ, 1536.

Number

Number 44.

Propositions made to the King, by the *German* Princes.

Paper-Office.

The Peticion and Request of the Right Noble Princes, Duke John Frederike, *Elector of* Saxe, *and* Philip *the Lantgrave of* Hesse, *to the most Noble Kyng of* England; *exhibited at* Smalcaldia, *to the most Reverende Bishop of* Hereford, *and other the Ambassadors of the Kyng's most Royall Majestie, upon the present Day of the Natyvyte of our Lord, Anno Dom.* 1536.

1. *Item*, THAT the said most Noble King wolde set fourth the Evangelie of Christe, and the Syncere Doctrine of the Faith, after such sort, as the Princes and States Confederates have confessed in the Dyet of *Augusta*, and the same defended, according to their Appologie and Purgation made: Except parcase some Things therin shall seme, by the common Assent of the said most Noble Kyng, and the said Princes, necessarie to be changed or reformed by the Word of God.

2. *Item*, That the saide most Noble King, joyning with the said Princes and Stats Confederats, wold maynteyne and defende the saide Doctrine of the Evangelie, and the Ceremonys conforme to the same, at the future Generall Counsaill, if it shall be Pious, Catholique, Free and mere Christien.

3. *Item*, That neither the saide most Noble King, without the express Consent of the said Princes and Stats Confederats, nor the same Princes and Stats Confederats, without the express Consent of the saide most Noble King, shall assent nor agre to any Indiction or Appoyntement of a Generall Councill, which the Bishop of *Rome*, that now is, or hereafter shall be, or any other, by whatsoever pretended Auctorite, doth, or shall make and appoynt: nor yet shall consent to any Place, where the future Generall Counsaill shall be had, nor to the Counsaill it self; but that all those Thyngs may be ordered and done, by the mutuall Assent and Counsaill of the said most Noble King and Princes Confederat. Provided neverthelesse, that if it shall appere certeynly, by just Arguments and Reasons, such a Christien, Free, Generall Counsaill, to be indicted and appoynted, as the Confederats, in their Answer to the Bishop of *Rome*'s Ambassador, named *Peter Paule Verger*, do desire, that such a Councill be not to be refused.

4. *Item*, If it ſhall happen that (the ſaide moſt Noble King, and Princes, and Stats Confederats, not agreeing upon the Place, nor the Indiction of the Counſaill) the Biſhop of *Rome*, and other Princes conjoyned with hym in that Cauſe, will neverthelesſ procede to the Celebration of a Counſaill, or rather of the Appoyntment of the Place wherunto the ſaide moſt Noble King, and Princes, and Stats Confederat ſhall not agree; that then, and in that Caſe, aſwell the ſaide King, as the ſaid Princes and Stats Confederat, ſhall chieflie (to their Power) endevor and compaſs, that the ſame Indiction may be utterly avoyded, and take noon Effecte.

5. And furthermore, that they ſhall make, and ſemblably procure to be made, by their Clargy, their Publick and Solempne Proteſtacions, wherby they ſhall teſtefie and declare, both the Syncerye of their Faith, and alſo that they do utterly diſſente from ſuch maner of Communication and Indiction; and that they will not be bounde to the Decrees or Conſtitutions of the ſame Counſaill, (if any ſuch Counſaill do folowe in dede) nor in any maner of wiſe obey the ſame herafter.

6. And alſo, that they ſhall not at any tyme obey, nor ſuffer to be obeyed by any of theirs, any Decrees, Mandats or Sentences, Bulles, Letters, or Brieffs, which ſhall procede, or be fulmynate from ſuch a Counſaill, ſo indicted and celebrate eyther in the Name of the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf, or of any other Potentate whatſoever; but ſhall have and repute all ſuch maner of Reſcriptes, Decrees, Bulles and Breves, as voyde, inane and fruſtrate; and ſhall declare, that ſo they ought to be reputed and taken. And allſo for the Remotion of all Slaunder, ſhall procure their Biſhopes and Preachers, to declare the ſame to the People really, and with Effect.

7. *Item*, That the ſaid moſt Noble King, like as by the Grace of God he is aſſociated to the ſaid Princes and Stats Confederat in the Doctrine of Chriſt, and the Defence of the ſame; ſo alſo he woll vouchefauf, upon Honourable Conditions, to be aſſociate unto the Leage of the ſame Princes and Stats, ſo as his moſt Noble Majeſtie may obteine the Place and Name of Defenſor and Protector of the ſaid Leage.

8. *Item*, The neyther the ſaid moſt Noble King, nor the ſaide Princes and Stats Confederat, ſhall knowledge, maintain nor defend, at any Tyme herafter, that the Primacie, or that the Monarchie of the Biſhop of *Rome*, may at this Day take place, or ever ſhall, by God's Lawe; nor ſhall conſent nor graunt, that it is either utile or expedient to the Comen Welth of *Chriſtendom*, that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhuld have Preemynence afore all other Biſhops, or in any maner of wiſe have any Juriſdiction at all, in the Realmes, Kyngdoms, or Domynions of the ſaide King and Princes.

9. *Item*, If it ſhall happen, that War, or any other Contencion, either for the Cauſe of Religion, or for any other Cauſe beſides this Cauſe, ſhall be inferred or moved againſt the ſaid moſt Noble King, his Realmes, Domynions or Subjects, by whatſoever Prince, State or People, or alſo againſt the ſaid Right Noble Princes or Stats Confederat: That in that Caſe, neither of the ſaid Parties ſhall give Ayde,

Ayde, Helpe, nor Socours against the other Partie, nor shall assist the Prince, nor the People so invadyng or movyng Warre, neither with Counsaill, Helpe nor Favour, dyrectly nor indirectly, prively nor apertely.

10. *Item*, That the said most Noble King would vouchsause, for the Defense of the said Leage and most Honest and Holie Cause, to Conferre to and with the said Princes, giveing Suretie (as within is added) to lay fourth and contribute One Hundreth Thousande Crownes. Which Money, it shall be Lawful to the Confederats to use and employ wher Nede shall be, in Cause of Defense, for the Moytee or Halfe Parte therof. The other Moytee they shall take of the same Money, which they have leyd fourth, and contributed to the same Sum.

11. And if need shall be of contynuall and dayly Defence, for the Contynuance of the Warre, or Invasion of Adversaries; in that Case, forasmuch as the Princes and Confederates be not only bound unto ferther Collacion and Contribucion of Money, but also to the mutuall Defence with their Bodies and Goods; it may please the saide most Noble King, not to be greved in so urgent a Cause of Necessity, also to contribute more, that is to say, Two Hundreth Thousande Crownes: Which Money, nevertheles, for the Halfe Parte, the Confederates may employe together with their own Money. And if it happen the Warre to be soner ended, then that that shall remain, shall be justly reserved, and (the Tyme of the Confederation fynyshed) shall be restored to the saide most Noble Kinge.

12. Which if the said most Noble King woll do, the Princes do promyse themselfs, with their sufficient Sureties, to assure not onlie that they shall not convert this Money to any other Use, than to the Defence of the Leage and Cause of Religion, together with their owne Money which they in such a Confederation do contribute, but also that entirely and faithfully, they shall paye and restore unto the said most Noble King the same Summ, which either when ther shall be no need of Defence, or (after the Defence) shall remain and be left, in case it shall not be employed to that Use.

13. *Item*, That for as much as the Ambassadors of the said most Noble King shall now for a Tyme remayne in *Germanye*, and with the Lerned Men in Holy Letters, dispute and commun of certeyn Articles; the Princes do desire, that they woll shortly inquire, and knowe their most Noble King's Mind and Resolution, in the Conditions of the said Leage; and when they shall be certefied, to signifie the same unto Us the Elector of *Saxe*, and Lantsgrave of *Hesse*.

14. Which when they have done, the Princes will send in their (and the Stats Confederats Names) Ambassadors to the said most Noble King, and amongst them one excellently Learned, not onely to conferre with his Royall Majestie upon the Articles of Christ's Doctrine, and to deliberate upon the Ceremonies, and other Things in the Church, to be changed, ordered and reformed, but also to comment and conclude upon all the Articles, of the which we have spoken with the King's most Royall Majesty, in the Name of the Confederats.

Number 45.

Paper-Office. *The Answer of the King's most Noble Majestie of* Englande, *to the Peticions and Articles lately addressed to his Highnes, from the Noble Prynces,* John Frederike *Duke of* Saxe, *Elector*, &c. *and* Philip *Lantsgrave* van Hesse, *in the Names of them, and all their Confederates.*

1. THE said most Noble King answereth, That his Majestie will, and hathe of long Tyme mynded to set fourth the Evangelie of Christe, and the trew syncere Doctrine of the same, out of which springeth and floweth our trew Faith, whiche to defende he is most redy both with Life and Goods; but to say, that he being a King reckened somwhat Lerned, (though unworthy), having also so many Excellent well Lerned Men within this Realme, thinketh it mete to accept at any Creature's Hands, the Observing of his and his Realmes Faith, thonlye Grounde wherof remayneth in Scripture, surely he doth not; and requireth his entier Frends herewith not to be greved: But his Highnes is right well contented, and much desireth, that for Unyte in Faith and Articles, to be made uppon the same, it wolde please his saide Confederats and Frends, to sende hither some of their best Lerned Men, to conferre and conclude, with him and his Lerned Men, to the Intente to have a parfaite Concorde and Unyon in Faith amongst us. In which his Highnes doubteth not, but at such Tyme as when their Deputs shall come, they shall fynde the most Towardnes in the King, and in his Realme.

To the Seconde, his Highnes answereth, That he is content to employ himself, joyntly with the said Confederats, in all Generall Counsailes, they being *Catholici & Liberi, in Loco etiam omni Parte tuto*, for the Defence of their mere and trew Doctryns of the Gospell, according to their Desires. But as touching the Ceremonies, there may be different Rites, and such Dyversite used in dyvers Domynyons, *fere per totum Mundum*, that it will be harde to conclude anye Certentie in them. Wherfore his Highnes thinketh it mete, that the Order and Limitacion of them, shoulde be left to the Arbitrees of the Governours of everye Domynyon, supposing that every of them can tell what is most comodious for his owne Domynyons.

To the Thirde, his Majestie answereth, That he is contented, that neyther his Highnes, (without the express Consent of the said Princes and Stats Confederate) nor the same Princes and Stats Confederate, (without the express Consent of his Highnes) shall assent nor agree to any Indiction of a Generall Counsaile, or to any Generall Counsaile, which the Bishop of *Rome* that now is, or that here-

hereafter shall be, or any other by whatsoever pretended Auctorytee, doth, or shall make, enter, presume, or begynne, or cause to be made, entered, presumed, or begon, but that they neyther shall consent to any Place of the future Counsaile, nor to the Counsaile selfe, except it be by their mutual Consents, assented and agreed unto; provyded, neverthelefs, that if it shall appear certenly by just Arguments and Reasons both to his Majestie, and the said Confederats, that a Christien Free Counsaile may be indicted, *in loco etiam omni Parte tuto*, that then that Counsaile shall not be by him, or them, refused.

The 4th, 5th, and 6th Articles, his Highnes is content to accept in every Point, according to their own devises.

To the 7th, his Grace answereth, That he doth moste fully accepte their good Overture therein, by the which they declare their good Inclynacion and Hertie Good Will towarde his Highnes; neverthe-les, his Majestie desireth them to take in good Parte, that he doth not accepte the saide Name and Place, till he be throughlie agreed with them uppon the Articles before rehearsed; which ones agreed on, his Highnes entendeth most thankfully to accep the same.

The 8th Article, his Majestie is content to accepte according to their own Desire.

9th, Also his Highnes agreeth, so that they woll adde therunto, that in that Case of Warre, neyther Partie shall suffer or permytte any of their Subjects, or Servants, to serve them, that in such wise shall by any Warre molest any of them.

To the 10th, his Majestie answereth, That for the Warres already by past, he being in no Confederacion with them, thinketh it very strange, and somwhat unreasonable, that they should of his Highnes require any Ayde or Assistence; but in case that this Confederacion now spoken of do take effecte, and that the contynuance of Warres seme to be necessary, by their mutual Consents, for the supporting of their Faith against their Adversaries; and therefore the Confederats being allso bound to contrybute for their Parts, every Man for his Porcyon as shall be thought necessary amongst us; his Highnes will be content for his Parte, in Declaracyon of his Loving Harte to them, to contribute 100000 Crowns, the Tyme, and Place, and Facion, for the Employment of the same, ones bytwen his Grace and them agreed on: Provyded that in Case that eyther there shall be no Warre made to any of the Parts for the same; or that it shall be sooner ended then shall be looked for, that then the Hole, or that Part left and remayning, shall be fully and trewly *bona fide* restored unto his Highnes, whensoever he shall demaunde, or require the same.

The 11th, his Majestie doth accepte according to their owne offer.

The 12th, his Highnes also agreeth unto.

To the 13th; *(Two Lines torn out)* agreed unto the most Part of the Articles, they will now according to their own offer, with all Speed and Diligence, send hither their Ambassadors plenaryly instructed to comon, agree, and conclude with his Majestie in all

Things that shall be comoned of, and treated betwixt his Highnes and them.

Number 46.

Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 4. P. 104.

The Answer of the King's Ambassadors, made to the Duke Saxon, *and the Landgrave of* Hessie.

FIRST, that his Highnes, aswell by his Ambassadors, as their Letters from *Smalkald*, doth perceive Two Things; the one is their Gratitude and Benevolence towards his Majestie, and that they desire the Continuance between their Progenitors inviolably observed to be increased: The other is not only thair great Constance in the setting forth of the Trueth of the Gospell that was darkened afore, but allso that they exhorte his Grace to the Defence of the same, which be most acceptable to his Highnes, and thanketh them aswell for his Behalfe, as allso for the Behalfe of all *Christendom*, knowleging the greate Benefite of God, in giving the sayd Princes such Stedfastness and Strength; and that his Majestie willed to be shewed unto them that their wondrouse Vertues have so ravished and drawn his Mind to thair Love, that his Highnes feled a greate encrease to thair Unitie, in such wise, that he is determined fully never to passe the Occasion, without Correspondence of Love, nor any Occasion that he shall think may conduce in any wise to their good Myndes, and Godly Proceedings, and for to declare his Minde to the Articles of your Peticion.

The 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, Articles do please his Majestie well ynough; and although there be some Things in them, that his Grace would grante easely to no manner Princes, were they never so greate; yet nevertheles his Highnes for his Affection towards them, thinking that they meane nothing ells but the Reformation of the Church, which his Majestie for his Parte desireth much, and desireth to joyne with them in the same; in these Articles his Majestie desireth that only the 3d and 4th Article be more ampley declared, that is to say,

The 3d Article by these Wordes, *Item*, that nether the Kings Highnes without the Assent of the Princes and Stats Confederate, nor they without his Graces Assent shall agree to the Indiction of any Counsaile, that the Bishop of *Rome*, that now is, or any other whatsoever Auctoryte may pretende: and that also nether of the said Parties shall agree uppon the Place of a Councile to be had, without the Agreement of the other expressely to be given, but that the same be done by the mutuell Assent of his Grace, the said Princes and Estats. Provided nevertheles, that if all they shall perceive a Lawfull and Christien Free Concile to be Indicted in some sure and indifferant Place, that then nether of them both Parties shall refuse the such Concile.

To

To the 9th Article his Highnes wold have added, that nether of both Parties shall permitt any of their Servants, or Subjects, to be in folde against the other Part, nor to helpe directly, or indirectly, such as wolde invade, or entreprise against them.

As to the 1st, 2d, 7th, and 10th Articles, his Grace answered, to the 10th his Majesty sayeth, that he doubteth not but the said Confederats do well think and know, that his Grace is moved in his Mind by no more private Necessitie, that he or his Realm have, nor any private Profite to joyne with the said Confederats in Leage and Defense, for he and his Realme is in good Peace: and knoweth not that the Bishop of *Rome*, the Emperor, or any other Prince pyketh any Quarrel with him, and that much lesse Warre; and allthough his Grace feared some Hostilitie of them, nevertheles by the Death of a Woman, all Calumnies be extincted; and to the entent the Confederats might know his Graces good Affection towards them, and to the Reformacion of the Church, and Abolicion of Abuses, his Grace signifieth unto them, that he woll in no wise refuse thair Peticion, but willingly contribute for his Parte 100000 Crownes for the Defence of the Leage, in Case that the Confederation between the said Confederats and his Grace to be made, shall be brought to any Effect. And for other Appendaunces of this Article, as touche sufficient Suertie, *Item*, that the Half of the Monaye by them contributed shuld be spent, or ever they touched his Graces Monaye: *Item* concerning the Forme and Maner to deposite and spend the same. *Item* to make his Highnes prevey of the same, that on thair Behalfe shall be contributed, and of the Necessitie where abouts it shold be spent; and that all Things may be done by Common Advise and Assent, because the same do require long Treatie; therefore his Grace referreth the same to his Orators, and to such of thairs, as by the 13th Article they desire to send, his Grace desireth the said Princes to send them fully instructed, and with sufficient Power and Auctorite to treate with his Highnes, not doubting but they shall have reasonable and friendly Answer.

To the 1st, 2d, and 7th Articles, his Majestie hath veray acceptable and agreeable, the Honour they have thought to deferre unto him, as above all Princes, to call him to be Protector and Defendor of their Religion, wich is a Declaration of the certain Benevolence and Trust that they have in his Majestie; and although his Majestie knoweth what Envy and Danger foloweth such Title, yet neverthe-les his Highnes is so desirous to do them Pleasure, and to the Glory of the Gospell, his Grace is content to accept the same Honour, after that between his and thair Orators Agrement, shal be had upon the 1st and 2d Articles, for it shuld not be sure nor honourable for his Majestie, before they shall be with his Grace agreed upon certain Concorde of Doctrines, to take such a Province upon his Highnes; and forasmuch as his Majestie desireth much that his Bishops and Learned Men might agree with theirs, but seen that it cannot be, oneles certain Thinges in their Confession and Apologie, shuld by their Familiar Conferencies be mitigate, His Grace therefore would the Orators and some Excellent Learned Men with them shuld be sent hither, to conferre, talke, treate and common upon the same according to the 13th Article.

Now

Now that his Highnes by the same Answers sheweth unto them his good Harte, trusting that they woll be of Correspondence, therunto his Majestie desireth Three Things of them of no great Coste nor Difficultie.

First, That in Case any King, Prince, or other, would invade his Majestie or Dominions for the same, or for the Cause of the Religion, that then they woll furnishe him at thair Expences, 500 Horsemen armed of all Peces, or 10 Ships well arrayed for the Warre, to serve his Majestie by the Space of Four hole Monethes by Land or by Sea; and that it shall be at his Graces Choyse to have Horsemen, or Shipps, and that such as his Grace shall chuse, shall be sent to him, within a Month after the requisition thereof.

Second, That besides the same, that they shall reteyn at his Majesties Costs and Chardges, such Number of Horsemen and Footmen, as his Highnes shall require; so that the Horsemen passe not the Number of Two Thousand, and the Footmen the Number of Five Thousand; or for the said Footmen, 12 Ships in good Order furnished with Men, Harneys, Ordynances, Victuells, and other Things necessarie; and that the Kings Majestie maye hyre them, reteyne at his Wages as long as it shall please his Grace; and it shall be as his Majesties Choyse to have the said 12 Ships, or the said Number of Horsemen and Footmen, and that such as his Majestie shall choyse, maye be redye within Two Moneths after his Requisition.

Thirde, That the sayd Confederats woll take upon them in all Conciles herafter, and every where ells to promote and defend the Opinion of the Reverend Fathers, Dr. *Martin*, *Justus Jonas*, *Cruciger*, *Pomeran*, and *Melanchton*, in the Cause of his Graces Marriage.

Number 47.

A Letter writ to the King by the Princes of the Smalcaldick *League.*

An Original.

Cotton Lib. *Cleop.* E. 6. P. 283.

Serenissime Rex, Postquam Romanus Pontifex, Paulus Tertius, Generalem Synodum Mantuæ celebrandam, & inchoandam die vicessimo tertio Maij, indixit, misit ad nos Invictissimus Imperator Carolus Quintus Clementissimus Dominus noster, Oratorem suum, ut ad Indictionem illam Concilij ipsi veniamus, vel Procuratores nostros mittamus.

Etsi

Etsi autem nos ex animo semper optavimus, ut Synodus, rebus deliberatis, emendationem abusuum atque errorum, qui diu jam in Ecclesia hærent, institueret, etiam adversus illos ipsos Pontifices & Prælatos, quorum partim Negligentia, partim Cupiditatibus, vitia illa in Ecclesiam irrepserunt: Tamen Bulla, in qua Paulus Pontifex Concilium indicit, non obscurè testatur, Pontificem (cum suis conjunctis) nequaquam passurum esse; ut in Synodo, de restituenda vera Doctrina, & corrigendis Abusibus atq; Erroribus, agatur. Sed quemadmodum ab ipso, & quibusdam suis Antecessoribus Doctrina, quam confessi sumus, sine ulla Cognitione, aut Examinatione Generalis, liberæ, & Christianæ Synodi, temerè, & cum Contumelia Evangelij, damnata est; Ita ostendit se Paulus Pontifex, hæc Præjudicia, Prætextu Synodi confirmaturum esse: Et conatur sibi ipsa receptione Bullæ, obligare omnes Reges & Potentatos, ut ipsi quoque assentiantur illis Prejudiciis, & omissa cognitione, se ad Piam & Catholicam Doctrinam, & in Evangelio clarè traditam, quam profitemur extirpandam, & armis delendam conjungant. In hanc Indictionem si consensissemus, visi essemus hæc Præjudicia confirmare & Doctrinam Ecclesiæ Romanæ & Doctrinam nostrorum Testimonio nostro condemnare. Itaque Oratori Cæsariæ Majestatis, verè, & bona fide commemoravimus, quare nobis illa Indictio Concilij, iniqua, & perniciosa Ecclesiæ videatur; ac petivimus, ut Cæsariæ Majestati, Excusationem nostram justam, & consentaneam, Juri scripto & naturali, quare in illam Indictionem non consenserimus, exponat.

Non dubitabamus, aut quin Romanus Pontifex, & hi quos habet conjunctos, se excusaturi essent apud Regiam Dign. V. tanquam Pontifex fecerit suum Officium, ac ostenderit se voluisse rectè consulere Ecclesiæ; nos vero oneraturi Invidia, quasi communi Utilitati deesse velimus. Quare necessarium nobis visum est, Causas, propter quas Indictionem illam iniquissimam, & insidiarum ac periculi plenam recusavimus, Regiæ Dignitati vestræ, & cæteris Regibus & Principibus significare, ut adversariorum Calumniis, & aliorum Suspicionibus occurreremus.

Itaque, ut Regia Dignitas vestra Causas illas verè & integrè intelligere possit, rogamus, propter Gloriam Christi, ut Regia Dignitas V. nostram Excusationem, quam publicatam his Literis adjecimus, perlegat. qua in re non solum periculo moveatur multorum in Germania Populorum, quib. Regiam Dignitatem V. optimè velle speramus, sed etiam cogitet, hanc nostram Causam ad communem Salutem Ecclesiæ pertinere, in qua cum Disciplinam multis in rebus collapsam esse constet, & paulatim receptos esse abusus non dissimulandos, diu multi, magni, & præstantes Viri, Emendationem optaverunt & flagitarunt. Non dubitamus, aut quin Regia Dignitas V. etiam ex alio cupiat Ecclesiæ Christi quemadmodum Deus hoc Officium, præcipuè à summis Principibus requirit, omni Ope, & omnibus Viribus consulere. Proinde & communem Ecclesiæ Causam, & nos, ipsos diligenter commendamus Regiæ Dignitati V. & nostra Officia, cum summa Observantia, Reg. Dignitati vestræ deferimus. Bene & feliciter valeat Regia Dignitas Vestra. Datæ vij. Calend. April. Anno Domini M. D. XXXVII.

Dei

Dei Beneficio, Joannes Fredericus Dux Saxoniæ, Sacri Romani Imperij Archimareschallus ac Princeps Elector, Lantgravius Turingiæ, & Marchio Mysiæ.

Et Philippus Lantgravius Hassiæ, Comes Cattorum Diek, Zygenhaim, & Nidde, suo & aliorum, Principum Statuum, & Civitatum Imperij Germanicæ Nationis, Nomine, puram Evangelij Doctrinam profitentium.

Serenissimo Principi, Domino Henrico ejus Nominis Octavo, Britanniæ & Franciæ Regi, Domino Hiberniæ, Domino Cognato, & Amico nostro Carissimo.

Number 48.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5. P. 212.

Cranmer's *Letter to* Cromwell, *complaining of the Ill Treatment of the Ambassadors from* Germany.

MY very singuler good Lorde, in my most hertie wise I recommend me unto your Lordeship. And where that the Oratours of *Germany*, when thei granted to tary one Moneth, required that we should go furth in their Booke, and entreate of the Abuses, so that the same myght be set furth in Wrytyng as the other Articles arr: I have syns effectuously moved the Bishops therto, but they have made me this Answer; That thei knowe, that the King's Grace hath taken apon hymself to answer the said Oratours in that Behalf, and therof a Book is alredie divised by the King's Majestie; and therfore they will not meddell with the Abuses, leste thei should write therin contrarye to that the King shall write. Wherfore thei have required me to entreate now of the Sacraments of Matrimony, Orders, Confirmation, and Extreme Unction, wherin thei knowe certeynly that the *Germanes* will not agree with us, excepte it be in Matrymoney onlye. So that I perceyve, that the Bishops seek only an Occasion to breke the Concorde; assuring your Lordship, that nothing shall be done, unles the King's Grace speciall Commandmente be unto us therin directed. For they manifestly see, that they cannot defend the Abuses, and yet they wold in no wise grant unto them. Farther, as concernyng the Oratours of *Garmanye*, I am advertised, that thei are very evill lodged where thei be: For besides the Multitude of Ratts, daily and

nyghtly runnyng in thair Chambers, which is no small Disquietnes; the Kechyn standeth directly against their Parlar, where they dayly Dine and Supp; and by reason therof, the House savereth so yll, that it offendeth all Men that come into it. Therefore, if your Lordship do but offer them a more Commodious House to demore in, I doubt not, but that they will accept that Offer most thankefully, albeit I am sucr that they will not remove for this tyme. An d wheras of late I did put your Lordship in Remembrance, for the Suppression of the Abbey of *Tudberye*; now I beseech your Lordship, not only that Commissionours may be sent unto that House, but also in likewise unto the Abbey of *Rocester*, or *Crockesdon*; beseeching your Lordship to be good Lorde unto this Berer *Frances Basset*, my Servant, for his Preferment unto a Leace of one of the said Houses; not doubting but you shall prefer a right honest Man, who at all Tymes shall be able to do the King's Grace right good Service in those Partes, and also be at your Lordship's Commandment during his Life. Thus Almightie God have your good Lordship in his blessed Tuition. At *Lambeth*, the xxiijd Daye of *Auguste*.

Your own ever assured

T. Cantuarien'

Number 49.

The Earl of Northumberland's *Letter to* Cromwell, *denying any Contract, or Promise of Marriage, between Queen* Anne *and Himself.*

An Original.

Cott. Libr. Otho. C. 10

MR. Secretary, This shall be to signifie unto you, that I perceyve by Sir *Raynold Carnaby*, that there is supposed a Precontract between the Queen and me; wherupon I was not only heretofore examined upon my Oath before the Archbishopps of *Canterbury* and *York*, but also received the Blessed Sacrament upon the same before the Duke of *Norfolk*, and other the King's Highnes Council Learned in the Spirituall Law; assuring you, Mr. Secretary, by the said Oath, and Blessed Body which affore I received, and hereafter intend to receive, that the same may be to my Damnation, if ever there were any Contracte, or Promise of Marriage between Her and Me. At

Newyngton-Green, the xiijth Day of *Maye*, in the 28th Year of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord King *Henry* the VIIIth.

Your Assured,

Northumberland.

Number 50.

A Letter, giving Pace *an Account of Propositions made to King* Henry *by* Charles *the Vth.*

Paper-Office. TRUSTY and Right Wel-beloved, we grete you well, lating you Wit, that on *Tuesday* last passed, repaired to our Maner of *Greenwiche* unto us, the Emperors Ambassador here Resident, and on his Masters Behalf, pretending a Desire to renew the Old Amytie that hath been between us, testified nevertheles by Letters of Credence sent from the said Emperor to our Trusty and Right Wel-beloved Counsailer, *Thomas Cromwell*, our Principal Secretary, which of long Season hath been interrupted, made unto us for the Advancement of suche a Renovation certain Overtures: The First was, that he wold be a Means to have a Reconciliation between us and the Bishop of *Rome*: An other, that we would ayd him with some Contributions in his entended Voyage against the *Turk*: The Third, that forasmuch as by a certain Leage passed between us, it is covenanted and agreed, that in Case either of us shuld be invaded in any of our Realmes, Dominions, or Seigniories, which we have in Possession, the other shuld ayd him in such Form, as in the said Leage is expressed, at the Costs and Expences of the Prince requiring the same, and that there is a greate Appearance that the *French* King wil now invade him in the Duchie of *Millain*, we wold grant him such Ayde for his Defence against the said *French* King, as in the said Leage is limited. To the said Masse and Substance of his Credence, tending to a Renovation of Amytie, ye shall understande our Answer was, that albeit the Interruption and Disturbance therof, hath proceded holly on the Emperors Behalf, who for our Friendeship in suche wise hertofore shewed unto him, in making him King of *Spayn*, in making him Emperor, whenne the Empire was at our Disposicion, in lending him our Money, that he may only thank us for the Honour he is now advaunced unto, hath neverthelefs for his reciproque shewed unto us, all the Ingratitude he could devise, both in contempnying, as it were, a Friendship, when we have done more for his Satisfaction in our Proceedings then needed, and in procuring what Displeasure and Injury he could against us, at the Bishop of

Romes Hande, as by Credible Reports we have knowen and lerned; yet such is our Zeal to Unytie, Concord, and Quiet amongs Christian Princes, and such is our Princely Nature, that as we canne continue our Displeasure to no Man, if he do ones remove the Cause therof: So if he which is a Prince of Honor, and a Personage whom we ones chose, and thought Worthie for his Vertue and Qualities, to be advanced, will by his express Writing, eyther desire us to put his Doings towards us in Oblivion, or by the same Purge himself, and declare, that such Things as we have noted Unkindnes in at his Hande, hath been unjustly, and without his Desert, imputed unto him, we shall gladly embrace his Overture touching this Renovation; but we plainly said and offered, that seing we had susteyned the Injury, we could not be a Suiter for the Reconciliation, nor treat with his Master of such Appendents for Aydes, as be before expressed, or any such like, unless our Amyties shuld be first Symple, and without all Manner of Conditions renoveled; which Parte, if he will first accomplish, he shuld not need to doubt, but to all his reasonable Desires to be made after, he shall have as Friendly and Reasonable Answer, as between Friends in the Highest Degree of Friendship can be required. Touching the Bishope of *Rome*, we declared unto him, that as we have not proceeded uppon so sleight and slender Grounds, as we wold revoke, alter, or change any Peece of our Doings, having in all Causes made our Foundacions uppon the Laws of God, Nature, and Honestie, and established all our Works made uppon the same, by the Consent of all the States of our Realme, in open and High Court of Parliament, so considering there hath been some Means made unto us by the Bishop himself for such a Reconciliation, which we have not yet embraced, it shuld not be Expedient to have it compassed by any other Means; nor we could take as in good Parte, or think that the Emperor shuld ernestly mind a Reconciliation, and a Renovation of our Amyties, if for the Satisfaction of the Bishop of *Rome* our Enemye, he shuld move us to allter any one Thing that we have here determyned contrary to his Purpose, and pretended Autoritie. To his Request for Aid against the *Turk*, was answered, that we could give no certain Resolution, because the Affaires of *Christendom* be not quiet, but in Case their may ensue between Christen Princes an Universall Reconciliation, Concord, and Agreement, we shall not fayle in that Matter to doe for our Parts, that to the Office of a Christien Prince appertaineth; Finally to his Desire for Ayde against the *French* King, we said it shuld be convenient that our Amytie shuld be first renewed, and certainly established, before we shuld treat of any suche Appendants, and thenne being an indifferent Friend to both, we might frankly Travail to conserve Peas and Unitie; or elles Friendly to staye him that wold do wrong; but tyl such Time as that Foundation were made, we could neyther in this Appendant, nor any suche like make any direct Answer. And forasmuch as not only for your Instruction, but allso for that we be much desirous to know in what Parte they take our Answer there, we thought convenient to Advertise you of the Premysses, our Pleasure is, that ye shall aswell in your Conferences with the Emperor, pretending only a Generall Knowledge of certain

of the Overtures made by his Orators here, Both maintain our Answers to the same, with such Reasons as ye canne devise for that Purpose, and of your selfe exhorte him not to pretermyt this goodly Occasion, so graciously beganne, commenced, and entred, extolling our Princely Harte, Nature, and Courage, with our most gentle Inclynation, to the Satisfaction of our Friends desires, in all reasonable Things, wherunto they shall not press us; which kind of Constraint doth for most Parte more hurte in the stay of good Purpos[illegible], th[illegible] cine be, after with Repentance when the Tyme is past estsoons redoubled. As in Semblable Maner move Monsieur *Grandevile* of your self, as a Personage whom ye repute, [illegible] to the [illegible] of our Honor, to desire the Emperor to consid[illegible] good may ensue to him, and to the hole State of *Christendom* [illegible] may joyne again in perfite Amytie; and that it were great Pitie, and [illegible] greater Losse then might be after recovered, to suffer this goodly [illegible] and entree to passe without certain Fruit and Effect, by the putting [illegible] it of such Appendants and Conditions, [illegible] knowe, what [illegible] we will after do, at the contemplation of Frien[illegible], yet our Nature and Courage will not bear to be newe [illegible], [illegible] considering that we have suffered [illegible] Injury, and w[illegible] these and suche like Words, as we woll [illegible] shall endev[illegible] your self of your self to pryk them forwarde to the Renovatio[illegible] Amytie, without adding therunto any Conditions. So ye shall repaire to the Court and to *Grandevil* as ye may conveniently, to give them Occasion by your being in their Eyes, to enter Communication with [illegible] these Matters; wherby you shall the better also perceyve whereunto they will bend, which, our Pleasure is, you shall from Tyme to Tyme signify unto us, as ye may have any certain Matter worthie our Knowleage.

Number 51.

Instructions by Cardinal Pole *to one be sent to King* Henry.

An Original.

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 6. P. 340.

IMprimis, to declare to his Grace myn hole Entent and purpose yn wrytyng the Booke, wherein takyn my testimony off God, that only seyth the Hart of Man, was only the Manifestation off the Treuth in that Mattier, that by Master Secretaryes Letters I tooke as a Commandment to shew my Sentence herein, which wrote the same to me by his Gracys Pleasure, that I shuld by Writing declare myn Opinion; and this is the very Cause I dyd wryght; for otherwise, I thynk I had never sett Penne to Booke in so lyttyl hope of Persuasion, and in such a Matter as the Tyme was so lykely nott to be all the best acceptyd.

2 Further

Further to declare after I was onys entred into the Mattier; haveng se[illegible] to me the Books of them that have wrytten yn the contrary Part, wherin I saw the Trueth mervyolouslye suppressyd and cloked, with all Colours that could be invented sett upon the untrew Opinion, [illegible] de what Acts folowed of the same so sore and greviouse, both in the sight of God, and Judgment of the rest of *Christendom*, out of that Re[illegible]me, that except those Colours were takyn away, and Treuthe [illegible] forth, wythe Declaration of the inconvenient Acts, yt myght soon torne to the utter Danger of his Graces bothe Honour afore God and Man, and utter Destruction, as yet semyth, of the Quyetnes [illegible] Realme; this made me wyth all both Wytt and Lernyng that [illegible] gyven me, to endevour to expresse so the [illegible] Qualytyes off those Acts that folowed of [illegible] Opinion, [illegible] I doubt not whosoever reade the Booke th[illegible] knowe [illegible] shuld never after need to fall into D[illegible] the trew Sentence.

A[illegible] haveing this ever fixid in my Harte that h[illegible] was by perverse Occasion brought from those C[illegible] most to mynteyne, that he was brought [illegible] those that be in his Favour, and whom he hath [illegible] Eternal Felycytie, notwythstandyng to faull some [illegible] into Offences dampnable, to the Entent they myght better know [illegible] their trew Lyght and Savegarde which comythe of God, and nothyng off them self: as yt is not not unkn[illegible]e that Scripture mencionethe both of *Davyd* and *Solomons* faulles, which bothe in Conclusion, were recoveryd by the Mercye of God [illegible], and *Solomon* notwithstanding the Gyft off Wysedome that God had gyven him, fell so sore that he was utterly tornyd from God, and gyven to Idolatrye. This I consydreng in those Elect Personys of God, and judgeng verely though his Grace was by God permytted to faull from the trew Doctrine of Christ, yett as God saved *David* by those M[illegible]nes, to send a Prophete unto him to show hym the Trewth, which as soone as he had hard told hym, forthwyth fell to Repentance, and so was taken to the Grace off God again, and recoveryd to his greater Honour, then he was yn afore his Faull; the same trust I had in his Grace, whiche made me put my uttermost Studye and Labour, callyng for help of God, to manyfest the Trueth where I doubt not but God hath hard my Prayer, that for Knowledge of the trewe Sentence, there can be no doubt; and I cannot but greatly trust, that his Grace heryng and assenting, as King *David* did to the same after his Errour, shall be recoveryd by God to higher Honour and Grace, then ever he was afore God suffered him to faull.

In this Declaration of this Treuthe, because not only afore God were great Peryll, but also in this World present afore Man, many soore Daungers myght happen, in Case his Grace did remayne and continew yn his Sentence so dyvers from the rest of the Christen Princes; this causyd me, callyng to my Mynd what Daunger might follow bothe of his People at home, whose Mynds Experience showeth cannot be quietyd wythe this Innovations touching Opinions in Relygion; and also of outward Power of those Pryncis to whose

whose Honour yt ys judged to apperteyne to defend the Lawes of the Church, against all other Princes or Nations that doyth impugne them, for these Considerations to the Entent the Daunger hereoff now not unknown, I have in the same Booke, sometyme in my own Person, brought all such Reasons wherebye justely either the People, or oughtward Prynce might be instigate against his Grace, foloweng the dyvers Trade from other Chrystian Princes that he hath begone. Which Reasons and Discourses conteynyd in the Booke vehemently sett forthe, yf they shuld be redd apart without Consyderacyon of my fynall Purpose, which by all Means entendyd to sett affore hys Graces yien, not only the Treuthe off that was to be folowed, butt the Daungers that were moste lykelye to ensue, both at home and abrode, yf they were not followed, he shall think by what vehemencye and sore reprehension he seyth in the Wrytyng, that I am the greatyst Adversaraye of his Graces Honour that ever any hitherto hath bene: but God knoweth my Entent, and he that redyth the hoole Booke togyther shall knowe the same, how my very Purpose and Ende was to save him from great Dyshonour and Peryll both in this World and that to come, which were nothing possyble to examine, not knoweng what they were, and what were lykely to happen to be sayd or done against his Grace: which foloweng all probabylytie the Book doth expresse, and for the better understanding of both my Opinion and Sentence that I follow in the Book, touching the Declaration of the Truthe, and of my utter fynall Purpose in the hole Matter, thys chifly I wole desyer his Grace, bycause of the Prolyxitie thereof, which shuld be to muche for his Grace to rede hymselfe, that that wole please hym to apoynt some lernyd and sald Man to rede over the Book, and that done to declare his Judgment, bound first wyth an Othe off hys Fydelytie, first to God, and afterwards to his Grace to show hys Judgment without Affection of any Part: and yf his Grace wold gyve this Charge to the Bishop of *Dyrrhum*, whome I judge to be the saldyst and most grounded in Lernyng, with Faythful Hart to his Grace, above any other that I knowe, puttyng the same Charge unto him by another; I think his Grace shuld thereby best and most truely be enformed; and so when he hath made his Relation, afterward his Grace may prove other Menes Judgments as it shall please him.

Furthermore to declare unto his Grace how my full Purpose and Mynd was, touching the hole Booke that never no Part thereoff shuld a come abrode in any Manes Hands, afore his Grace had seen ytt: and to folow in this Booke the same maner off secretnes that I did in the other which I deliveryd to his Grace concerning his Matrymonye, but by what Meanes in one Part of this Book I have been frustrate of my Entent; this your may declare by Mouth, knowing the hole Mattier.

Fynally, With all Humbylnes to desyre his Grace, in the Name of his most faythfull Servant, and most tender of his Honoure and Welthe, that where as by the Judgement of all wise Men, God of hys Mercye and Love toward his Grace, and for a greate Warnyng to retourne to hym, hathe detectyd the Iniquitie of her, which hath bene

bene the Oryginal Cause and Occasion of althyse bothe Errours and Dangers his Grace hath cost hymself in, that now his Grace will correct himself to take the same, as yt ys a favorable Admonition of God, and to follow theyr Sentencyes and Counsell, which (next unto theyr Conscyence toward God) hath had none other Cause, butt only pure Love and Fydelytie to his Honour and Welth: which causyd them, against their owne private Welthe, wyth greate Daunger besyde, ever to dyssent from that Matrymonye; judgeng ever, as ytt was most lykely, both great Dishonour, great Daungiers and Perylls, both spiritually and outwardly, to followe thereoff.

And now, yf God hathe manifested the same to the Recovery of hys Grace *Welth*, allwayes that his Grace wyll accept thys Warnyng to retourn to the Unytie of his Church, in that Sentence and Mynd that the rest of Christiane Prynces do; wherein I dare be bolde to saye, yf God showe this great Benignitie and Mercy unto him, for to make him returne; for suerly God's Hand that must be; and whensoever that shall be herd, that shall be taken for one of the greatyst Myracles that hathe been showed this many Agys, with the most certyn Sygne of speciall Favour that ever was showed from God to any Prynce: Then furst of all this shall follow, that when as now all *Christendome* callyng for a Generall Councell, yf that follow, ether his Grace must wyth Dyshonour and Damage flee to obey thereunto, or wyth more Daunger answer there to such Causes as wold be layde unto him. Yf he do returne, thys furst shall followe, by that Meanys that shuld be founde, that no Prynce Chrysten, whosoever he were, shold appere there with more Honour then shuld his Grace. And wheras it was for the Innovation that he hath made in the Churche, to be the Occasyon of Ruyne of one of the feyrest Membre of the Churche, if God make him torne; the Conclusion wyll be brought to this, that hys Faull shall be the happyest Faull that was unto the Churche many Yeres; which may be brought to be a redye and highe Way to the Reformation of the Hole, to the more Manyfestation of the Honour of God: So that fynally, the Ende shall be in every Man's Opinion, that marketh the hole Processe, that God suffred his Grace to faulle, to make hym ryse wyth more Honour, to the greater Welth not only of his own Realme, but of the hole Church besyde.

Your Faithfull Servant,

R. Pole.

Number 52.

A Letter to Pole *from the Bishop of* Durham, *in his own Hand.*

An Original.

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 6. P. 385.

RYght Honorable, in my humble maner I recommend me unto your Mastership, advertising the same that I have resceived your Letter, datyd at *Venice* on *Corpus Christi* Evyn last; by which I do perceyve, that where of late you sent a Boke with a Letter unto the Kyng's Highnes, concernyng your Opinion of the King's Title, and the Power of the Bishop of *Rome*; and your Desire was in your Letter, as ye write, that I myght see the Boke, to enforme his Grace what I thought theroff. And now ye send to me your said Letter, to informe me of your Meanynge and Purpose in your said longe Boke, wherin I do perceyve, ye fere lest your Vehemency have offended. I do signifie unto you, that I have both well perused your said Letter, to comprise well the Effect theroff in every Point; and also have perused, with odyr your said longe Boke, unto the Ende theroff. Which made me hevy in my Harte, both whylse I was in Redinge of it, and allso mych more when I had redde it thorow, seinge the Vehemency and Egernefs of it in all Partes, dyd sore byte; and yet the hole Thinge ran wyde off the Truthe. For in all your Boke, your Purpose is to bring the King's Grace, by Penance, home unto the Churche again, as a Man clerly seperate from the same alredy. And his Recesse from the Church, ye proffe not otherwise, than by the Fame and comon Opinion of those Parts; who be farr from the Knowlege of the Truth of our Affairs here, and do conjecture every Man as they lyst, (blyndly) of Thinges unknowen unto them. And in Cause of his Retorne, ye promisse to illustrate the King's Name, so to bend your Lernyng therunto, that all Displeasure that may be takyn of your said Boke, shuld be clerly therby abolysed and takyn away; and all shold redund unto his Glory and Honour. And to comprise in few Wordes the Effecte that is worn off your said Boke, that makes vehemently many Playes, and doth conteyn lyttle or no Salve to hole them. And as it semyth to me, ye wer styrred to sore in your Spirite in all your Wrytings therof, and wer not quiet in your Mynde, whyle ye were in doynge of it. Wold to God ye had rather written to his Grace your Opinion, brevely comprisyd secretly in a Letter, that he shold not have nedyd to have shewed it to other Lernyd Men of his Counsell, than in so longe a Boke to have dilatyd all Thynges as ye have done, that he must of Necessitie be constranyd to commytte that to such trusty Persons, as shold please his Grace to know by them the

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Effecte theroff. What Stupidity was it, to send so long a Boke so longe a way, conteynyng so displesaunt Mater, by one Man, who myght have myscaryed or peryshed in the way, and therby the Boke have comen (as was likely) to the Handes of such as wold have published it to the King's Slaunder, and the Realmes, and most of all to your owne, that shuld be the Author of such a Boke, made against your Prince and Countre: Wherin all the World shuld repute you to be unkynd unto your Prince and Countre, who evermore so had lovyd you, and brogt yow up in Lernygne, and ye to spend the same to his Reproche. So that surely, who soever not favouryng the King, shold have lykyd the Matter, yet must he nedys have myslyked the Author therof, usinge his Lernyng aginst hym, in whose Defence he ought to have spent both Lyff and Lernyng. But Laude be to God that the Boke came saffe unto the King's Handys, wherby that Yeperdy ys past. One Thinge made me cold at the Harte, when I red it in your Letter that ye writt of Two Quares; which be not in your Hands to repress. The Residue, ye say, ye can make sure not to come abrode; which, yf ye folow myn Advyse, ye shall do furthwith; burnyng them, for your owne Honour, and the Noble House that ye be come of: that it never came abrode, that ye excercysed your Style or Lernyng against him, whom ye ougth in all Points (by your Wit and Conning) to defende: And yf any Faults wer founde by odyrs, to excuse them by all means, and not to animate them by your Penne. And would to God lykewise, that ye wold endevour your self (by all means to you possible) to gett again those Two Quarys, and lykwise to burn them. For, in all yout Boke, ther is not one Queyre without Bytternes, mych more then I wold it were. But to retourne to that Thinge that I said before, that methought your hole Book ran wyde off the Truth. I shall, by your Patience, yf ye be contente to here me as your Frende, opyn unto you what I mean therby. Ye presuppose for a Ground, the King's Grace to be swarvyd from the Unite of Christ's Church, and that in takinge upon him the Tytle of Supreme Hede of the Church of *Englande*, he intendyth to seperate his Church of *Englande* from the Unitie of the whole Bodie of *Christendome*; takyng upon hym the Office belonging to Spirituall Men, grounded in the Scripture, of immediat Cure of Soule, and attribute to hymself that belongith to Presthode, as to prech and teach the Word of God, and to mynyster the Sacraments. And that he doth not know what longeth to a Christen King's Office, and what unto Presthode; wherin surely both you and al odyr so thinkinge of him, do erre too farre. For there is no Prince in *Christendome*, that more regardith, or better knowith the Office and the Honor of a Christen Prince, nor that more doth esteem Spiritual Men that be gyffen to Lernyng and Vertue, than he doth: And that ye may boldly (without Reproch) avouch to all Men affirming the contrary, whatsoever sinistrously conceived Opinion any Person shall have of hym, in those Partes, or any oder. For, his full Purpose and Intente is, to see the Laws of Almyghty God purly and sincerely prechyd and taugth, and Christ's Fayth without Blot kepte and observed in his Realme; and not to seperate hymself, or

his

his Realme, any wyse from the Unitie of Christ's Catholyke Church, but inviolably, at all Tymes, to kepe and observe the same; and to reduce his Church of *Englande* out of all Captivitie of Forcyn Powers, hertofore usurped therin, into the Christen Estate, that all Churches of all Realmes wer in at the Begynyng; and to abolyshe, and clerly to put away, such Usurpations, as hertofore in thys Realme the Bishops of *Rome* have, by many undue meanes, incresyd to their grete Avantage, and Impoverysinge of thys Realm, and the Kyng's Subjects of the same. So that no Man therin can justly find any Fawte at the King's so doinge, seinge he reducyth all Thynges to that Estate, that is conformable to those auncient Decres of the Churche, which the Bishop of *Rome* (at his Creation) solemly doth profess to observe hymself, which be the Eygth Universal Counsells. Which yf ye do rede advysedly, and studiously do consyder how the Church of Christ was stablyshed by those, and how far of late Yers the Byshops of *Rome* have broght this Realme and odyr from those; ye shall manyfestly perceyve the Abuse and Diversitie betuyx the oon and the other. I am sure, at *Venice* ye may have the sayd Counsels in *Greke*, lyke as now they be comon abrode in *Latyn*, translatyd even from the Begynning. Which if they had been comenly knowen and redde hertofore, the Bishop of *Rome*'s Power hertofore usurpyd in many Realmes, had never so farre been avancyd, as of late it hathe. Wold to God ye had ben exercised in Readinge of them, before the Sendinge of your saide Boke, that ye might have knowen from the Begynning, from Age to Age, the Continuaunce and Progresse of the Catholike Churche. By which ye shuld have perceived, that the Church of *Rome* had never of olde such a Monarchie, as of late it hathe usurped. And if ye will say, that those Places of the Gospell, that ye do allege in your Boke, do prove it, then must ye graunt also, that the Counsel of *Nice* and others did erre, which ordeined the contrary. And the Apostels also, in their Canons, did ordeine, That al Ordring of Prests, Consecratynge of Bishops, and all Matirs Spirituall, shuld be fynished within the Diocesse, or at uttermost within the Province wher the Parties dwelte. Which Canons of the Apostels, *Damascen* doth commemorate for Holy Scriptures. Now it is not lyke, that the Apostels, who were Prechers of the Gospell, wold make Canons contrary to the Gospell; nor that the Four First Cheffe Counsels General wold have ordenyd so as they did, if the Gospell, or the Scripture, had bene to the contrary. And wher ye in your Boke much do stikke to common Custome of the Church, suerly after Christe, above a Thousand Yere, the Custome was to the contrary, that now is used by the Bishop of *Rome*. At that Tyme, in the Primitive Church of Christe, when the Blood of Christe and Martyers was yet freshe, the Scriptures wer best understande, Faith most firme, and Vertue most pregnant; the Customes then used in the Church, must nedes be better than any contrary Use sens, eyther by Ambition or Covetousnes, any waies cropen in. And to assure you of my Mind what I do thinke; suerly who soever shall go about, by the Primatie of *Peter*, which was in Prechinge the Word of God, to establyshe the worldly Autorite of the Bishop of *Rome*,

which he now claymeth in dyverse Realms, in worldly thyngs soo perfecte temporall, shall no more couple them to gedyr then lygth and darknes; but shal improve the thinge that he goeth about to prove. Iff ye wold rede *Nicolas Cusa de concordia Catholica* in his Second Boke thorowly, he shold gretly open this Matter unto you. Wherfore sens the King's Grace goeth about to reforme his Realme, and reduce the Church of *England* unto that State that both thys Realme and all other wer in at the begynnynge off the Faith, and many hundredth yere aftyr; yff any Prince or Realme wyl not folow hym, lat them do as they lyste; he doth no thinge but stablyshyth such Laws as wer in the begynnynge, and such as the Bishop of *Rome* professeth to observe. Wherfore nidyr the Bishop off *Rome* hymself, nor odyr Prince, ought off Reason to be miscontent her with. Yff I wer with you but oon day, I wold trust to shew you such grounds in thys Matter, that ye myght chaunge your mynde, oonlesse ye wer totally addite to the contrary opynion, as I pray God ye be not, both for your own and for your friends sake, who shuld take grete discomforth theroff. Oon thinge yet restith that I thougth convenient to advertise you off wherin I do perceyve ye be ignorant. Which is thys. Ye write in one parte off your Boke, that ye think the Herts off the Subjects off thys Realme greatly offendyd with Abolyshinge off the Byshop of *Rome*'s usurped Autorite in this Realme, as yff all the People or moste part off them toke the Matter as ye do. Wherin I do assure you ye be deceivyd. For the People perceyve ryght wel what profite cometh to the Realme therby; and that al such Money as before issuy'd that way, now is kept within the Realme; wheras before al that went that way, which was no small share, but grete and excessive, and dayly the sayd Yssue encresyd more and more, never retornyd again hedyr any parte theroff. Which was to the great impoveryshinge off thys Realme. So that yff at thys day the King's Grace wold go about to renew in his Realme the sayd abolysh'd Autorite off the Byshop of *Rome*, grantyng hym lyke Profites as he had before thorow thys his Realme, I thinke he shold fynd mych more diffyculte to brynge it aboute in his Parliament, and to induce his People to agree therunto, then any thinge that ever he purposed in his Parlement sens his first Regne. Wherfore I wyshed that, as many odyr things more to have ben out of the your Boke. Which myght peradventure have engendry'd sum parte off suspicion in the King's Gracs mynd toward his Subjects, as I trust verayly that dyd not. And wher ye do fynde a faute with me, that I faynted in my hearte, and wold not dye for the Bishop of *Rome*'s authorite; when thys matter was first proposyd unto me, surly it was no faynting that made me agreeable therunto; for I never saw the Day sens I know the progresse and contynuance off Christ's Church from the begynning, and redde such Historyes Ecclesiasticall and Ordinaunces from Age to Age as do manyfestly declare the same, that ever I thought to shede oon droppe off my bloode therfore: for sure I am noon off them that hertofore have had avantage by that authorite, wold have lost oone peny theroff to have savyd my lyffe, nor wyl not do to save yours, yff ye shold be in such necessite. Which God for his Mercy forbydde, and kepe you from trust off such socoure.

Finally, accordinge to your desire sens your Boke ys Comon unto the King's Hands, and he perceivyth the Effecte off it, I shall help as mych as may lye in my lityl power, that your plain facyon off writinge, as off a sharpe gostly fadyr, may be takyn in best parte according to your Letter and Desire in that behalf; but at the Reverence off Almygthy God hynder not your selfe in addictynge you to the Opinion off your Boke, towching the Bishop off *Rome*'s Autorite; thinking, that as ye se it now in *Italy* and diverse Countreys, so it was from the beginning, and ought to be by God's Law. For the forsaid Counsayls do shew plainly ther is in the Church of Christ no such Monarchie ordaynyd by Christe. And the preemmenence of sitting, that was gyffen to the Bishop off *Rome* in the forsaid Counsels general, which were callyd al by the Emperors off that tyme, was gyffen to hym by cause he was Bishop of *Rome*, the cheffe Cite off the Empire, and not for *Peter* and *Paule*'s sake, which wer Apostyles, and bernyd in *Rome*, nor for the Gospell-sake; and the secund place was gyffen to the Patriarch off *Constantinople*, by cause that Cite was called *Nova Roma*, and so was preferryd both before *Antiochia*, wher Sainte *Petyr* was first Bishop; and wher the Name of *Cristendom* first began; and alsо before *Alexandria*, where Sainte *Marke*, the Disciple off *Petyr* did preche. And also before *Hierusalem*, wher Crist himselfe preched, and the hole Colledge off the Apostles afftyr him; And *Jacobus frater Domini* was first Bishop, which was in the beginning untill it, was distroyed, callyd *Mater cunctarum Ecclesiarum*, which Three ware Sees Apostolyke. Befor al which three Sees, and also before *Ephesus*, where Sainte *John* Evangelest did write his Gospell, and ther dyed, *Constantinople* was preferry'd, because it was the second grete Congregation off Cristen Men in the Empire, and was callyd *Nova Roma*. Wherunto those holy Counsels wold never have consentyd, and namely *Calcedonense*, wherin wer vj *C.* and xxx Bisheps of the best lernyd off al *Cristendome*, yff they had seen the Gospell to the contrary. Moreover, yff ye rede, as I am sure ye have, *Basilium*, *Nazianzenum*, *Chrissostomum*, *Damassenum*, ye shal fynd in them no such Monarche off the Bishope off *Rome*, as he clamyth spoken off nor never mentioned. Al which I touch to put you in remembrance off, to the intent that ye serchinge forther in this matter, may perceive the old Fadyrs and Counsels, not to have knowen any such thinge as now off late is pretentyd and usurped.

Wherfore I beseech you, not trustinge your own self to mych herin, to have recourse to those Autors that may informe you off the begynning off the Church. Consydering therwithall of what Blood ye be, and off what Contre. The King's Hyghnes hath in his Realme Men as wel lernyd in Divinite as be in odyr Countreys, and they have sougth in this Mater, evyn to the bothome; which think themselfs wel delyvered from the Bondage off *Rome*. And yff you shuld now be against your Contre to kepe them still in Captivite, what they wyll thynke off you, I reporte me unto you. What also the King's Grace, who hath brogth you up, and hath bene good and gracyous unto you, shal thynke, but that ye be unkynd, to be against him and hys Realme, who hath been always for you and yours. What discomford shold it be to my Lady your Modyr, in hir Age to see you

swarve

ſwarve from your Prince and Contre in Opinion. What Diſcomford ſhold it be to my Lord your Brother, to ſee you off whom he ſhold have comford, uſe your Learning to his Diſcomford? What Diſcomford ſhold it be to all your other Frendys to ſee you off obſtinate Opinion againſt al your Countrey, you may by your Wiſdom conſider. Whom all ye may comfort and chiefly your ſelf, in conformyng you to the Truthe grounded opon the Stabliſhment off the holly Church of *Chriſtendome* ſens the Begynnyng. And beynge the Supporting of this Monarchie inventyd off late Days by Ambition, wheroff the old Fadyrs never hard tell. St. *Gregorie* wryteth ſore againſt the Biſhop off *Conſtantinople* off his time who went about a lyke Monarchie, affirmyng noone ſuch to be in the Church of Chriſt. Saint *Cyprian* wryteth, *qui omnes Apoſtoli erant Paris honoris & poteſtatis.* *Conſilium Ephesinum* affirmyth the ſame, which cannot agree with thys late found Monarchie. At the reverence of God truſte not your ſelf to much herein, but ſuffer your ſelf to be perſuaded to ſeke fordyr then ye yet have doon. I dobt not but God willing ye ſhall fynd the Truth in ſearchynge fordyr, yff ye perſuade not your ſelfe that ye have found it already. I beſeche you, have in your remembrance, that I wrote before to burn the Originally off your to ſharp Bokes, and I ſhall move the King's Hyghneſs that your Boke ſent to hym may be kept ſecret. And in conformyng your ſelf to the Opinion off your Contre and off the Truth, I doubt not but ye ſhall be acceptyd of the King's Highneſs as well as ever ye wer, and mych bettyr bycauſe ye ſhew in your Boke the intier Hert that ye bere hym, as his Grace by his Wiſdome can mych better conſider than I can write unto you. And that ye may ſo do I pray the Holy Ghoſt to illuminat you. And if ther be pleaſure that I may do for you or yours, ye ſhall be aſſured to fynd me redy evermore therunto: as knoweth Almighty God who have you in his Bleſſed Tuitition.

From *London* the xiij Day
of *July*, 1536.

Number 53.

An Original Letter of Poles *to* Cromwell *juſtifying himſelf.*

May the 2d. 1537.

Cotton Lib. Cleop. E. 6. P. 355.

MY Lorde, yff afore tyme itt could nott be ſuerlye and clerelye perceived what Affectyon I have ever borne to the Kyng's Honour and Wealthe, which in my hole Lyfe never gave the leaſt Occaſyon, whye any Man ſhoulde think, but wyth them that tendery'd the ſame moſte, I myght chieflye be nombery'd: yf my Deeds were

were trulye and indyfferentlye examined: but howe soever ytt be, yff any Dede afore perverslye interpretate myght ryse any Scrupell to surmise the contrary, surely these Letters that I wryght now, as the Time and Case requirithe, bearyng that Tenour as in Readyng you shall knowe, be suffycyent not onely to abolyshe all former Doubts, shewing those to be perversly surmysed, but to make clere, that a more constant and stable Mynde in observance off a Prince, hathe not bene founde nother yn Subject nor other Personnes besyde. And the Cause hereoff ys, that there never happened lyke Occasyon as thys ys, that causythe me nowe to wryght, wherebye my Mynd myght be so well knowen, while Occasion ys gyven off the Kyng's Part under this Maner, that he procureing against me, by such Meanes to my Undoynge, as was never hard off the lyke in Chrystendome against anye, that bare that Personne that I do att this tyme. Yff my Minde, after all this remain stable, to procure all Things that may be to his Honour and Wealthe, as ever I have professy'd afore-tyme, what can be more suerer Tokyn off a depe and a profound grounded Love and Affection: Whither I do so I shall afterward showe you. If I declare first to Hym that knoweth it beste, the Kyng's Act ageynst me, to the Entent you maye knowe, yff I after that remayne yn my Old Estate off Observance, ytt is not for Ignorance that I knowe not what is machinate ageinst me. And suerly, thoughe I knewe afore bothe by your Letters and other in what Displeasure the King had me, without the least Cause shewed off my part; I take God and my Conscience to judge, which thynge, iff I had borne but a meane Affectiyon myght a been suffycyent to alyenate also my Mynde from thence, where I sawe what soever I dyd for the best, to be ever accepted in the worste Parte. But this I wyll not have yowe take for any Proffe off my Mynde, but to procede off the Kyng's Dyspleasure toward me; the lesse I knowe the Cause to be, the further I was from all Imagynacyon to suspect that hys Grace should be so incensy'd against my Personne; that for to have me in his Hands, he wold be content to breke and vyolate both Godd's Law and Mann's, to dystuorbe all Commercement betwene Contrye and Contrye, between Man and Man, and thys I would never a thought: but fyndyng the same to be so in Dede, I could not but fynde wythall, howe hys Grace was bent with all to my utter undoynge; agaynst the which yff I remayne in my old Purpose to procure hys Wealthe and Honour, he that wyll seke other Proffs after thys, or wyll not be content with thys Declaracyon off a Mann's Mynde, he declareth with all that wythe no Proffe he wyll be content, but wyll have him one off hys Enemies whither he wyll or no. And off this Mynde off the Kynge toward me I had furst knowledge at myne arryvenge in *France*, off the whiche to showe youe the first Motion of my Mind herein, I was more ashamyd to hear for the Compassion I had to the King's Honour, then movyd by any Indygnacyon, that I comyng not only as Imbassadour, but as Legate, yn the hyghest Sort of Embassage that ys used amongst the Chrysten Princes, a Prynce off Honour shold desyer off another Prince off like Honour, betraye thyne Embassadour, betray the Legate, and give him into my Embassadour's Hands to be brought unto

 me.

me. This was the dishonourable Request, as I understand of the King; which (as I said afore) to me suerly, regarding my own Part, I promes'd you was no great Displeasure, but rather (if I shall say Truth) I toke Pleasure herein; and said furthwith to my Company, that I never felt my self in full Possession to be a Cardinall, as when I herd those Tydings; wherby it pleased God to send lyke fortune to me, as it did to those Hedds of the Church, whose Persones the Cardynalls do represent, which was to be persecutyd moste of them, whose Wealth they labouryd for most busyly. In this Case lyved the Apostells: And the same nowe beyng happenyd to me, afore God I promise I felt no Displeasure, but rather was glad thereof, specially consedyryng herebye I hadd the better Occasyon to declare and justyfie my Minde more then ever I had afore, which was ever my Minde: but touchyng the thynge, iff we had no other Religion, bnt lyved as Paganes and Infidells, yet *Jus Gentium* should ever teache us what Demande this was, the Lawe of Nature alone myght declare how abhomynable ytt were to grante to such a Request, and no less to desyer ytt. This I rehearse now to this Intent, that you might the sooner perceve, that if there had been but one Sparke of a Mynde alienate from the Kyng, thys were able to set the same in such a Fyer, that furst consideringe how all Regarde off Honour was sett aparte, and the Law that maintaineth the Commercement between Man purposyd to be violate, so ytt myght torne to my undoing. Furst of all of my part, I shuld abstaine from all Commercement with that Part, other by Word Writing, or Dede; Secondorylye, procure by all honest Wayes, if I wolde not by dishonest, to repaye this Malignytie, to the uttermoste Damage I could devyse toward them, of whose malygne Minde towarde me I had so greate Experyence: And yett after all this, furst of all, youe may see forthwythe by wrytyng att this tyme, I doe nott abstayne from the furst Acte to practyse and entreate, wyth them that hath bene Authors hereof, and to practyse yett to hys Honour and Wealthe, whiche wold utterlie extinguyshe both in me. And if I be herd herein, to put the same also in Execution; which Thing thoughe I do suerlie of my owne Purpose and Mynd, yet some Occasion hereof, howe it cometh otherwise I will not denye, nor kepe close, which is this; That whereas the Bishope of *Verona*, that was sent of me to the *Frenche* Court, to intimate those Affaires, that for the Wealthe of *Chrystendome*, the Pope had committed unto me, to entreate with his Majestie, in his Retourne passynge by *Abbevylle*, where were lodged my Lorde of *Wynchester*, and Mr. *Bryan*; whereas he could not but gretlie marvayle of this Acte of the Kyng toward me, my hole Legation purposing no other but his Honour and Weltche: And desiereng therefore to conferre the same with the Embassadours, for better Declaracyon of the Truthe of the Mattiers, to be known as they were: My Lord of *Wynchester*, and Mr. *Bryan*, both abstaynenge for Respect from all Communycation, yet sending unto him theyre Secretarye, after the Bishope had in parte declared the Effect of my Legacie, that touched then any Part the Kyng, yet semed to be open

to

to bothe Parties, that all the King had done agaynst me, was of the sinistre and false Reports of other, that by false Conjecture of Things they knewe not, had ill enfourmed the King of my Purpose in comyng into these Partes, which the Secretarys thought onys clered and declaryd, other by Letters or Messingers, the Kyng wold turne his Mynde, as his Grace sawe the Deds to justyfie themselfs. This the Bishope of *Verona* (at his Retourne) showed me; which I accepted in that Parte to be trewe also, that all came of eyill Enformacion. And that his Grace being assertayned of my Mynd, as it is and ever hath bene, it were not unpossyble then some Part to knowledge rather my Gratitude, than to machynate anye Thing contrary. And that it might be so knowen, for all Parts yet cannot be but well; but as I shewed the Bishope, by Letters I had attempted often the same, but all could not prevail: My Messengers I had sent often for that Purpose, could never be admitted to have Audience of the Kyng. And without one of these Wayes were founde, there could no Conclusion be had in theyse Mattyers, wherein reasonyng with him, I asked, if for the Love and Service that ever he hath born to the Kinge, and showed indede when he was in that Place where his Service might be in steade to the Kynge, and Love also he hath ever to me, having assured Knowledge of all my Affayres and Purposes, not only these laste, but all synyth my departing from the Realme, whether he could be content (the King's Pleasure first knowen) to acquiet the King's Mynde in this Behalfe, by going to his Grace, and enforming him of the hole; wherein, afore God, he shuld do a Dede moste charitable. Wherin also I did allege unto him, for to bind him withall; bycause after such Demonstracyon of the Kyng's Mynde made unto me, few Men wold be content to practyse wyth his Grace, in any thing belonging unto me. For this Cause, I did rehearse the more Thyngs to enduce him hereunto; and amongst other, this chieflye, the Purpose of his comyng with me, which (afore God) was this: That the Pope, entending by all meanes of Benignitie to practise with the King, haveng the *Frenche* Kyng so joined in Amytie with the Kyng, and with his Sanctitie also; devyseng for a mete Instrument betwene bothe. Yf any Personne, for this Degree newlye taken, were not accepted, the Bishop of *Verona* was thought moste meetest, being for his old Deserts to both Princes, as long as he was in that Place where he might do them serviceable Pleasure, as it was to be thought grateful to them both, and counted (for his Goodness) the best Bishop of *Italye*. So that all Thynges consydered, in Mattiers of the Church to entreate with these Princes, none was thought like: Wherupon the Pope bounde him to take thys Jornaye with me, for this Purpose. And this Bond, amongst other I rehearsed unto him, when I moved him to go unto the Kinge. To the which, he made Answer; Yf there were none other Bond nor Respect in this Mattier but of God, knowing my Mattiers as he doth, and seing what Inconvenients might followe, if they were not at laste well accepted, besyde the Seryyce he hath ever owed to the Kinge, and Love toward me, knowing what Comfort that might be to all Partys, if my trewe and faythfull Dealings were well intimate

to

to the King, he wold be content at all tymes the waye onys founde afore, howe with Commodytie he might come to the King's Presence, to take this Charge upon hym. Thys, my Lorde, you may nowe perceive, that if I had any Part that mynde, that the Kyng's procurenge against me doth showe to be persuaded I have, yt could not be possible I could have any Confidence to attempt any medlyng wythe his Grace under suche maner: But because nor my Confydence, nor affecyonate Mynde, yt is not taken awaye, therefore this I do declare unto you by these Letters, to the Intente you maye intimate the same to hys Grace. And now you see by a great Proffe what my Mynde is, you may also see how all Suspytion may not alonlye be clearyd, many Things apeacyd that peradventure might torne to greater Trouble, but also many Things be brought to Light, to the Kyng's more assuryd Honour and Wealthe, than any thing is I thinke thought of hitherto make for the same. For all this I dare promisse to follow, if the Bishop be herd with that Mynde, as he is sent, and content for to go. Other Declaration of my Mynde by Letters I entende not to make, than my Letters agreyng with my Acts sent afore do make Testimonye; and that the Bishope, which is prevye to all, may better declare presentlye. But this I will saye, if I bare in any parte that Mynde, the Kyng's Acte agaynst me doth show, his Grace is persuaded I shold have, suerlye I wold never adone as I have done, in all my Acts and Processes by Letters, made the Kyng and you prevye unto them. Thys I dyd at my furst commyng to *Rome*, and the Cause of my Legacy nowe, and the Cause of my comyng to these Parts. Such Advises Rebels be not wont to give unto those, from whome they rebel, but specially at *Rome*, being there when the Tyme was troubleous for the Kyng in his Realme; lettyng them the sending furthe of the Censures, which myght a caused more Trouble; and sending at that Tyme my Servant purposelye, to offer my Service, to procure by all meanes his Honour, Welth, Quietness; animating besyde, those that were Cheffe of my nerest Kynne, to be constaunt in his Servyce. Thys Rebells be not wont to do. And I know, at *Rome*, if any Man had been premyate to do hym Servyce, none could have done more; insomuch that Men judged me Half a Rebell to God and my Contrye, because I wold not assent to divers Thyngs, that had made little to the Kyng's Quietness: But specially, having in my Hand those Wrytings, that put forthe peradventure, might a caused most Trouble of all. These instauntly being desired of those, which had in a manner Authorytie to commande, and yet ever finding meanes that they never came into their Sight nor Hands, and to this Hower suppressing the same lykewise. If one that had Mynd of Rebellion wold do the same, be thinke you well: But, as I say, my Purpose is not to justifie my Mynde, by these Letters, at this Time, in more Acts than one, which is of this present Time. Nor if it be not justified of such a one as the Bishops, that knoweth them assuredly, I do nother entend hereafter to labour any more herein: Afore God, and all Men, that will be indifferent Judges of the Truthe, I will not doubt, at all times to justifie my self to-

ward the King, I wold to God I could so well justifie my self afore God and the Catholick Church, for negligent Service in this Behalf, because I would not offend the Kinge. Now I will say no more, but pray unto Almighty God, to put that in the Kyng's Mynde that may be most to his Honour and Wealthe, with Grace to follow the same; and to take from all other such Occasyon, why they shuld thynk, if they serve the Kyng according to their Conscience, they shulde be constrayned to offend the Kyng, and so herebye to separate the one from the other; which suerlye to no Man shuld be more Greffe than to me. But Goddes Pleasure be fulfylled above all, to whome nowe I commit you. Written at *Cambray*, the Second Day of *Maye*.

Your Lovyng Friend

R. Card. Legat.

Number 54.

A Letter of the Abbess of Godstow, *complaining of* *Dr.* London.

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4. P. 228.

PLeasith hit your Honor, with my moste humble Dowtye, to be advertised, that where it hath pleasyd your Lordship to be the verie Meane to the King's Majestie, for my Preferment, most unworthie to be Abbes of this the King's Monasterie of *Godystowe*; in the which Offyce, I truste I have done the best in my Power to the Mayntenance of God's trewe Honour, with all Treuth and Obedience to the King's Majestie; and was never moved nor desired by any Creature in the King's Behalfe, or in your Lordship's Name, to surrender and give upe the House; nor was never mynded nor intended so to do, otherwise than at the King's Gracious Commandement, or yours. To the which I do, and have ever done, and will submit my self most humblie and obedientlie. And I truste to God, that I have never offendyd God's Laws, neither the King's, wherebie that this poore Monasterie onght to be suppressed. And this notwithstanding, my good Lorde, so it is, that Doctor *London*, whiche (as your Lordeship doth well know) was agaynst my Promotion, and hathe ever sence borne me great Malys and Grudge, like my mortall Enemye, is sodenlie cummyd unto me, with a greate Rowte with him; and here dothe threten me and my Sisters, sayeng, that he hath the King's Commission to suppress the House, spyte of my

Tothe.

Tethe. And when he sawe that I was contente that he shulde do all Things according to his Commission; and shewyd him playne, that I wolde never surrender to his Hande, being my Awncyent Enemye; now he begins to intreat me, and to invegle my Sisters, one by one, otherwise than ever I harde tell that any of the Kyng's Subjects hathe been handelyd: And here tarieth and contynueth, to my great Coste and Charges; and will not take my Answere, that I will not surrender, till I know the King's Gracious Commandement, or your good Lordeship's. Therefore I do moste humblie beseche you, to contynewe my good Lorde, as you ever have bene; and to directe your Honorable Letters to remove him hens. And whensoever the Kyng's Gracious Commandement, or yours, shall come unto me. You shall find me most reddie and obedyant to folloe the same. And notwithstand that Doctor *London*, like an untrew Man, hath informed your Lordship, that I am a Spoiler and a Waster, your good Lordship shall knowe that the contrary is trewe. For I have not alienatyd one halporthe of goods of his Monasterie, movable, or unmovable, but have rather increasyd the same. Nor never made Lease of any Farme, or Peece of Grownde belongyng to this House; or then hath bene in Tymes paste allwaies set under Covent Scal for the Wealthe of the House. And therefore my verie Truste is, that I shall fynd the Kynge as Gracious Lorde unto me, as he is to all other his Subjects. Seyng I have not offendyd. And am and will be moste Obedyent to his most Gracious Commandment at all Tymes. With the Grace of Allmighty Jesus, who ever preserve you in Honour longe to indure to his Pleasure. Amen. *Godiston* the vth Daie of *November*.

Your moste bownden Beds Woman

Katharine Bulkeley, *Abbess there.*

Number 55.

A Letter to Bullinger *from one of* Maidstone, *giving an Account of an Image, which seems to be the Rood of* Boxley *in* Kent.

Johannes Hokerus Maydstanenses.

RUIT hic passim Azzotinus Dagon, Bel ille Babylonicus jam dudum confractus est. Repertus est nuper Cantianorum Deus ligneus, pensilis Christus, qui cum ipso Protheo concertare potuisset. Nam & capite nutare, innuere oculis, barbam convertere, in curva- At *Zurich.*

re corpus, adeuntium aversari & recipere preces scitissimè noverat. Hic cum Monachi sua causa caderent, repertus est in eorum Templo, plurimo cinctus anathemato, linteis, cereis agricis . . . . . exterisque ditatus muneribus. Subodoratus est fucum cordatus Vir, Nicolai Patrigii nostri frater, affixum contra parietem è vestigio solvit, apparent artes, apparent imposturæ, mirus ac Polypeus pr[illegible]giator deprehenditur. Erant foraminoso corpori occultæ passim fistulæ, in quibus ductile per rimulas, ferrum à mystagogo trahebatur, laminis nihilominus artificiosè celantibus. Hinc factum est ut populum Cantianum, imò Angliam totam jam seculis aliquot magno cum quæstu dementarit. Patefactus Meydstanuensibus meis spectaculum primitus dedit, ex summo se culmine confertissimo se ostentans populo, aliis ex animo, aliis Ajacem risu simulantibus. Delatus hinc circulator Londinum est. Invisit Aulam Regis, Regem ipsum, novus hospes: nemo salutat verè. Conglomerant ipsum risu aulico, Barones, Duces, Marchiones, Comites. Adsunt è longinquo, circumstand', intuend' & vidend' penitus. Agit ille, minatur oculis, aversatur ore, distorquet nares, mittit deorsum caput, incurvat dorsum, annuit & renuit. Vident, rident, mirantur, strepit vocibus theatrum, volitat super æthera clamor. Rex ipse incertum gavisus ne magis sit ob patefactum imposturam, an magis doluerit ex animo tot seculis miseræ plebi fuisse impositum. Quid multis opus? Res delata est ad Conciliarios. Hinc post dies aliquot habita est Londini concio, prædicabat è sacra Cathedra Episcopus Roffensis, stat ex adverso Danieli Bel Cantianus, summo erectus pulpito. Hic denuò sese aperit, hic denuò coram fibulam scitè agit. Mirantur, indignantur, stupent. Pudet ab idolo tam turpiter fuisse delusos. Cumque jam incalesceret Concionator, & Verbum Dei occultè operaretur in cordibus auditorum, præcipitio devolvunt istum lignum truncum in confertissimos auditores. Hic varius auditur diversorum clamor, rapitur, laceratur, frustillatim comminuitur, scinditurque in mille confractus partes, tandem in IGNEM mittitur. Et hic tulit exitum illum.

Number 56.

A Consolatory Letter to Henry VIIIth, *from the Bishop of* Durham, *after the Death of Queen* Jane.

Cott. Libr. *Titus* B. 1. P. 121.

PLese your Highnes to understande that wher now of late it hath pleasyd Almighty God to take unto his Mercy out off this present Lyffe, the most Blessed and Vertuouse Lady, your Graces most Dearest Wyff the Queens Grace, whose Soule God pardone, and newes thereof Sorrowfull to all Man, cume into these Partes, surely it cannot well be expressed, how all Men of all Degrees dyd greatly lament and mourne the Death of that Noble Lady and Princesse,

taken

taken out of this World by bringing forth of that Noble Fruit that is sprunge of your Majesty, and her, to the great Joy and inestimable Comforte of all your Subjects, consideringe withall that this Noble Fruit, my Lord Prince, in his tender Age interyng into this World, is by her Death lefft a Dear Orphant, commencinge thereby thys miserable mortall Lyffe, not only by Weepinge and Waylinge, as the M...y of Menkynde requireth, but also refte in the Begynnynge of his Lyffe from the Comforte of his most dear Mother. And albeyt to hym by tendernes of his Age, it is not known what he hath lost, yet we that do know and feel it, have much more Cause to morne, seinge such a Vertuose Princesse who hath shewed so great Hopes of much Frute to come of her Body, is so sudenly taken from us. But thys notwithstandinge your Majesty whom thys chauncly most towcheth, must by your High Wisdome consyder the Misery of the Mortal Lyffe of Mankynde, which no Man born in this World, Prince nor Poore Man, can exchue; seing it is the Sentence of Almighty God, sayinge in the begynning asweel to the Woman, *In dolore paries Filios tuos*; as to the Man, and by him to all his Posterite, *Pulvis es & in pulverem reverteris*. In which Mortal Lyffe who soever is most vexyd and troubled, yf he take it patiently ys more accepte to God, and called in the Scripture therby blessed; as it is written in the Book of *Job*, *Beatus Homo qui corripitur à Deo; in increpationem ergo Domini ne reprobes, quia ipse Vulnerat & medetur, percutit & manus ejus sanabit.* And it is written in the Epistle of *James* lykewise, *Beatus Vir qui suffert tentationem, quum autem ille probatus fuerit, accipiet Coronam Vitæ.* And as Saint *Paul* saies to the *Hebrews*, It is a sure tokyn that God favoureth them as his Children, to whom he sendeth Adversite, sayinge, *Quem enim diligit Dominus, castigat; flagellat autem omnem Filium quem recipit. In disciplina perseverate, tanquam Filiis vobis se offert Deus: Quis enim Filius quem non corripit Pater, quod si extra disciplinam estis, cujus participes facti sunt omnes, ergo adulterini & non Filii estis.* And albeyt the Disciplin of Adversite be full of Hevinesse for the Tyme, yet it endeth alwayes in Joy; as there folloeth, *Omnis autem disciplina in presenti quidem non videtur esse gaudii sed meroris, postea autem fructum pacatissimum exercitatis per eadem reddet justitiæ.* And like as al Men more do Favour those their Servants, that in a longe Voiage do sustein more Adversite, so Almighty God in thys Lyffe (which all is but a Voiage, for as Sainte *Paule* saieth, *Non habemus hic manentem civitatem sed futuram inquirimus*,) most accepteth those his Servants, that so sustein most Adversite patiently. And Saint *Paule*, consyderinge the Instabilite of this World, exhorteth all Men to use al Things therin, as Transitory, and not permanent both in Prosperity and in Adversite; for neither of both doth tary, but brively overpasseth; sainge, *Tempus breve est, reliquum est, ut qui habent Uxores tanquam non habentes sint, & qui flent tanquam non flentes, & qui gaudent tanquam non gaudentes, & qui emunt tanquam non possidentes, & qui utuntur hoc mundo, tanquam non utantur, preterit enim figura mundi hujus.* Then sence Prosperite is Fugitive, and taryeth not, let us not trust to yt, and since Adversite soon overpasseth and abideth not, let us not esteem it, for after it sustenyd patiently

patiently sure we be that Joy shall succeed. Consyder yf it like your Majestie how oft Tymes sence your most Noble Regne began, God hath sent you diverse and many Tymes great flowings of Prosperite, and therfor yf God sum Tymes do sende a droppe of Adversite, sustein it by your High Wisdome, with patient Suffring, as I trust assuredly, and doubt not but your Highnes wyl; assured you may be that God for your so doinge shal hyghly requite that far beyond your Highnes Expectations. Grete Cities, Towns, and Regions, al People in them, and Princes of the same, oft do sustein Adversite bycause the hole World is alway subject to mutabilite, and lyke as after Lygth succeedeth Darknes, and after Somer cometh Winter, so Darknes taryeth not, but Light doth folow, and Winter gifteth Place to the Somer again; so that I doubt not but God willing this Storme of sorowful Season, shal by your Majesties Wysdome after a Tyme overpass, and the Somer of joyful Gladnes shal succeed, not only to your Grace Comforte, but to the Comforte of all your Subjects, much Mornyng at this Tyme in their Harts with your Highnes. And when Almighty God hath taken from your Grace, to your greate Discomforte a most Blessed and Vertuouse Lady, consyder what he hath given your Highnes again to your Comforte, and to the rejoyce of all us your Subjects, our most Noble Prince, to whom God hath ordeined your Majestie not only to be Father, but also as the Tyme now requireth, to supply the roome of a Mother also. So that therby he shal hereafter have double Cause to Honour your Highnes, As it is not to be doubted, but God grantyng him Lyfe hereafter he wyl do. In whom in the mean Tyme, Almighty God of Infinite Mercy grant, that your Grace putting away all sorowful Pensivenesse, may to the Comfort of your Noble Harte, long rejoyce, which shal be also to the High Comfort of al the Subjects of your Graces Realme. And sense Mornyng can in no wise amend the Matter, and thanks given to God may sooner over-blow this Storm. Best shall be to conclude with Job, *Dominus dedit, dominus abstulit, sicut Domino placuit ita factum est. Sit nomine Domini Benedictum.* God gave your Grace that Noble Lady, and God hath takyn her away as it plesed hym. So it is done, Laude by gyven to hym: and for to consyder also, how *Job* exhorteth by his Example, al Men being in like Case, to Patience, sainge, *Si bona suscepimus de manu Domini, mala autem quare non sustineamus*: Which your Highnes for your great Wisdome and Learninge can much better consider, then I can advertise the same, unlesse sorrowfulnes for the Tyme put it out of remembrance. Almyghty God of his Infinite Mercy grant your Grace Spiritual Comfort, and putting away al Worldly Hevynesse, ever to rejoyce in him, who have your Majestie alway in his Blessed Protection to your Harts Desire, with encrease of much Honore. From your Citie of *Torke* the xiii Day of *November*.

By your most humble Subject,

Servant and Chaplein

Cuthbert Duresme.

Number

Number 57.

Injunctions geven by Edwarde *Archbushope of* Yorke, *to be observed within the Dioces of* Yorke, *by all the Clergie of the same, and oder, whome the sayde Injunctions do concerne.*

YOU shall fyrste diligentlie observe all maner of Injunctions, given unto you by the King's Hyghnes Commaundiment, and specially concerninge the Abolicion of the Papacie, or of the pretendyd Jurisdiction challenged by the Bysshope of *Rome* within this Realme; and also concerning the Confirmation and Establishment of the Kyng's Highnes Title of Suprime Heade over thole Catholique Churche of *Englande*, aswell Spirituall as Temporall.

Item, Everie Curate and Preyste within this Dioces, shall have an New Testament, in *Englishe* or *Latten*, within Fourtie Days nexte after the Publication hereof; and shall daylie reade Two Chapitores of the same afore Nowne, and Two at aftre Nowne, and that treatablie and distinctlie; and shall do his best Indevoure to understande the same.

Item, Everie Curate shall provyde to have the Booke compyled by the King's Highnes Commaundiment, namyde *Thinstitution of a Christen Man*, with all convenient Speyde, as soon as the saide Book shall come forth by his Commaundment: And in the same shall daylie read Two Chapitores, so that he may be able to declare the same to his Parochians.

Item, All Curates and Heades of Congregacions, Religiouse and not Religiouse, Privileged and not Privileged, shall, accordinge to the Kyng's Highnes Commaundiment and Injunctions, everie Holie Day, at Mattens Time, and betwene Mattens and Laudes, read the *Pater Noster*, and the *Ave Maria* in *Englishe*, treateabli and distinctelie, and cause all theire Parochians, whiche cannot all redy say it in *Englyshe*, yonge and olde, to reherse everie Petecion by it selfe, to thend therof, after them; and in lykewise everi Holy Day, at Masse, and immediatlie after the Crede, shall rehers everie Article of the Crede by it selfe, and so shall cause the Parochians to rehers after them, everie one by it selfe, to thende, and likewise every Holy Day, at Even-Songe, betwene Even-Songe and Completorie, shall rehers the Tenne Commaundements, every one by it selfe, and so cause his Parochians to rehers after him, everie one by it selfe, to thende, to thentente that they may lerne perfectlie all Three. And for this Purpose, the saide Curates, and oder Heades of the Congregacion, must give Warninge to thaire Parochians, that none of them be absent at such Times as any of the saide Three shall be rehersed. And shall furthermore declare unto them, that they shall not be admytted to resave the Blessed Sacrament of the Alter at *Easter*, tyll they

they can perfectlie reherse them all Three by Rote : And therfore everie Gostelie Father, accordinge to the King's Injunctions, muste everie *Lent* examen ther Parochians, in Time of Confession, to knowe wheder they have learned the Premisses perfytly, or not.

Item, All Curates muste continuallye call upon thaire Parochians, to provide a Booke of the hole Byble in *Englyshe*, of the Largieste Forme, within Fourtie Dayes nexte after the Puplication hereof, that may be chayned in some open Place in the Churche, that all Men may resorte to reade in it for theare Instruction, under the Payne of Suspencion of ther Churches. And the same to be boughte at the Charges of the Vicare or Parsonne, and Parochians, accordinge to the King's Injunctions.

Item, All Curates muste cause one Booke, comprisinge the *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria* in *Englishe*, the Crede and the Tenne Commaundements in *Englishe*, to be set upon a Table in the Churche openlie, that all Men may reasorte to learne them, at all such Tymes as they woll. And this to be done, within Twentie Days after the Puplication hereof.

Item, No Curates, nor oder Preistes of what sorte soever they be, shall haunte Taverns or Alehowses, or open Hoistres, oder wayes than for necessarie Meales and Reflections; if they canne have none in oder Places, accordinge to the King's Highnes Injunctions; but shall occupie themselves, ether in the Churche, or in thaire Chambers, with Reading of Holy Scripture, or Teachinge of Children.

Item, All Curates and Preistes, beinge in one Churche togeddre, shall (if they can so provide) live togedder at one Commons; and not one to be in one Place, and ane oder in an oder Place. And shall, in all theire Behaviors, shew good Example, in Worde, Dede, Countenaunce and Habyte, to the better Edifienge of the Laye-People.

Item, They shall not be Common Hunters ne Hawkers, ne playe at Gammes prohibytede, as Dycese and Cartes, and suche oder.

Item, That they shall (accordinge to the King's Highnes Injunctions) in no wise discorage any Man to reade in the *Englisb* Byble, which is the Booke of Lyefe; but shall comfort them therin : Never the lesse exhorting them to entre in to the Readinge therof, withe the Sperite of Mekenes, and Purpose to be gostelie edified. And not to be Brablers ne Praters, Arguers ne Disputers thereof; ne to presume that thay know therin that they know not; but, for ther Instruction, to resorte to such as be better lerned than they be, when they finde any Dyfficultie therin.

Item, All Curates and Heades of Congregations, Religiouse and oder, Privileged and oder, shall everie Holy Day reade the Gospell, and the Epistle of that Day out of the *Inglishe* Byble, planely and distinctlie : And they that have such Grace, shall make some Declaracion odre, of the one, or of bothe, (if the Time may serve) every Holy Day.

Item, Every Curate, resident and hable, shall make 4 solempne Sermons in the Yeare, one everie Quarter : Not rescoent, havinnge 5 *l.* or 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *de claro*, shall finde one solempne Sermon for

the

the Instruction of the People, in the Begyninge of *Lent*: Havyng 10 *l. de claro*, 2 solempne Sermons; one in the Begyning of *Lent*, an othur at sume othur Time of the Yere. Having 15 *l.* 3 Sermons; one in the Begynninge of *Lent*, thoder at Two convenient Tymes. Havinge 20 *l.* 4 Sermons; one at *Lent*, thoder Three, at Three convenient Times. Havinge 30 *l. de claro*, 5 Sermons; one at *Lent*, and the oder Four at convenient Times. Having 40 *l.* 6 Sermons; one in the Beginninge of *Lent*, and the oder Five at convenient Times. And as the cleare Valew dothe encrease, so mo Sermons.

And yet nevertheles we now monishe, under the Payne of the Lawe, all Parsons and Vicares to be resident upon theire Curis, beinge within this Dioces, afore the Feaste of *Christenmas* next; oneles they can and do shew, afore that Day, a Lawfull Cause, why they may not, or shoulde not do so.

Item, That none be admytted to kepe Cure, ne to say Masse in any Churche of this Dioces; oneles he be admitted by me, or my Officer, havinge Commission fro me for the same; and allso do shewe the Lettes of his Orders.

Item, That no Man be admitted to Preache within this Dioces, onelesse he have Auctorite under the King's Seale, or myne, accordinge to the King's Highnes Injunctions.

Item, All Curates and oder, havinge Charge of any Congregacion, must diligentlie informe theire Flocke, accordinge to the King's Highnes Injunctions, that they may in no wise yelde Worshippe to any Images, Lowtinge or Bowinge downe, or Knelinge to the saide Images, ne Offering to them any Money, or Wax lighte or unlighte, or any oder Thing: For so muche, as Offeringe is to be made to God onlie, and to no Creature under God. Neverthelesse they may still use Lightes in the Roode Lofete, and afore the Sacrament, and at the Sepulture at *Easter*; accordinge to the King's Injunctions: So that they none use to the Honer or Worshippe of any Image, ne by the Way of Offeringe made, odre to any Image, or to any Sainct represented by the same.

Item, They must teache theire Flocke, that Images be suffred onelie as Bokes, by which our Hertes may be kindeled to folow the holy Steppes and Examples of the Saintes represented by the same; even as Sainctes Lives be written, and muste be redde in written Bookes, for the same Purpose: And that, as we do not worshipe our Booke when we have rede the Saint's Liefe; so likewise, we shall not worshipe the Images, which is as the Booke to them that cannot read in odre Bokes.

Item, They muste declare to thaire Flocke, that althoughe they see the Image of the Fadre represented as an Olde Man, yet they maye in no wise beleve, that the Hevenlie Father is any Man, or that he haithe any Bodie or Age; but that he is a Nature and Substaunce, above all mesure passinge the Capacite and Undrestandinge, oder of Mans Witt or Aungelles.

Item, Alle suche Ymagies, to whiche any maner of Resorte is usede, by waye of Peregrenage or Offeringe, they must depose and

sequestre frome all Sighte of Men, and suffre them no more to be sett upp.

Item, They must charge all the Faders and Moders, and Heades of Howse-holdes, and Gode-Fatheres, and Gode-Motheres, and Scoole-Maystres, accordinge to the King's Highnes Injunctions, to see theire Children, Servantes and Scoleres, well instructe in the *Pater-Noster*, *Ave Maria*, Crede, and Tenne Commandiments, in *Englishe*, and all oder Thinges compprised in theis Injunctions. And for that Purpose, all Curates and Heades of Congregacions, muste ons in a Quarter rede theis Injunctions, in the Churche, in thaudience of all the People; aswell for the Remembrance of theire owne Dewtie, as for ther Citinge the People to knowe theire Dewtie. And we Charge and Commaunde all Curates, and all oder of this Dioces to whome it shall apperteigne, to have a Copy of theis Injunctions, within Fourtie Days next folowinge the Puplication hereof. And when the same shall be imprinted, we charge them to have them so imprinted within Sex Days aftre the same shall come to thire Knowledge, under Payne of Excommunication.

Item, They muste instructe their Parochians, that they nothinge please God, but displease him; doeng Workes onlie in thaire owne Will and Devocion, by Man's Tradicion, and leaving the Workes by God commanded, undone.

Item, They muste instruct their Flocke, that their Confidence for thatteyning of Everlasting Lief, must be only in God, and in his Grace and Marcy, and in the Merits and Redemption of our Saviour Jesu Christe: And that none of our Workes, as ours, have any Efficacie or Vertue to save us, but only have their Vertue and Efficacie by the Grace of God, and Merits of Christ's Passion.

Item, All Curates must openly, in the Church, teach and instruct the Mydwiefes, of the very Wordes and Fourme of Baptisme; to thentente that they may use them perfietly, and none oder: In Time of Nede, that is to say; that they, Naming the Child, must say these Wordes; *John*, or *Thomas*, or *Agnes*, *I baptize thee in the Name of the Fader*, *the Sonne*, *and the Holie Gost*: And that saying thies Wordes, they must cast Water upon the Child. For which Purpose, they must have ready at Hand a Vessel of Cleane Water.

Item, They must often upon the Holidays, and specially at Times of Mariages, warn their Parochians, that they in no wise make any privie Contract of Mariage, but afore Two or Three sufficient Witnes required to be present for that Purpose: And that afore they make any Contract, they do their best Endevour, to know wheder there be betwene them any Lawfull Impediment, oder by Godds Lawe, or any oder Ecclesiastical yet used, afore they entre to make any Contract.

Item, That the Fadres, and oder Freyndes, constrayne not them that be under their Correccion and Governance, to Mary, agenst their Willes, ne afore they have Discretion to consider what the Bounde of Mariage meaneth.

Item,

Item, All Curates and oder Heddes of Congregacyons must never ceasse to imprinte in the Hertes of their Flocke the Two Commaundiments which our Saviour calleth the Fulnes of the Lawe; that is, the Love of God above all Thing, and thei Love of thye Neighbore as thy self: And likewise the sayd Curates must continuallie engrave in the Hertes of their Flocke the Two Preceptes of the Lawe of Nature; that is, do as thou wolde be done unto, and do not that thou wolldest not to be done unto the.

Item, They muste alway emploie them self to mainteyn Charitie and Peace in our Lorde Jesu amonges their Parochians, and to avoide all Rancor and Dissention amongs them.

Item, That they in no wise kepe thoes Dayes for Holy whiche by our Soveraigne Lord the Kynge opon juste Consideracion be abrogat: Ne asmoche as in them is suffer of their Parochians to kepe them as Holie, but that they in theme be occupied everie Man in his Busines, as in oder Days according to the Kinges Highnes Injunctions.

Item, They muste instructe their Flocke, that in those Dayes whiche be observed and kept for Holiedayes, they must utterlie withdrawe themeselfes frome all Worldlie and Fleshelie Busines and Occupacions, and Houses of Gammes and Playes; speciallie frome all Synne; and entierlie, and hollie emploie themselfes to Goostelie Works, behoveable for Manis Soule: And that therefore Taverns, Vitailing-Houses, may not thyes Dayes be used and exercised, and speciallie in the Tyme of Divine Servicie, onles Necessitie oderwise require for them that Travaile in Journey.

Item, All Houses of Religion, Colleges, Hospitalls, and all oder havyng any Beneficies appropriated unto theme, shall according to the Value of their Beneficies, have in their Churches appropried certain Sermons every Year; as in like Ordinance for Curates as afore is comprised.

Item, All Curates and oder havyng Benefices appropriated by them self yf they can, or by oder Preachers ons every Quarter, must teache and instruct the People of their Dewtie of Fathefull and Loyall Obedience to our Soverand Lord the King, declaring that they be bounden to yield entier and perfect Obedience to his Highnes by Goddes Lawe, expresse under the Payn of Dampnation everlasting: And that to make any styrryng, gathering of People, or Commocion, withoute his expresse Commandment, is to breke, not only Goddes Commandment and Lawe, but also all Natural and Politique Order, in which the Heed governethe the Membres, and not the Membres the Heed, and in which also all the Members, aswell by Nature, as by good Policie, employe them selffe and indaunger them self for the Preservation and Mayntenance of the Heed.

All which Injunctions by thauctorite which we have under God, and our Soveraigne Lord the Kynge, we charge all to whom it apertenythe to observe and kepe under the Paynes lymyted in the same, and under the Paynes of Suspencion and Sequestracyon of the Frutes of theyre Beneficies and Promocyons Ecclesiasticall, and oder Paynes Arbytrary, as we shall thynke convenient and reasonable.

Number 58.

Injunctions given by the Bisshoppe of Coventre *and* Lychefelde *throughe out his Diocesse.*

TO all and singular of the Clergie within the Diocess of *Coventree* and *Lichefelde*, I *Rolande*, by the Grace of God Byshop of the sayd Diocesse, beynge commaunded therunto by the Kinges Majestie, gyve these Injunctions following, for the Honour of God, thencrease of Vertue, and Abolyshmente of Ignorance, Vice, and Viciouse Lyvinge.

Fyrste, That ye and every one of you, shall with all your Diligence and Faythful Obedience, observe and cause to be observed, all and syngular the Contentes of the Kynges Hyghnes Injunctions, by his Graces Commissarys gyven, in such Places as they in Tymes paste have vysited, and also sent unto you at this Tyme. And that ye and every of you, shal provyde for Copies of the same, to be had before the Feast of *Lammasse* nexte ensuynge.

Item, That ye and every of you do instructe and teach your Parishoners, the Kinges Majestie to be only the Supreme Heed under Chryst in Erthe of this his Churche of *Englande*, unto whom all Potentates and Powers of the same owen to obey, being therto obliged and bounde by Goddes Worde. And that the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Predecessours, did ever heretofore usurp upon the Kynges of this Realme, in the using any maner of Jurisdiction or Auctorite within the same. And that ye shal exhorte every *Sonday* al your Parishoners, to the due Obedience of our Prince and Soveraigne Lorde, his Heires, and Successours Kynges of *Englande*.

Item, That every Person or Proprietary of any Parishe Churche within my Diocesse, shal on thisside the Feast of *Pentecoste* nexte commynge, provide a Boke of the hole Byble, bothe in *Latin*, and also in *Englishe*, and laye the same in the Quiere, for every Man that will, to loke and reade theron: And shal not discorage, but ernestly comforte, exhorte, and admonishe every Man to reade the Bible in *Latin* or *Englishe*, as the very Worde of God, and the Spiritual Foode of Man's Sowle, wherby they maye the better knowe their Deutyes to God, to their Soveraigne Lord the Kinge, and their Neighboure: Alwaye gentely and charitably exhorting them to use a sober and a modeste Haviour in the Readynge and Inquisition of the true Sence, and that in no wise they stiffely or egerly contende, or strive with one another about the same, but referre the Declaration of those Places that be in Controversie, to the Judgement of them that be better Learned.

Item, I decree and ordeyne that all Monasteries, Collegiate Churches, and al Persons to whom any Benefyces be impropried within my Diocese, shal from henceforth Four Times in the Year at the leaste, that is, One Tyme every Quarter, cause One Sermon to be preached,

purely, sincerely, and according to the true Scripture of God, in al such Churches where they, or any of them, receive any Profytes or Commodities, upon Peyne of Sequestration of theyr Fruites.

Item, I require and exhorte you, in our Soveraigne Lordes Name, and as his Gracis Mynister, I straitly charge and commaunde you, to declare and publishe every *Sondaye* in the Pulpet at High Masse Tymes, the *Pater Noster*, *Ave*, and *Crede* in *Englishe*, distinctely, and in suche wyse as the People maye lerne the same. And that Four Tymes in the Quarter ye declare to your Paryshoners, the Seven deedly Sinns, and the Ten Commaundments, so as the People therby may not only lerne how to Honour God, their Prince, and Parentes; but also how they shall avoide Sinne and Vice, and to lyve Vertuousely, folowinge Goddes Lawes and his Commaundements.

Item, That ye bothe in your Preachinges, Secret Confessions, and al other Workes and Doings, shall excite and move your Parishioners unto such Works as are commaunded expressely of God: For the whiche God shall demaunde of them a strayte reckeninge; as the Articles of the Fayth, and the Ten Commandments, and all other Workes which Men do of their own Will or Devotion, to teache and instruct your Parishioners, that they are not to be estemed, in Comparison of the other. And that for the not doinge of any wilfull Workes, God wyll not aske any Accompte.

Item, That ye, nor any of you, suffre no Fryer or other Religious Man, to have any Cure or Servyce within your Churches or Cures, excepte they be lawfully dispensed withal, or licensed by the Ordinary.

Item, That ye, and every one of you, doo your Dyligence, and endevour your selfes to your best Industries and Labour, to instructe and teache aswell Chyldren as all other your People, both Men and Women, of that your Parishe, the *Pater Noster*, *Ave*, and *Crede*, and the Ten Commaundments in *Englishe*, and that ye or any of you do admyt no Man nor Woman to receyve the Sacrament of the Aultare, untyl that ye have harde them recite and declare at the least, the same *Pater Noster*, *Ave*, and *Crede* in *Englishe*, without Boke.

Item, That ye, and every of you, shal Two Tymes in a Quarter declare to your Parishoners the Bande of Matrimony, and what great Daunger it is to al Men, that use theyr Bodies, but with suche Personnes as they lawfully may by the Lawe of God; and to exhorte in the said Tymes your Parishoners, that they make no privye Contractes of Matrimonie, but that they call Two Honest Menne at the leaste to recorde the same, as they wyll avoide the Extreme Payne of the Lawes used within the Kinges Realme by his Gracis Auctoritie.

Item, Where some frowarde Persons, partly for Malice and Disdaine, neglecte theyr Curates, and such as have the Cure and Charge of their Soules, and partly to cloke and hyde their lewde and naughtie Livinge, as they have used all the Yere before, use at Lent to go to be confessed to the Fryers, and such other Religious Houses. Therefore I Wyl you to declare, and shew to your Parishoners that no Testimoniall, brought from any of them, shall stande in any Effect:

Effect: Nor any such Persones shall be admitted to Goddis Bourde, unto they submit themselves to be confessed to their owne Curates, onlesse for certayne arduate and urgent Considerations of Conscyence, they be, or shall be otherwise Laufullye dispensed or lycensed withall, either by me or my Deputies.

Item, Whereas Unyversally reigneth this abhominable, detestable, and dyvelishe Use and Custome, that upon the Holy Dayes, in the Tyme of Divine Servyce and Preachyng, that Youthe and other Unthriftes, resorteth to Ale-Houses, and there use unlawfull Games, Blasphemie, Dronkenness, with other Enormities; so that good People therat be offended, and no Punyshment hadde as yet: Therefore I Wil and Commaude you to declare to suche that kepe Alehouses or Taverns within your Parishes, that at suche they suffre no more such unlawfull and ungodly Assemblies; nor to receive suche Persons to Bollynge and Drynkinge at such Seasons in their Houses, under Peine of the Kinges High Displeasure, and to be punished for so doinge.

Item, ye shall teache and instructe your Paryshoners, at the least 12 Tymes in the Yere, the Essential Maner and Forme of Christeninges in *Englishe*, and that the Mydwife may use it in Tyme of Necessitie: Commaundinge the Women, when the Tyme of Birthe draweth nere, to have at all Seasons a Vessell of cleane Water for the same Purpose.

Item, Where I am credibly informed, that certain Priestes in my Diocesse, go in Habite dissimuled more liker of the Temporaltie than of the Clergie, whiche may and dothe minister Occasion to suche light Persons whan they come in Places, and to Persons not knowen, to be more Licentious, bothe of their Comunication and Actes, to the great Sclaunder of the Clergie: Therfore frome hensforthe I Charge and Commande, that in Cities, Towns, and Villages, and in al other Places, they weare mete, convenient, and decent Apparrell, wherby they may be knowen of the Clergie; as they and every one of them will avoide the Penaltie of the Lawes.

Item, I desire, require, and exhorte you and every of you, in the Name of God, that he firmely do observe and kepe these all and singular mine Injunctions. And that ye and every one of you that are Priestes, having Cure or not Cure, as well Benefyced, as not Benefyced within my Diocesse, do gette a Copie of these Injunctions, to the Intente ye maye observe, and cause to be observed the Contentes of the same.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Londini in Ædibus Thomae Bertheleti Regii Impressoris Excus. Anno
M. D. XXXVIII. *Cum Privilegio.*

Number

Number 59.

Injunctions given by the Byshop of Salysbury, *throughout his Dioces.*

INjunctions made by me *Nycolas Shaxton*, Bishop of *Sarum*, at mine ordinarie Visitacion, done in tharchdeaconry of *Dorset*, in the Yere of our Lord God 1538, and in the 30th Yere of the Reign of our Soveraigne Lord King *Henry* the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of *Englande* and of *France*, Defender of the Faythe, Lord of *Yreland*, and Supreme Hede here in Erth, next under God, of the Church of *England*. All which and singuler Injunctions, by thauctorite given to me of God and the Kinge, I exhorte, and also commaunde all Parsons, Vicares, Curates, Chauntry Prestes, and other of the Clergy whatsoever they be, to observe, kepe and perform, as concerneth every one of them, upon Pain of Inobedience, and also of all such Laws and Statutes as may be laid against them, for Breaking or Violating of the same at any Time hereafter.

Fyrst, Whereas Beneficed Men, having and taking Cure of Souls at the Byshop's Hands, do absent themselfs from their said Cures without Licence or Counsell of the said Byshop, not leavinge there able Curates to discharge the said Cures: I monyshe all such peremptorily, either to be personally upon their said Cures, by *Myghelmas* nexte cumminge, or els to present unto me, or my Deputies, such Curates, as upon myne Examinacion, shall be abled and admitted to serve and discharge the said Cures, in thabsence of the said Beneficed Men. And that neither any *French*, or *Irish* Preest, which cannot perfitly speke the *Englysh* Tonge, serve no Cure in this Dyocesse, after the Terme before specified.

Item, That all such having Cures, do every *Sonday* and Holidaye continually, recite, and sincerely declare in the Pulpet, at the Highe Masse Tyme, in the *Englishe* Tonge, both the Epystle and Gospell of the same Daye, (if ther be Time therto) or elles the one of them at the leest; and also to set forthe the King's Regall Power to be Supreme Heade, and Highest Power, under God, in Erthe, of the Churche and Realme of *Englande*: and to abolyshe the Byshope of *Rome*'s Usurped Power. And furthermore, to declare openly and distinctly the Ten Commaundements, the Articles of our Beleve, the *Pater-Noster*; and finally, bydde the Beades, according to the King's Ordinaunce, and none otherwyse.

Item, That everie Prebendary, or Proprietary of any Paryshe-Churche, whose Annuall Fruytes extendeth to 20 *l.* shall make, or cause for to be made foure Times in the Yere, (that is to saye, every Quarter) one Sermon there. And if the Fruites be 15 *l.* Three Sermons; if but 10 *l.* Two Sermons; and if it be under that, he shall make one Sermon at the leest, over and besydes the gyving of Distribu-

Diſtribucions, Almes, or other Comfortable and Bodily, or Charitable Socour amonge the Poore Parochians there, accordinge to theire Appropriacions, or Rate of their Prebends.

Item, That ye ſuffre no Man to Preache, excepte he be eſpecially licenced by his Ordinary, or els the King's Highnes Auctorite: Nor that ye permit any Friere, or other wearing a Religiouſe Habyte, to have any Service in your Churches, neither to ſerve Chauntry, nor Trentall, neither any Brothered Service; and that no Preeſte ſaye Two Maſſes upon One Daye, excepte *Chryſtmas* Daye only.

Item, That everie Benefyced Man, whoſe Benefice is taxed at Ten Pounde, or above, have (before *Whytſontide* next) the Holie Bible; and all other Preeſtes, Beneficed or not Beneficed, at the leeſt have the New Teſtament, both in *Laten* and in *Engliſhe*; and that everie one of them rede over and ſtudye everie Daye one Chapiter at the leeſt, by Order as they ſtande in the Boke unto the Ende, conferringe the *Engliſhe* and *Latyn* together. And if, by Occaſion of a Lawfull Let, it be undone one Daye, be it ſuphlied with Two Chapiters the nexte Day, &c. So that one Daye with another, he faile not to ſtudy one Chapiter.

Item, That every one of you procure diligentlie before *Myghelmas* nexte, to have Copies of the King's Injunctions made in his laſt Viſitation; and then to kepe and obſerve them effectually, upon Paine therin mencioned.

Item, That every one having Cure of Souls, Parſon, Vicar or Curate, admitted, do perfitly con without Boke the Two whole Goſpells of *Mathew* and *Johnn*, and the Epiſtles of *Paule* to the *Romayns*, *Corinthians*, *Galathians*, and other as they ſtande, with the *Actes of the Apoſtles*, and the Canonical Piſtles, after the Rate; to con every Fournyghte one Chapiter without the Boke, and the ſame to kepe ſtill in Memory; over and beſides, to rede and ſtudie everi Day one Chapiter within the Boke, as is above expreſſed. And that the 28th Chapiter of *Deuteronomie* be openly red in the Church every Quarter, in ſtede of the General Sentence.

Item, That everie Curat, the Firſt *Sonday* of every Moneth in the Yere, do openly (in the Pulpet) exhorte and charge his Parochians, in no wiſe to make any prevye or ſecrete Contract of Matrimony; but that they utterly deferre it, untill ſuch Time as they may have Two or Three Honeſt Men, to hear and record the Words and Maner of their Contract, as they will avoide thextreme Paine of the Lawe, if they do the contrarye.

Item, That none of you diſcorage any Perſon from Reding of Holy Scripture, but rather animate and encorage them therto; ſo that it be done of them without Braging or Arrogancy, but onelie to lerne therby to live vertuouſly, folowing the Lawes of God, and giving good Examples and holſome Counſell to other that be ignorant.

Item, That not only ſuch as have Cure of Soules, but alſo Chauntry Preeſtes, do hensforth theire true Diligence to inſtruct and teach Children, until they can reade *Englyſhe*; taking moderatly, for ther Labours, of their Frendes that be able to paye, which ſhall ſo put them to Lerning.

Item, That Yonge People be taught theire *Pater Noster*, Crede, and Tenne Commaundments in *Englyshe*, so that none of them be admitted to Receive the Sacrament of the Aulter, untill He or She can, and do perfectly say and reherse in *Englyshe* unto the Curate, the *Pater Noster*, Crede, and Tenne Commaundementes, distinctly, wheresoever they be shryven, either at their Parishe-Churche, or els where. And in case any of them be obstinate to do, as is aforesaide, let them be detect immediatly after *Ester*, unto theire Ordinary.

Item, That Preaching be not leste off for any other maner of Observaunces in the Churche, as Processions, or Exequies of the Deade.

Item, That at your Prechinge Time, ye diligentlie see that youre Parochians be present, and take hede thereunto; and that none presume to be at Alehouse, Tavern, or els where, at the Preachinge-Time, but onelie at the Churche attentyfly hearing, as becometh good Christen People. And if any be disobedient, let them be first warned to amend; and afterward, if they amende not, detect them to their Ordinarye.

Item, That ye suffre no Night-Watches in your Churches or Chapells, neither Decking of Images with Gold, Silver, Clothes, Lights, or Herbs, nor the People knele to them, nor worship them, nor offre Candles, Otes, Cake-bread, Chese, Wolle, or any such other Thinges to them: But he shall instruct and teach them, how they ought and may use them; that is to say, only to beholde, or loke upon them, as one loketh upon a Boke; wherby Mens Mindes be stirred and kenled some times to Vertue and Constancy, in Faithe and Love towardes God, and sometimes to lament for their Sinnes or Offences. For otherwise there might be Peril of Ydolatrie, especially of ignorant Lay People, if they either in Hert, or outward Gesture worship them, or give Honour to them, which ought onlie to be given to God, the Lorde of all Saintes.

Item, Ye shall instruct your Parochians, not to be envious aboute Workes invented by their own folishe Devocion; as to go about in idle Pylgrimage, and say with vain Confidence this Prayer, and that Prayer, with other Superstitious Observacions, in Fastinge, Prayenge, and Kepinge of olde folysh Customs, which be not found commaunded or counseled, in any Parte of *Holy Scripture*. But ye shall instruct them, and exhorte them, to know and do all such Thinges, as be commaunded or commended in the Holy Scripture to be done; that is to say, to Know and Believe all the Articles of our Faithe, conteined in the Crede, to kepe inviolably the Tenne Commaundementes, to performe the Workes of Mercy, after every Mannes Power and Habilite, to be in Love and Charite eche with other, and one to beare with an other in his Weaknes or Infirmite, and not to be vengeable for any Offence.

Item, That every Curate do at all times his best Diligence, to reduce such as be at Discord, to Peace, Love and Charite, and one to forgive an other, how often so ever they be offended.

Item, That every Curate, not only in his Preaching, but also at all other Times necessary, do perswade, exhorte, and warn the People, whatsoever they be, to beware of Swering, and Blasphemy of the Holy Name of God, or any Part of Christ's precious Body or Blode. And also to beware and abstaine from Cursing or Banning, Chidinge, Skoldinge, Bakbiting, Slaundering, Lyinge, and from Adultry, Fornicacion, Glotony, Dronkenship, Sorcere, Witchcrafte: And if they be notoriously faulty in any of these, then to detect them, that they may be corrected in Example of other.

Item, That every Curat instruct his Parochians, and especially the Midwives, the essencial Maner and Forme how to Christen a Child in Tyme of Node; commaunding the Women, when the Time of Byrthe draweth nere, to have a Vessel of clene Water redy for the same Purpose: Charging also the said Midwives, to beware that they cause not the Woman, being in Travaile, to make any folishe Vowe, to go in Pilgrimage to this Ymage, or that Ymage, after her Deliveraunce, but only to call on God for Helpe. Nor to use any Girdels, Purses, Mesures of our Lady, or such other Superstitious Things, to be occupied about the Woman while She laboureth, to make her beleve to have the better Spede by it.

Item, That none of you do magnifie and extol, praise, maintaine, or otherwise set forth, the superstitious Holidayes abrogated by the Kinge, with the Advise of his Ecclesiastical Convocacion.

And finally, Forasmuch as all Christen Men ought ernestly to coveit and desire their Soules Helthe, and the very Meane therof is to obtein the true Knowledge of God's Worde, which is the fedyng of the Soul: I exhort, desier, and, asmoche as I may I require, that in every Honest Paryshe-Churche within my Diocese of *Sarum*, either of theire Church-Boxe, or of Stockes given for Mainteining of Lightes before Ymages, (with the which I dispence for this better Use) or els by waye of Collection among themselfes, there be ordeined and bought an *Englishe* Bible before *Whitsondaye* nexte, to be chained to a Deske in the Body of the Church, where he that is Lerned may rede, and other Unlerned may here, holsome Doctrine and Comfort to their Soules, and avoid Idlenes and other Inconveniences, whereunto the fraile Disposicion of Man is sone inclined.

Forasmoche as intollerable Superstition, and also abhominable Ydolatrie, have no small Time ben used in this my Diocesse, by the Occasion of such Thinges as be set forth and commended unto the ignorant People, under the Name of Holy Reliques, being in veray dede vaine Thinges, as I my self of certaine, which be alredie comen to myne Handes, have perfite Knowledge: Namely, of stinking Bootes, mucky Combes, ragged Rochettes, rotten Girdles, pyl'd Purses, great Bullocks Horns, Lockes of Heere, and filthy Ragges, Gobbetts of Wodde, under the Name of Parcells of the Holy Cross, and such Pelfrie, beyond Estimacion, over and besides the shamfull Abuse of such as peradventure be true Reliques in dede, whereof nevertheles certain Profe is none, but only that so they have bene taken, iudged and estemed, ye and so called, without Monuments had

had of them in any Autentyke Forme of Writing. Therefore in Remedy herof, I hertely praie you all and singular my said Brethren of the Clergie in my said Diocese; and neverthelefs by thauctorite that I have under God and the Kynges Highnes, and in their Names I commaunde you, and everyche of you, that you send al suche your Relyques (as they be called) one and other unto me at myne House at *Ramesbury*, or other where, togyther with such Wrytings as ye have of the same, to thintent that I and my Counsel may explore and try them what they be, and those that be estemed and judged to be undoubtedly true Reliques, ye shal not fayle at convenable Tyme to have againe with certayne Instruction how they ought to be used; that is to say, as Memorials of them whose Reliques they be, in whom and by whom Almighty God did Worke all that ever they vertuously wrought; and therefore onely he ought in them all to be glorifyed, lauded, and praysed; so that he which rejoyceth may in the Lorde rejoyse; to whom be all Honour and Glorye, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

Item, That the Bell called the Pardon, or *Ave* Bell, whiche of longe Tyme hathe been used to be tolled Three Tymes after, or before Divine Service, be not hereafter in any Parte of my Dioceffe any more tollyd.

I exhorte, desire, require, and also (as ferre as I maye) commaunde you all and every of you to provide you Copies of these Injunctions, and firmely to observe and performe them, and every of them, as ferre as they concerne you, and that for your Welthe and my Discharge to God and the Kynge, of whom I have min Auctorite in this Behalf.

GOD SAVE THE KYNGE.

Imprinted at London *in* Fleteſtrete, *at the Sygne of the* Sonne, *by* John Byddell, *and are to Sell at the* Close Yate *in* Salysbury.

Number 60.

An Omission in the Injunctions set forth by Cromwell *in the King's Name, in the 1st Vol. Hist. Refor. Coll. of Rec. P.* 160.

This comes in after the Line 30, Page 161.

ITEM, That every Parson, or Proprietary of any Parish Church within this Realm, shall on this side the Feast of St. *Peter ad Vincula* next coming, provyde a Book of the whole Bible, both in

Latin, and also in *English*, and lay the same in the Quire, for every Man that will to read and look therein, and shall discourage no Man from the Reading any Part of the Bible, either in *Latin* or in *English*; but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every Man to read the same as the very Word of God, and the Spiritual Food of Man's Soul, whereby they may the better know the Dutys to God, to their Sovereign Lord the King, and their Neighbour: Ever gently and charitably exhorting that using a sober and a modest Haviour in the Reading and Inquisition of the true Sense of the same; they do in no wise stifly or eagerly contend or strive one with another about the same, but refer the Declaration of those Places that be in Controversy to the Judgment of them that be better Learned.

An Omission in Bonet's *Injunctions; the Lines that are scored here ought to be put* 1 *Vol. Hist. Ref. Coll. Rec. P.* 252.

This comes in Page 255, *Line* 35.

ITEM, That no Parsons, Vicars, ne Curates, permit or suffer any manner of Common-Plays, Games, or Interludes to be play'd, set forth, or declared within their Churches, or Chappels, *where the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar is, or any other Sacrament ministred, or Divine Service said or sung; because they be Places constitute and ordained to well disposed People for Godly Prayer, and wholesom Consolation. And if there be any of your Parishoners, or any other Person or Parsons, that will obstinately, or violently, inforce any such Plays, Interludes, or Games to be declared, set forth, or played in your Churches, or Chappels*, contrary to this our Forbidding and Commandment, that then you, or either of you, in whose Churches, or Chappels, any such Games, Plays, or Interludes, shall be so used, shall immediately thereupon make relation of the Name of the Person, or Persons, so obstinately and disobediently using themselves, unto me, my Chancellor, or other my Officers, to the Intent that they may be therefore reformed and punished according to the Laws.

Number

Number 61.

The Petition of Gresham, *Lord-Mayor of* London, *to the King, for the City Hospitals.*

Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 4. P. 222.

MOST redowted, puysant, and noble Prince. My most dradd, beloved, and naturall Soveraigne Lorde, I your poore humble, and most obedient Servaint, dailly considering, and ever more and more perceivyng by your Vertuous Begynninge, and Charitable Proceedings in all your Causes, your Persone, and Majestie Royall, to be the Elected and Chosen Vessel of God, by whom not only the very and true Worde of God, is, and shall be sett forth, and according to the trewgh and verytie of the same; But also to be he whom God hath constituted and ordeyned, both to redresse and reforme all Crimes, Offences, and Enormities, beyng repugnant to his Doctrine, or to the Detryment of the Common Welth, and Hurt of the Poor People beyng your Natural Subjects; and farther to forsee, and vigilantly to provide for the Charitable Reformation of the same. Which thynk hath, and yet doth encourage me, and also my bounden Dewtie obligeth me, in especiall beyng most unworthy your Levetenant, and Mayer of your Cytie Royall of *London*, to enforme and advertise your most Gracious Highnes of one Thing in especiall, for the Ayde and Comfort of the Poor, Syke, Blynde, Aged, and Impotent Persones beyng not able to help themselffs, nor having no Place certen where they may be refreshed, or lodged at, tyll they be holpen and cured of their Diseases and Sicknes. So it is most Gracious Lorde, that nere, and withyn the Cytie of *London*, be iij Hospitalls, or Spytells, commonly called Seynt *Georges* Spytell, Seynt *Barthilmewes* Spytell, and Seynt *Thomas* Spytell, and the New Abbey of *Tower-Hill*, founded of Good Devotion by Auncient Fathers, and endowed with great Possessions and Rents, only for the Releffe, Comforte, and Helping of the Poor, and Impotent People, not beyng able to help themselffes, and not to the Mayntenance of Chanons, Priests, and Monks, to live in Pleasure, nothing regarding the Miserable People liyng in every Street, offendyng every clene Persone passyng by the Way, with theyre fylthy and nasty Savours. Wherefore may it please your Merciful Goodness enclyned to Pytie and Compassion, for the Reliffe of Christs very Images, created to his own Similitude, to Order by your High Authorite, as Supreme Head of this Church of *England*, or otherwise by your Sage Discrecion, that your *Mayor* of your Cytie of *London*, and his Brethren the Aldermen for the Tyme being, ~~shall and may from hence~~forth, have the Order, Disposicion, Rule, and Governaunce, both of all the Lands, Tenements, and Revenewes Apperteynyng, and belongyn to the said Hospitalls, Governours of theym, and of the Ministers which be, or shall be withyn any of them: And then your Grace shall facilie perceyve, that where

now a ſmall Number of Chanons, Preeſts, and Monkes, be founde for theyr own Profitt only, and not for the Common Utilitie of the Realme, a great Number of Poore, Needy, Syke, and Indugent Perſones ſhall be refreſhed, maynteyned, and comforted, and alſo healed and cured of their Infirmities, frankly and freely by Phyſicions, Surgeons, and Potycaries, which ſhall have Stipende and Salarie only for that Purpoſe; ſo that all Impotent Perſons not able to labour ſhall be releved, and all Sturdy Beggars not willing to labour ſhall be puniſhed: For the which doyng, your Grace ſhall not alonely merit highly towards God, but ſhewe your ſelffe to be more Charitable to the Poor, then your Noble Progenitor Kyng *Edgar*, Foundour of ſo many Monaſteries. Or Kyng *Henry* the Thyrde, Renewer of *Weſtmynſter*: Or Kyng *Edwarde* the Thirde, Foundor of the New Abbey: Or Kyng *Henry* the Fifte, Foundor of *Syon* and *Shene*; but alſo ſhall have the Name of Conſervator, Protectour, and Defendour of the Poor People, with their contynuall Prayer for your Health, Welthe, and Proſperitie long to endure.

Your Humble, and moſt

Obedient Servant,

Rychard Greſham.

Number 62.

A Part of a Proclamation, chiefly concerning Becket.

Cotton Libr. *Titus*, B I.

AND whereas his moſt Royall Majeſtie, heretofore moſt prudently conſidering, as well the great and manifold Superſticions and Abuſes which have crept in the Harte and Stomake of many his true Simple and Unlerned Subjects, for lack of the ſincere and true Application, and the Declaring of the true Meaning and Underſtanding of Holy Scriptures, Sacraments, Rites and Ceremonies; as alſo the ſondry Strifes and Contentions, which have and may growe amonges many of his ſaide Loving Subjects, for Lacke of the very perfect Knowledge of the true Entent and Meaning of the ſame; hath divers times moſt ſtraitly commanded all and ſinguler his Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Miniſters of the Clergie of this his Noble Realme, in their Sermons and Preaching, plainly, purely, ſincerely, and with all their poſſible Diligence, to ſet forth firſt to the Glorie of God, and Trouthe of his moſt Bleſſed Word; and after, the true Meaning and End of the ſaid Sacramentalls and Ceremonies;

to the Intent that all Superstitious Abuses and Idolatries being avoided, the same Sacramentalls, Rites and Ceremonies, might be quietly used, for such only Intent and Consideration, as they were first instituted and meant. His Majestie having Knowledge, that this his most Godly and most Vertuouse Commandment, hath not ben executed according to his Trust and Expectation, therefore straitly estsones chargeth and commandeth, all his said Archbishops and Bishops of this his Realme, not only in their own Persons, with more Diligence to preach, teach, open and set forth, to his People and Loving Subjects within their Cures, committed to them by his Highnes for that Purpose, as often as they conveniently maie, the Word of God sincerely and purely; declaring such Difference between Thinges commanded by God, and the Rites and Ceremonies aforesaid, and the Use of them, in such wise, as his People, being under their Cures by his Highnes to them committed, maie be brought to the true Knowledge of their Lively Faith to God, and Obedience to his Highnes, with their Love and Charity also to their Neighbours: But also his Highnes straitly chargeth and commandeth, all Archdeacons, Deans, Provosts, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and other Ministers, and every of them, in their own Persons, within their Cures, truly and diligently to do the same. And further, in all their said Sermons and Collations, to stirre and exhort the People to Charitie, Love and Obedience, and also to rede and heare with Simplicitie, and without any Arrogance, the very Gospell and Holie Scripture, and to conforme, by earnest Deeds, their Mindes and Wills unto the same; avoiding all manner of Contencion, Strife and Occasions, upon Pain not only to incurre his Majesties Indignacion, but also for their Slacknesse and Negligence in the Execution of their Cures and Charges committed unto them by his Highnes, to be imprisoned and punished at his Majesty's Pleasure.

Item, Forasmuch as it appereth clearly, that *Thomas Becket*, sometime Archbishope of *Canterbury*, stubbornely to withstand the Holsome Lawes established against the Enormities of the Clergy, by the King's Highnes most Noble Progenitor, King *Henry* the Second, for the Common Welth, Rest, and Tranquillity of this Realme; of his froward Mind, fled the Realme into *France*, and to the Bishop of *Rome*, Maintenour of those Enormities, to procure the Abrogation of the said Lawes, whereby arose much Trouble in this said Realme. And that his Death, which they untruly called Martirdome, happen'd upon a Reskewe by him made: And that, as it is written, he gave opprobrious Wordes, to the Gentlemen which then counsailed him to leave his Stubbornes, and to avoid the Commotion of the People, risen up for that Reskewe. And he not only called the one of them Bawde, but also toke *Tracy* by the Bosome, and violently shoke and plucked him in such manner, as he had almost overthrown him to the Pavement of the Church. So that upon this Fray, one of their Company perceiving the same, strack him, and so in the Throng *Becket* was slain. And further, that his Canonization was made only by the Bishop of *Rome*, because he had been a Champion to maintaine his Usurped Authority, and a Bearer of the [illegible]

Iniquitie of the Clergie. For these, and for other great and urgent Causes long to recite, the King's Majestie, by the Advice of his Counsell, hath thought expedient to declare to his Loving Subjects, that notwithstanding the said Canonization, there appeareth nothing in this Life and exteriour Conversation, whereby he should be called a Saint, but rather esteemed to have been a Rebel and Traitor to his Prince. Therefor his Grace straightly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the said *Thomas Becket* shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, nor called a Saint, but Bishop *Becket*; And that his Images and Pictures, through the hole Realme, shall be put down and avoided, out of all Churches, Chappelles, and other Places. And that from henceforth, the Days used to be Festivall in his Name, shall not be observed; nor the Service, Office, Antiphones, Collettes, and Praiers in his Name reddo, but rased and put out of all the Bookes. And that all other Festivall Daies already abrogate, shall be in no wise solemnised, but his Grace's Ordenaunce and Injunctions thereupon, observed; to the intent his Grace's Loving Subjects shall be no longer blindly led, and abused, to committ Idolatrie, as they have done in Times passed, upon Paine of his Majesties Indignacion, and Imprisonemente at his Grace's Plesure.

Finallie, His Majestie willeth, and chargeth all his said True, Loving, and Obedient Subjects, that they, and every of them for his Parte, shall keepe and observe all and singuler the Injunctions made by his Majestie, upon the Paine therein conteined, and further to be punished at his Gracis Plesure.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Westm xvj. Novembris, *Anno Regni Reg.* Henrici *Octavi* xxx.

Number 62.

An Original Letter of the King's, much to the same Purpose

By the King.

HENRY R.

Cotton Lib. Cleop. E. 6. p. 224.

TRusty and Welbeloved, we grete you well. And whereas we chiefly and principally, regarding and tendring the Quiet Rest, Prosperite and Tranquillite of our Nobles and Commons, and the

ther Conservacion no less than our own, directed lately our Letters unto you, and other Justices of our Peace throughout this our Realme; conteining our Admonition and gentil Warening, to have such speciall Regard to the Dewties of your Office, according to the Trust we have reposed in you, that not only for thimportance it is both unto us and our Commonwelthe, ye shuld see our Dignitie of Supremacie of our Church (wherwith it hath pleased Almighty God, by his most certain and undoubted Word, to endowe and adorn our Auctorite and Crown Imperiall of this our Realme) to be set forth, and impressed in all our Subjects Herts and Mindes; and forsee, that the Mayntenors of the Bishop of *Rome*'s Usurped and Fayned Auctorite, with all his Papistical Superstficions and Abuses, with which he hath in Times past abused the Multitude of our Subjects; of whose Yoke, Tyranny and skornfull Illusion, we have, by God's Providance, deliver'd this our Realm, and other his Satellyts, which secretly did uphold his Faction, shuld be by you diligently serched, enquired and tried out, and so brought to our Justice, to receive Condign Punishment, according to their Demerits; but also that Tale-tellers about the Cuntries, and Spreders of Rumors, and false Inventors of News, to put our People in Fears, and to styrre them to Sedicion, should be apprehended and punished, to the terrible Example of others. Also, that Vagabonds, and valyant Beggers, shall be avoided, and have worthy Correction: And for the same Purpos, to keep Watches, and to see commun Justice with Indifferencie, and without Corruption, to be observed and ministred unto all our Subjects; like as by the Purport and Contents of our said Letters, ye may more amply perceive. We have been credibly informed, that sundrie of you have for a Time so well done your Dewties, and endevored your selfs fulfilling our said Admonicions, and causing the Evil-doers to be punished according to ther Demerits, that our Loving Subjects have not been disquieted of a long Season, untill now of late, that some ungracious, cankred, and maliciouse Persons, have taken Boldnes tattempt with sundry divelish Persuasions, to move and seduce our true Subjects; using false Lyes, and most untrewe Rumors. And amongst them, we understand, sundry Parsons, Vicars and Curates of this our Realme, to be Cheef; which (to bring our People to Darknes) of their own perverse Minde, not only to blinde our Commons, do rede so confusely, hemmyng and hacking the Word of God, and such our Injunctions as we have lately set forth, that almost no Man can understande the trewe Meanyng of the said Injunctions, and also secretly have suborned certain Spreders of Rumors and false Tales in Corners, which do interpretat and wrast our trewe Meanyng and Intencion of our said Injunctions, to an untrewe Sense: For wheras we have ordayned by our said Injunctions, for the avoiding of sundry Strives, Processis and Contentions, rising upon Aege, Lyneall Descents, Title of Inheritance, Legitimation, or Bastardy, and for Knowledge whether any Person is our Subject born or no: Also for sundry other Causes, that the Names of all Children christen'd from henceforth, with their Birth, their Fathers and Mothers Names; and likewise all Marryages and Burials, with the Time and Date therof, should be regi-

 stred

ſtred from Tyme to Tyme in a Booke, in every Pariſh-Church, ſafely and ſurely to be kept. They have brutid and blowen abrode, moſt falſely and untreuly, that we do intend to make ſum new Examinations, at all Chriſtnyngs, Weddings and Buryalls; the which in no wiſe we never meanyd, or thought upon. Alledging, for to fortefy and colour their falſe and manyfeſt Lyes, that therein we go about to take away the Liberties of our Realm; for Conſervation whereof, they fayne, that Biſhop *Becket* of *Canterbury*, which they have tofore called Saint *Thomas*, dyed for: where in deede ther was never ſuch Thyng don nor ment in that Tyme, nor ſince: For the ſaid *Becket* never ſwarved nor contended with our Progenitor, King *Henry* the Second; but only to let, that thoſe of the Clergie ſhuld not be puniſhed for their Offences, nor juſtefied by the Courts and Lawes of this Realm; but only at the Biſhop's Pleaſure, and after the Decrees of *Rome*. And the Cauſes why he dyed, were upon a wyllfull Reſkew and Fraye, by him made and begon at *Canterbury*; which was nevertheleſs afterward alledged to be for ſuch Liberties of the Church, which he contended for, during his Life, with the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*; yea, and in caſe he ſhould be abſent, or fugitive out of the Realme, the King ſhuld not be crowned by any other, but conſtrayned tabyde his Retorne. Theſe, and ſuch other deteſtable and unlawfull Liberties, nothing concerning the Commun Wele, but only the Partie of the Clergie, the ſaid *Thomas Becket* moſt arrogantly deſired, and traytorouſly ſewed, to have contrary to the Lawes of this our Realme. To the which moſt falſe Interpretations, and wraſting of our trewe Meanyng, they have joyned ſuch myſchevouſe Lyes, and falſe Tales, for Marking of Catalls, and others lyke ſedyciouſe Deviſes, whereupon our People were lately ſtyrred to Sedicion and Inſurrection, to their utter Ruyne and Deſtruction, onles Allmighty God, who by his Divine Providence gave unto us habundance of Force, (as he allwayes doth unto Rightfull Pryncés) had ſo with Clemencie illumyned us, that whereas we, with the Edge of the Sword, and by our Lawes might have overthrowen and deſtroyed them, their Wives, Children, and Poſterite for ever; We nevertheles, as ye can right well remember, extended upon them at that Time our benygn and mercifull Pardon. Thoſe miſerable, and Papiſtical, Superſtitiouſe Wretches, nothing regarding the ſame, nor caryng what Daunger and Myſcheef our People ſhuld incurre, have both rayſed the [illegible] old Rumors, and forged newe ſediciouſe Tales, intending (as much as in them lyeth) a newe Commocion, and all to ſatisfye their Cankered Herts. Wherfore, and for the immynent Daunger to you, and to all our good Subjects, and Trouble that might enſews, onles good and erneſt Proviſion to repreſs them be taken thereupon: We deſire and pray you, and neverthelesſ ſtraitly charge and command you, that within the Precynct and Lymyt of your Charge, ye ſhall not only endevour your ſelfs, and imploy your moſt Diligence, to inquire and fynde out ſuch Canker'd Parſons, Vicars and Curats, which do not truely and ſubſtantially declare our ſaid Injunctions, and the very Word of God, but momble confuſely, ſaying that they be compelled to rede

them,

them, and byd their Parishioners nevertheles to do as they did in Tymes past, to live as their Fathers, and that the Old Fashion is the best, and other Carftie Sediciouse Parables; but also with your most effectual Vigillancie do inserche and try out such Sediciouse Tale-Tellers, and Spreders abroade of such Bruts, Tydings, and Rumours, touching us in Honour, or Suretie, the State of our Realm, or any Mutation of the Lawes, or Customes thereof, or any other Thing which might Cause any Sedition, and the same with their Setters-forth, Mayntenors, Counsaylers, Fautors, and Adherers with all Diligence to apprehend and commytte to Ward, or Prison, without bayl or mynprise till Evidence to be given against them, at the Arrival of our Justice in that Country, or otherwise upon your Advertisement to us, or to our Counsell, to be given, to our further Pleasure known, they may be punished for their Sediciouse Demerits according to the Lawe, to the fearful Example of all others: Imploying and Indevoring your self therunto, so ernestly, and with such dexteritie as we may have Cause to think that ye be the Men which above all Thing desire the Punishment of Evil Doers and Offenders, and that will let for no travail to set forth all Things for the Common Peas, Quiet, and Tranquility of this our Realme: And like as the Daunger is Immynent no les to your Self and your Neighbours then to other, so ye of your own Mind shuld procure and see with Celeritie our Injunctions, Laws, and Proclamations, as well touching the *Sacramentaries* and *Anabaptists*, as others, to be set forth to the Good Instruction, and Conservation of our People, and to the Confusion of those which would so Craftely undermind our Common Wealth, and at the last destroy both you, and all other our Loving Subjects, although we should give unto you no such Admonishion: Therefore fayle ye not to follow the Effect, Admonishion and Commandment both in our said Letters, and in these Presents, and to Communicate the Whole tainour of these, to and with such Justices of our Peas, your Neighbours, and other in that District, and to give unto them the trew Copie therof, exhorting them likeas by these we desire and pray, and nevertheles straitly Charge and Command you, and every of you, that you will shew your Diligence, Towardnes, and Good Inclination to see every Thing for his Parte, put in Execution accordingly, as ye and they tender our Pleasure, and will deserve our Condigne Thanks, given under our Signet at our Manner of *Hampton-Court*, the Day of *December*, in the 30th Year of your Reign.

Number 65.

The Design for the Endowment of Christ-Church *in* Canterbury.

Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 4. P. 301.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
FIRST a Provost	100	00	00
Item, 12 Prebendaryes, each of them at 40 *l.* by the Year	480	00	00
Item, 6 Preachers, every of them 20 *l.* a Year	120	00	00
Item, a Reader of Humanitie in *Greke*, by the Year	30	00	00
Item, a Reader in Divinitie in *Hebrew*, by the Year	30	00	00
Item, a Reader both in Divinitie and Humanitie, in *Latin*, by the Year	40	00	00
Item, a Reader of Civil	20	00	00
Item, a Reader of Physike	20	00	00
Item, 20 Students in Divinitie to be found 10 at *Oxford*, and 10 at *Cambridge*, every of them 10 *l.* by the Year	200	00	00
Item, 40 Scolers to be tought both Grammar and Logik in *Hebrew*, *Grek*, and *Laten*, every of them 5 Markes by the Year	200 *Marks*		
Item, a Schole-Master 20 *l.* and an Husher 10 *l.* by the Year	30	00	00
Item, 8 Pety-Canons to Sing in the Quer, every of them 10 *l.* by the Year	80	00	00
Item, 12 Layemen to sing also, and searve in the Quer, every of them 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *s.* by the Year	80	00	00
Item, 10 Choristers, every of them 5 Marks by the Year	38	06	08
Item, a Master of the Children	10	00	00
Item, a Gospeler	006	13	04
Item, a Epistler	005	06	08
Item, 2 Sacristens	006	13	04
Item, 1 Chief Butler, his Wages and Diett	004	13	04
Item, 1 Under Butler, his Wages and Diett	003	06	08
Item, a Cater to Buye their Diett, for his Wages, Diett, and making of his Books	006	13	04
Item, 1 Chief Cook, his Wages and Diett	004	13	04
Item, 1 Under Cook, his Wages and Diett	003	06	08
Item, 2 Porters	10	00	00
Item, 12 Poor Men being Old, and Serving Men, decayed by the Warres, or in the King's Serving, every of them at 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* by the Year	80	00	00
Item, to be distributed Yearly in Alms	130	00	00

Item,

	l.	s.	d.
Item, for Yearly Reparations	100	00	00
Item, to be emplyed Yearly, for making and mending of High Wayes	40	00	00
Item, a Stuard of the Lands	006	13	04
Item, an Auditor	10	00	00
Item, for the Provost's Expences, and receyving the Rents, and Surveying the Lands, by the Year	006	13	04

Number 65.

A Letter of Thomas *Lord Arch-Bishop of* Canterbury, *to* Cromwell, *upon the New Foundation at* Canterbury.

An Original.

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* F. 1.

MY very singular Good Lord, after my most hartie Commendations, these shall be to advertise your Lordshippe, that I have received your Letters, dated the 27th Day of *November*: And therewith a Bill concerning the Divise for the New Establishment to be made in the Metropolitan Church of *Canterbury*; by which your Lordshippe requireth my Advice thereupon by Writing, for our Mutual Consents. Surely my Lord, as touching the Books drawn, and the Order of the same, I think that it will be a very Substantial and Godly Foundation; nevertheless, in my Opinion, the Prebendaries, which will be allow'd 40 *l.* a Peece Yearly, might be altred to a more Expedient Use: And this is my Consideration, for having Experience, both in Tymes past, and also in our Daies, how the said Secte of Prebandaries have not only spent their Time in much Idleness, and their Substaince in superfluous Belly Chere, I think it not to be a convenient State, or Degree, to be mainteyned and established: Considering Firste, that commonly a Prebendarie is neither a Learner, nor Teacher, but a Good Viander. Then by the same Name they look to be Chief, and to bere all the hole Rule and Preheminence, in the College where they be Resident: By means whereof, the Younger of their own Nature, given more to Pleasure, Good Chere, and Pastime, then to Abstynance, Studye, and Lerning, shall easily be brought from their Books to follow the Appetite and Example of the said Prebandaries being their Hedds and Rulers. And the State of Prebandaries hath been so excessively abused, that when Learned Men hath been admitted unto such Room, many Times they have desisted from their Good and Godlie Studies, and all other Vertuous Exercise of Preaching and Teaching: Wherefore if it may so stand with the King's Gracious Pleasure, I would wish that not only the Name of a Prebendarie were exiled his Graces Foundations, but also the superfluous Conditiones of such Persons. I cannot deny

 but

but that the Beginning of Prebendaries, was no lesse purposed for the Maintenance of Good Learning, and Good Conversation of Living, than Religious Men were: But for as much as both be gone from their First Estate and Order, and the one is found like Offendour with the other, it maketh no great Matter if they perish both together: For to say the Truth, it is an Estate which St. *Paule*, reckoning up the Degrees and Estates alowed in his Time, could not find in the Church of Christ. And I assure you my Lord, that it will better stand with the Maintenance of Christian Religion, that in the stede of the said Prebendaries, were 20 Divines at 10*l.* a Peece, like as it is appointed to be at *Oxford* and *Cambridge*; and 20 Students in the Tongues and *French*, to have 10 Marks a Peece; for if such a Number be not there Resident, to what intent should so many Reders be there. And surely it were great petie that so many good Lectures should be there redde in vain: For as for your Prebandaries, they cannot attend to applie Lectures for making of good Chere. And as for your 20 Children in Grammar, their Master and their Husher be daily otherwise occupied in the Rudiments of Grammer, then that they have Space and Time to hear the Lectures. So that to these good Lectures is prepared no convenient Auditorie. And therefore my Lord, I pray you let it be considered what a great Losse it will be, to have so many good Lectures Redde without Profitte to any, saving to the 6 Preachers; farther, as concerning the Reader of Divinitie and Humanitie, it will not agree well, that one Man should be Reader of both Lectures. For he that studieth in Divinitie must leave the Reading of Profane Authors, and shall have as much to doe as he can to prepare his Lecture to be substantially redde. And in like manner he that redeth in Humanitie, had not need to alter his Studie, if he should make an Erudite Lecture. And therefore in mine Opinion, it would be Office for ii sundry Learned Men. Now concerning the Dean, aud others, to be elected into the College, I shall make a Bill of all them that I can here of in *Cambridge*, *Oxford*, or elsewhere, mete to be put into the said College, after my Judgment: And then of the hole Number, the King's Highness may choose the most Excellente, assuring you my Lord, that I know no Man more mete for the Dean's Room in *England*, then Doctor *Crome*, who by his Sincere Learning, Godly Conversation, and Good Example of Living, with his Great Soberness, hath done unto the King's Majestie as good Service, I dare say, as any Priest in *England*. And yet his Grace daily remembreth all others that doth him Service, this Man only except, who never had yet, besides his Gracious Favour, any Promotion at his Highness Hands. Wherefore if it will please his Majestie to put him in the Dean's Room, I do not doubt but that he should shew Light to all the Deans, and Ministers of Colleges in this Realm. For I know that when he was but President of a College in *Cambridge*, his House was better ordered than all the Houses in *Cambridge* besides. And thus my Lord you have my finale Advice concerning the Premisses, which I referr unto the Kinges Graces Judgment, to be allowed or disallowed at his Highness Pleasure. Sending unto your Lordshipp herewithall the Bill again,

again, according to your Requeſt. Thus, my Lord, moſt hartely fare you well.

At Croyden, *the* xxixth
Day of November.

Your own ever aſſured

T. Cantuarien'

Number 66.

A Part of a Letter concerning the Debates of the Six Articles in the Houſe of Lords.

Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5. P. 129.

AND alſo Newes here; I aſſure you, never Prince ſhew'd himſelf ſo Wiſe a Man, ſo well Lerned and ſo Catholick, as the Kinge hath done in this Parlyment. With my Penne I cannot expreſſe his marvelous Goodnes; which is come to ſuch effecte, that we ſhall have an Acte of Parliament, ſo ſpirituall, that I think none ſhall dare ſaye, in the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Aulter, doth remayne eyther Bred or Wyne after the Conſecration; nor that a Priſt may have a Wife; nor that it is neceſſarie to Receive our Maker *ſub utraque Specie*; nor that private Maſſes ſhould not be uſed as they have be; nor that it is not neceſſarie to have Auriculer Confeſſion. And notwithſtanding my Lord of *Canterbury*, my Lord of *Ely*, my Lord of *Salisburie*, my Lord of *Worceſter*, *Roceſter*, and Saint *Davyds* defended the contrary longe tyme, yet finally his Highnes confounded them all with Goddes Lerning. *Yorke*, *Duram*, *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Chicheſter*, *Norwiche*, and *Carlile*, have ſhewed themſelfs honeſt and well Learned Men. We of the Temporaltie have been all of one Opynyon, and my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Privye Seale, as good as we can deviſe. My Lord of *Cant'* and all theis Biſhopes have given ther Opinion, and came into us, ſave *Salisburie*, who yet contynueth a lewed Fole. Fynally, all *England* have cauſe to thank God, and moſt hertelie to rejoyſe of the King's moſt Godlie Proceedings.

Number 67.

A Letter of the Visitor's, sent to Examine the Abbot of Glassenbury.

Ex MSS. D. Tanner.

PLease hyt Your Lordship to be advertised, that we came to *Glastenbury* on *Fryday* last past, about Tenn of the Clock in the Forenoone: And for that the Abbot was then at *Sharpham*, a Place of hys, a Myle and somewhat more from thabbey, We, without any delay, went unto the same Place; and there, after certain Communication, declaring unto him theffect of our coming, examined him upon certain Articles. And for that his Answer was not then to our Purpose, we advised him to call to his Remembrance that which he had as then forgotten, and so declare the Truth. And then came with him the same Day to the Abbey; and there of new proceeded that Night to search his Study for Letters and Books: and found in his Study secretly laid, aswell a written Book of Arguments, against the Divorce of his King's Majestie, and the Lady Dowager: Which we take to be a great Matter. As also divers Pardons, Copies of Bulls, and the Counterfit Lyfe of *Thomas Bequet* in Print. But we could not find any Letter that was materiall. And so we proceeded again to his Examination, concerning the Articles we received from your Lordship, in the Answers whereof, as we take it, shall appear his Canker'd and Traiterous Heart and Mind against the King's Majestie, and his Succession; as by the same Answers, syned with his Hand, and sent to your Lordship by this Bearer, more plainly shall appear. And so, with as fair Words as we could, we have conveyed him from hence into the *Tower*, being but a very weak Man, and sickly. And as yet we have neither discharged Servant nor *Monk*; but now the Abbot being gone, we will, with as much Celerity as we may, proceed to the dispatching of them. We have in Money, 300 *l.* and above; but the Certainty of Plate, and other Stuffe there, as yet we know not, for we have not had Opportunity for the same, but shortly we intend (God willing) to proceed to the same; whereof we shall ascertain your Lordship, so shortly as we may. This is also to advertise your Lordship, that we have found a fair Chalice of Gold, and divers other Parcels of Plate, which the Abbot had hid secretly from all such Commissioners, as have bine there in Times past; and as yet he knoweth not that we have found the same: Whereby we think, that he thought to make his Hand, by his Untruth to his King's Majesty. It may please your Lordship, to advertise us of the King's Pleasure, by this Bearer, to whom we shall deliver the Custody and Keeping of the House, with such Stuff as we intend to leave there, convenient to the King's Use. We assure your Lordship, it is the goodliest House of that Sort, that ever we have seen. We wold that your Lordship did know it, as we do;

then

then we doubt not, but your Lordſhip would judge it a Houſe mete for the King's Majeſty, and for no Man elſe : Which is to our great Comfort; and we truſt verily, that there ſhall never come any Double Hood within that Houſe again. Alſo this is to advertiſe your Lordſhip, that there is never a one Doctor within that Houſe; but there be Three Batchelors of Divinity, which be but meanly Learned, as we can perceive. And thus our Lord preſerve your Good Lordſhip.

From Glaſtenbury, *the* 22*d* *Day of* September.

Yours to Command,

Richard Pollard.
Thomas Moyle.
Richard Layton.

To the Ryght Honorable, and their Syngular good Lord, my Lord Pryvye Seal, thys be dd.

This agrees with the Original, in the Poſſeſſion of

THOM. TANNER.

Number 68.

Cromwell's *Letter to the King, when he was committed to the* Tower.

Cotton Libr. *Titus*, B 1.

MOſt Gracyous King, and moſt Mercyfull Soverayng, your moſt humble, moſt obbeyſand, and moſt bounden Subject, and moſt lamentable Servant and Pryſoner, proſtrate at the Feet of your moſt Excellent Majeſtye, have herd your Pleaſure by the Mouth of your Comptroller; which was, that I ſhould wrytte to your moſt Excellent Highnes ſuche Things as I thought mete to be wryttyn, conſideryng my moſt myſerable State and Condicyon. For the which your moſt haboundant Goodnes, Benignite and Lycens, the Immortall God, Three and One, rewarde your Majeſtye. And now, moſt Gracyous Prynce, to the Matter. Fyrſt, Wher I have been accuſed to your Majeſtye of Treaſon, to that I ſaye, I never in all my Lyfe thought willinglye to do that Thing that might or ſhould diſpleaſe your Majeſtye, and much leſs to doe or ſaye that Thing, which of it ſelf is ſo highe and abominable Offence, as God knoweth, who, I doubt not, ſhall reveale the Trewthe to your Highnes. Myne Accuſers your Grace knoweth: God forgive them. For as I

ever have had Love to your Honour's Perſon, Lyfe, Proſperite, Health, Wealth, Joye and Comfort, and alſo your moſt Dear and moſt entyerly beloved Son, the Prynce his Grace, and your Proceedings. God ſo helpe me in this myne Adverſyte, and confound me, yf ever I thought the contrarye. What Labours, Paynes, and Travailes I have taken, according to my moſt bounden Deutie, God alſo knoweth. For if it were in my Power, as it is God's, to make your Majeſtye to live ever yong and proſperous, God knoweth, I would, yf it had been, or were in my Power, to make you ſo riche as ye myght enriche all Men, God helpe me, as I would do it yf it had been, or were in my Power, to make your Majeſty ſo puiſſaint, as all the Worlde ſhould be compellyd to obbey you, Chriſt he knowyth I woulde; for ſo am I of all other moſt bounde; for your Majeſty hath been the moſt Bountiful Prince to me, that ever was King to his Subjects: ye, and more like a Dear Father, your Majeſty not offended, then a Maſter. Such hathe been your moſt Grave and Godly Councycles towards me at ſundrye Tymes: in that I have offended I ask your Mercy. Should I now for ſuche exceeding Goodnes, Benignite, Liberalite and Bountye, be your Traytor, nay then the greateſt Paynes were too lityll for me. Should any Faction, or any Affection to any Poynt, make me a Trayter to your Majeſtye, then all the Devylls in Hell confounde me, and the Vengeance of God light appon me, yf I ſhould ons have thought it. Moſt Gracyous, Soverayng Lord, to my Remembrance, I never ſpake with the Chancellor of the Augmentations and *Throgmorton* together, at one Tyme. But yf I did, I am ſure, I ſpake never of any ſuch Matyer; and your Grace knoweth, what maner of Man *Throgmorton* hath ever been towards your Grace Proceedings: And what Maſter Channceler hath been towards me, God and he beſt knoweth. I will ne can accuſe hym. What I have been towards hym, your Majeſtye right well knoweth. I would to Chriſt I hadd obeyed your often moſt gracious, grave Counſayles and Advertiſments, then it had not been with me as now it is: Yet our Lorde, if it be his Will, can do with me, as he did with *Suſan*, who was falſly accuſed. Unto the which God, I have onlye commytted my Soule, and Bodye and Goods at your Majeſties Pleaſure, in whoſe Mercye and Pyete I do hollye repoſe me: For other Hope than in God and your Majeſtye, I have not. Syr, As to your Common Welth, I have, after my Wytt, Power and Knowledge, travayled therin, having had no Reſpect to Perſons, (your Majeſtie onlye except, and my Duty to the ſame) but that I have done any Injuſtice or Wrong willfully, I truſt God ſhall be my Witneſs, and the World not able juſtlye to accuſe me: And yet I have not done my Duty in all Things, as I was bounde. Wherefore I aske Mercy. That I have herde of any Combinations, Conventicles, or ſuch as were Offenders of your Laws, I have (though not as I ſhould have done) for the moſt parte revealed them, and alſo cauſed them to be puniſhed; not of Maliſe, as God ſhall judge me. Nevertheleſs, Sir, I have medelled in ſo many Matiers under your Highnes, that I am not able to anſwer them all. But one Thing I am well aſſured of, that wittingly and willingly, I have not had Will to offend your High-

Highnes. But harde it is for me, or any other medling as I have done, to live under your Grace, and your Lawes, but we must dailye offende: And wher I have offended, I most humbly aske Mercy and Pardone at your Gracious Will and Pleasure. Amongst other Things most Gracious Soveraigne, Master Comptroler shewed me, that your Grace shewed hym that within these 14 Days ye committed a Matter of great Secrecye, which I did reveal contrary to your Expectacyon: Syr, I do remember well the Matter, which I never revelid to any Creature: But this I did, Sir, after your Grace hade opened the Matter, fyrst to me in your Chamber, and declared your lamentable Fate, declaring the Things wich your Highnes myslyked in the Queen; at which Time I shewed your Grace that she often desired to speak with me, but I durst not: And ye said why should I not, alleging that I might do much good in goeing to her, and to be plain with her in declaring my Mind: I theruppon taking Opertunyte, not being little greyved, spake prevely with her Lord Chamberlayn, for which I aske your Grace Mercie, desiryng him, not naming your Grace to him, to finde some Means that the Queen might be inducid to order your Grace plesantlie in her Behaveour towards you, thinking therbie for to have hade some Faults amended to your Majesties Comfort; and after that by general Words, the said Lord Chamberlain, and other of the Queens Counsayle being with me in my Chamber at *Westminster*, for Lycens for the Departure of the strange Maydens, I then required them to Counsayle thair Mistresse to use all Plesauntnes to your Highnes: the which Things undoutedly were bothe spoken before your Majesty commited the Secret Matter unto me, onlie of Purpose that she might have been induced to such Pleasant and Honorable Fassyons, as might have been to your Graces Comfort, which above all Things, as God knoweth, I did most covit and desire: but that I opened my Mouth to any Creature after your Majestie committed the Secresie thereof to me, other than onlye to my Lord Admyrall, which I did by your Graces Commandment, which was uppon *Sunday* last in the Morning, whom I then founde as willing and glad to seek Remedye ffor your Comfort and Resolution, and saw by him that he did as much lament your Highnes Fate as ever did Man, and was wonderfullye grieved to see your Highnes so troubled, wishing greatly your Comfort, for the attaining whereof, he said your Honour salvyd, he would spend the best Blood in his Body, and if I would not do the like, ye, and willingly Die, for your Comfort, I would I were in Hell, and I would I should receyve a Thousand Deths. Sir, this is all that I have done in that Matter, and if I have offended your Majestie therin, prostrate at your Majesty's Feet, I most lowlye aske Mercy and Pardon of your Highnes. Sir, ther was also laide unto my Charge at mine Examinacion, that I had Retained contrarye to your Lawes; and what Exposycion may be made uppon Retaynours, I know not, but this will I saye, if ever I retayned any Man, but such onlye as were my Howshold Servants, but against my Will, God Confound me. Most Gracious Soveraign I have been so called on and sewyd to by them that said they were my Friends, that constrained therunto I retayned thayr Chyldren and Friends, not as Re-

 tayners,

taynors, for their Fathers and Parents did Promise me to finde them, and so toke I them, not as Retayners, to my great Charge, and for none Evil, as God best knoweth, interpret to the contery who will. Most humbley beseeching your Majestie of Pardon, if I have offended therin; and I do knowledge my self to have been a most miserable and wretched Siner; and that I have not towards God and your Highnes behaved my self as I ought and should have done; for the which mine Offence to God, whiles I live I shall contynually call for his Mercy, and for mine Offences to your Grace, which God knoweth wer never malicious, nor willfull: And that I never thought Treson to your Highnes, your Realme, or Posterite: So God helpe me, either in Word, or Dede; nevertheles, prostrate at your Majesty's Feet in what Thing soever I have offended; I appell to your Highnes for Mercy, Grace, Pardon, in such wise as shall be your Pleasure; beseeching the Allmightie Maker, and Redeemer of this World, to send your Majesty continuall and long Helth, Welthe, and Prosperitie, with *Nestor*'s Yeres to Reigne, and your most Dear Son, the Princes Grace, to prosper alwayes, and contenew after you: and they that would contrarye, short Life, Shame, and Confusion: Writin with the quaking Hand, and most sorrowfull Harte, of your most sorrowful Subject, and most humble Servant, and Prisoner, this *Satyrday* at the *Tour* of *London*,

Thomas Crumwell.

Number 69.

Questions concerning the Sacraments.

The First Question

WHAT a Sacrament is by the Scripture?

The Second Question.

What a Sacrament is by the Antient Authors?

The Third Question.

How many Sacraments there be by the Scriptures?

The Fourth Question.

How many Sacraments there be by the Antient Authors?

The

The Fifth Queſtion.

Whither this Word Sacrament be, and ought to be, attributed to the Seven only? And whither the Seven Sacraments be found in any of the Old Authors?

The Sixth Queſtion.

Whither the Determinate Number of Seven Sacraments be a Doctrine, either of the Scripture, or of the Old Authors, and ſo to be taught?

The Seventh Queſtion.

What is found in Scripture of the Matter, Nature, Effect, and Vertue of ſuch as we call the Seven Sacraments; ſo as although the Name be not there, yet whether the Thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wiſe ſpoken of?

The Eighth Queſtion.

Whether Confirmation, *cum Chriſmate*, of them that be Baptized, be found in Scripture?

The Ninth Queſtion.

Whether the Apoſtles lacking a Higher Power, as in not having a Chriſtian King among them, made Biſhops by that Neceſſity, or by Authority given by God?

The Tenth Queſtion.

Whether Biſhops, or Prieſts, were Firſt? And if the Prieſts were Firſt, than the Prieſt made the Biſhop.

The Eleventh Queſtion.

Whether a Biſhop hath Authority to make a Prieſt by the Scripture, or no? And whether any other, but only a Biſhop, may make a Prieſt?

The Twelfth Queſtion.

Whether in the New Teſtament be required any Conſecration of a Biſhop and Prieſt, or only appointing to the Office be ſufficient?

The

The Thirteenth Queſtion.

Whether (if it fortuned a Chriſtian Prince Learned, to Conquer certain Dominions of *Infidels*, having none but Temporal Learned Men with him) if it be defended by God's Law, that he, and they, ſhould Preach and Teach the Word of God there, or no? And alſo make and conſtitute Prieſts, or no?

The Fourteenth Queſtion.

Whether it be forefended by God's Law, that (if it ſo Fortune that all the Biſhops and Prieſts of a Region were Dead, and that the Word of God ſhould remain there unpreached, and the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and others unminiſtred,) that the King of that Region ſhould make Biſhops and Prieſts to ſupply the ſame, or no?

The Fifteenth Queſtion.

Whether a Man be bound by Authority of this Scripture, (*Quorum Remiſeritis*) and ſuch like, to confeſs his Secret Deadly Sins to a Prieſt, if he may have him, or no?

The Sixteenth Queſtion.

Whether a Biſhop, or a Prieſt, may Excommunicate, and for what Crimes? And whether they only may Excommunicate by God's Law?

The Seventeenth Queſtion.

Whether Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Venial Sins, as it is now uſed, be ſpoken of in the Scripture, or in any Antient Authors?

Number

Number 70.

An Anſwer to the former Queries; *with ſome Remarks on them, in the King's Hand written on the Margin: Together with ſome Perſons Names; but theſe are not written by the King.*

Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.

1. SCripture uſeth the Worde; but it defineth it not.

Why then ſhould we call them ſo?

2. In them is founde no proper Definition, but a general Declaration of the Worde, as a Token of an Holly Thinge.

3. So named only Matrimony; in Effects moo; and at the leſt 7, as we finde in the Scripture expounded.

4. Auctors uſe the Word *Sacrament*, to ſignifie any Myſterye in the Old and New Teſtament; but ſpiritually benote Baptiſme, Euckariſt, Matrimonie, Chriſme, *Impoſitio Manuum, Ordo.*

Why theſe Seven to have the Name, more then the reſt?

5. The Worde, bycauſe it is General, is attribute to other thenne the Seven; but whether it ought ſpecially to be applied to the One only, God knoweth, and hath not fully revealed it ſoe as it hath been received.

Arch-Bp. *Cant.* St. *David's.*

Why then hath the Church ſo long erred, to take upon them ſo to name them?

6. The Thing of al is found, but not named al Sacraments, as afore.

7. The Doctrine of Scripture is to teach the Thinge, without Numbring or Namyng the Name *Sacrament*, ſaving only the Matrimony.

Old Auctors Number not preciſely.

8. Scripture ſpeaketh,

(1.) Of Baptiſme manifeſtly.
(2.) Of the Holy Communion manifeſtly.
(3.) Of Matrimony manifeſtly.
(4.) Of Abſolution manifeſtly.
(5.) Of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, Ordred *per Impoſitionem Manuum cum Oratione*, expreſſely.

Arch-Bp. *Cant.*

Then Pennance is changed to a New Name, the Abſolution of Pennance. I read that without it we cannot be ſaved after Relapſe, but not ſo of Abſolution: And Pennance to Sinners is commanded, but Abſolution of open Crimes is left free to the Askers.

6. Laying of the Hands of the Biſhop after Baptiſme, which is a Parte of that is done in Confirmation, is grounded in Scripture.

Laying on of Hands being an old Ceremony, is but a ſmall Proof of Confirmation.

7. Unction of the Sick, with Prayer, is grounded in Scripture.

Arch. *Cant.* S. *David's, Cox.*

Then ſhew where.

The Thing of Confirmation is found in Scripture; the Name *Confirmation* is not there.

Arch-Bp. *Cant.* S. *David's.*

The Anſwer is not direct, and yet it proveth nither of the Two Parts to be grounded in Scripture.

Of *Chriſma* Scripture ſpeaketh not expreſly; but it hath been had in High Veneration, and obſerved ſynnes the Beginning.

Where is this Distinction? Now, since you confess that the Apostles did occupate the one Part, which you now confess belongeth to Princes, how can you prove that Ordering is only committed to you Bishops? *Ubi hoc?*

Arch-Bp. *Cant.* S. *David's*, *Cox.* Arch. *Cant.* B. *David's.*

9. The Calling, Naming, Appointment, and Preferment of one before an other, to be Bishop or Priest, had a Necessite to be don in that Sort, a Prince wanting. The Ordering appereth taught by the Holy Gost in the Scripture, *per Manuum Impositionem cum Oratione.*

10. Bishops, or not after.

11. Scripture warranteth a Bishop (obeying High Powers as his Prince Christianed) to Order a Priest, *per Manuum Impositionem cum Oratione*: And so it hath been from the Beginning.

12. Of other, Scriptures speaketh not.

Manuum Impositio cum Oratione, is required, which is a Consecration; so as only Appointing is not sufficient.

13. It is to be thought, that God in such Care assisting the Perfection of such an Enterprize, would further teach and inspire the Conscience of such a Prince, what he should and might doe, more then is yet openly taught by the Scripture: which, in that Case, were a good Warrent to folow. For a secret Vocation supplieth, where an open wanteth.

14. Sinnes the Beginning of Christes Churche, wherin Christ himself made Distinction of Ministers, the Order hath had a Derivation from one to another, *per Manuum Impositionem cum Oratione.* How it should begin again of an other Face, where it faileth by a Case, Scripture telleth not; no Doctor writte of it, that I have rede.

Arch. *Cant.*

15. Bounde ordinarely.

Arch. *Cant.* Bp. S. *David's.*

16. They may, being before of their Prince auctorised to Minister for open, publike, dedly Synne.

Of Excommunication by others, we rede not in the New Testament.

Arch. *Cant.* B. S. *David's.*

17. The Thing is in Scripture, and in auncient Authors, according wherunto the Use should be: How it is in dede used, is a Matter of Fact, and not of Lernyng.

Against the 15th Article, these Names are set down.

Yorke.	*Curwen.*	*Edgworth.*
Duresme.	*Simon.*	*Day.*
Carlisle.	*Oglethorp.*	*Redman.*
Winchester.		*Robinson.*

And a little below.

Canterbury.	*Laton.*
Hereford.	*Tresham.*
Rochester.	*Cox.*
Westminster.	*Crayford.*
S. *David's.*	

But these Lists are not in the King's Hand.

Number 71.

Answers to these Queries.

Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.

Scripture sheweth not what it is: but useth the Worde *Sacrament* in *Latyn*, for the Worde *Misterium* in *Greek*.

2. *Sacrament*, by the Authours is called, *Sacri Rei Signum*, or *Visibile Signaculum*, *Sacrosanctum Signaculum*, *Visibile Verbum*, *Visibilis Forma Invisibilis Gratiæ*; and perfytt Diffinition we fynde noone.

3. In Scripture, we fynde no Determynate Number of Sacraments.

4. There be very many in the most general Signification; and there is no precise, or determinate Number of Sacraments in the Ancyent Authours.

5. Not only to the Seven; but to many more. We fynde in the Olde Auctours, Matrymony, the Holly Communyon, Baptisme, Confirmation, Ordre, Pennance, and Extrem Unction. In Pennance, it is doubted of the Name of *Sacrament*.

6. As touching the determinate Numbre of Seven only, we fynd neyther in the Scripture, nor Auncient Auctours, any such Doctrine that ther shulde be Seven onely.

7. Of *Baptisme*, Scripture speaketh, that by it Synnes be remitted.

Of *Eucharistia*; That we be united by it to Christe, and receive thereby Spirituall Nurrishment, to the Comforte of our Soulles, and Remission of our Synnes.

Of *Matrymony*; That the Acte of it is made Lawfull, and without Synne; and Grace given, wherby to directe ordinately of the Lustes and Appetites of the Fleshe.

Of *Pennance*; That by it we be restored again to the Favour of God; from which we did fall by Synne.

Of *Ordre*; That by it, Grace is given to mynistre effectually in Preachinge the Worde of God, and Ministration of the Sacramentes.

Of *Confirmation*, (which is conteyned in Scripture, speaking *de Impositione Manuum post Baptisma*) it appeareth by Scripture, how thereby Encrease of Grace is given.

Of *Innunction of the Sick*, Scripture speaketh, that by Unction of the Sick, and Prayer of the Priestes, Comforte is given to the Sicke, and Synnes be forgeven him.

8. *Impositionem Manuum post Baptisma*, which we call Confirmation, we reade in the Scripture: But that it was don *Chrismate*, we fynde not in the Scripture expressed. But in the Old Auctours, we fynde, that *Chrisma* hath been used in the sayd Confirmation.

9. *Making of Bishops* hath Two Partes; Appointment, and Ordering. Appointment; whiche the Apostles, by Necessity, made by Common Election, and sometyme by their own severall Assignement, could not then be don by Christen Princes; because at that Tyme they were not: And now, at these Dayes, apperteineth to Christian Princes and Rulers. But, in the Ordering, wherein Grace is conferred, as afore the Apostells did folowe the Rule taught by the Holly Ghoste, *Per Manuum Impositionem, cum Oratione & Jejunio.*

10. Christe made his Apostles first, which were of his Making bothe Prestes and Bishops; but whether at one Time, some doubt.

After that, the Apostells made bothe Bishops and Prestes: The Names wherof in the Scripture be confounded.

11. A Bishop having Auctorite of his Christian Prince to give Orders, maye, by his Ministerye geven to him of God in Scripture, ordeyne a Preste. And we rede not, that any other, not being a Bishope, hathe, sence the Beginning of Christ's Churche, ordered a Preste.

12. Onely Appointment is not sufficient, but Consecration, that is to saye, Imposition of Handes, with Fasting and Prayour, is also required. For so the Apostles used to order them that were appointed; and so have been used continually: And we have not rede the contrary.

13. In that Necessite, the Prince and his Lerned Men shulde Preache and Teache the Worde of God, and Baptize. But as for Making and Constituting Prestes, the Prince shall and may thenne do, as God shall thenne by Inspiration teache him: Which God hath promised to do allwayes to his Church, in Revling and Teaching every necessary Knowledge, where any Doubt requiring Discussion dothe arryse.

14. The Aunswer to the other Question next before, dissolveth this.

15. He that knoweth himself gylty of any secrete deadly Synns, must, if he will obteine the Benefite of Absolucion ministred by the Preste, confesse the same secrete Synnes unto him.

Absolution to be ministred by a Preste, if a convenient Preste may be had, is necessarie.

Absolution by a Preste, is the surest waye, if he may be conveniently had.

16. Bishopes and Prestes auctorised by the Prince, may Excommunicate, by Godes Lawe, for publique and open Crimes: But that other thenne Bishopes or Prestes may Excommunicate, we have not rede in Scripture. Some Scolemen saye, that other thenne Prestes, or Bishopes deputed therunto by the Churche, maye Excommunicate; because it is an Acte *Jurisdictionis*, and not *Ordinis*.

17. We fynde it spoken of in Scripture, and in Olde Authors.

Number

Number 71.

The Examination of Q. Katherine Howard.

BEing again examined by my Lord of *Canterbury* of Contracts and Communications of Marriage betweem *Deerham* and me : I shall here answer faithfully and truely, as I shall make Answer at the last Day of Judgment ; and by the Promise that I made in Baptism, and the Sacrament that I received upon *Allhallowes*-Day last past. First, I do say, that *Deram* hath many Times moved unto me the Question of Matrimony ; whereunto, as far as I remember, I never granted him more than before I have confessed : And as for these Words, *I promise you, I do Love you with all my Heart*, I do not remember that ever I spake them. But as concerning the other Words, that I should Promise him by my Faith and Troth, that I would never other Husband but him, I am sure I never spake them.

Examined what Tokens and Gifts I gave to *Deram*, and he to me: I gave him a Band and Sleeves for a Shirt. And he gave me a Heart's-Ease of Silk for a New-Years-Gift, and an Old Shirt of Fine *Holland* or *Cambricke*, that was my Lord *Thomas* Shirt, and my Lady did give it him. And more than this, to my Remembrance, I never gave him, nor he to me, saving this Sommer Ten Pounds about the Beginning of the Progresse.

Examined whether I did give him a small Ring of Gold upon this Condition, that he should never give it away. To my Knowledge I never gave him no such Ring, but I am assured upon no such Condition.

Examined whether the Shirt, Band, and Sleeves were of my own Work. They were not of my Work ; but, as I Remember, *Clifton*'s Wife of *Lambeth* wrought them.

And as for the Bracelet of Silkwork, I never gave him none ; and if he have any of mine, he took it from me.

As for any Ruby, I never gave him none to set in Ring, nor for other Purpose. As for the *French Fenel*, *Deram* did not give it me, but he said there was a little Woman in *London* with a crooked Back, who was very cunning in making all Manner of Flowers. And I desired him to cause her to make a *French Fenel* for me, and I would pay him again when I had Money. And when I was First come into Court, I paid him as well for that, as for diverse other Things, to the Value of Five or Six Pound. And Truth it is, that I durst not wear the said *French Fenel*, until I had desired my Lady *Breerton* to say that she gave it me.

As for a small Ring with a Stone, I never lost none of his, nor he never gave me none.

As for Velvet and Satten for Billyments, a Cap of Velvet with a Feather, a quilted Capp of Sarcenet and Money, he did not give me, but at my Desire he laid out Money for them to be paid again. For

all which Things I paid him, when I came into the Court. And yet he bought not for me the quilted Cap, but only the Sarcenet to make it of. And I delivered the same to a little Fellow in my Lady's House, as I Remember, his Name was *Rose*, an Embroiderer, to make it what Work he thought best, and not appointing him to make it with *Freer*'s Knots, as he can testify, if he be a true Man. Neverthelesse, when it was made, *Deram* said, What Wife here be *Freer*'s Knots for *Fraunce*.

As for the Indenture and Obligation of an Hundred Pound, he left them in my Custody, saying, that if he never came again, he gave them clearly unto me. And when I asked him whether he went, he said he would not tell me untill his Return.

Examined whether I called him Husband, and he me Wife. I do Answer, that there was Communication in the House that we Two should Marry together; and some of his Enemies had Envy thereat, wherefore, he desired me to give him Leave to call me Wife, and that I would call him Husband. And I said I was content. And so after that, commonly he called me Wife, and many Times I called him Husband. And he used many Times to Kiss me, and so he did to many other commonly in the House. And, I suppose, that this be true, that at one Time when he Kissed me very often, some said that were present, *they trowed that he would never have Kissed me enough*. Whereto he answered, *Who should Lett him to Kiss his own Wife?* Then said one of them, *I trowe this Matter will come to passe as the Common Saying is. What is that, quoth he. Marry*, said the other, *That Mr.* Deram *shall have Mrs.* Katherine Howard. *By St.* John, said *Deram*, *you may guesse Twice, and guesse worse.* But that I should Wink upon him, and say secretly, *What and this should come to my Lady's Ear?* I suppose verily there was no such Thing.

As for Carnall Knowledge, I confess as I did before, that diverse Times he hath lyen with me, sometime in his Doublet and Hose, and Two or Thre Times naked: But not so naked that he had nothing upon him, for he had alwayes at the least his Doublet, and as I do think, his Hose also, but I mean naked when his Hose were putt down. And diverse Times he would bring Wine, Strawberryes, Apples, and other Things to make good Chear, after my Lady was gone to Bed. But that he made any special Banquet, that by Appointment between him and me, he should tarry after the Keyes were delivered to my Lady, that is utterly untrue. Nor I never did steale the Keyes my self, nor desired any Person to steal them, to that Intent and Purpose to lett in *Deram*, but for many other Causes the Doores have been opened, sometime over Night, and sometime early in the Morning, as well at the Request of me, as of other. And sometime *Deram* hath come in early in the Morning, and ordered him very lewdly, but never at my Request, nor Consent.

And that *Wilks* and *Baskervile* should say, what Shifts should we make, if my Lady should come in suddenly. And I should Answer, that he should go into the Little Gallery. I never said that if my Lady came, he should go into the Gallery, but he hath said so himself, and so he hath done indeed.

As for the Communication of my going to the Court, I remember that he said to me, that if I were gone, he would not tarry long in the House. And I said again, that he might do as he list. And further Communication of that Matter, I remember not. But that I should say, it grieved me as much as it did him, or that he should never Live to say thou hast swerved, or that the Teares should trickle down by my Cheeks, none of them be true. For all that knew me, and kept my Company, knew how glad and desirous I was to come to the Court.

As for the Communication after his coming out of *Ireland*, is untrue. But as far as I remember, he then asked me, if I should be Married to Mr. *Culpepper*, for so he said he heard reported. Then I made Answer, What should you trouble me therewith, for you know I will not have you; and if you heard such Report, you heard more than I do know.

Katherine Howard.

Number 73.

A Letter of Sir W. Paget's, *of his Treating with the Admiral of* France.

An Original.

PLease it your most Excellent Majestie to be advertised that the 16th of this Present, I received Letters from my Lordes, and others of your Majesties Privey Counsail, conteyning such several Conferences as your Majestie, and certain of your said Counsail, have had with the *French* Ambassader there sithens my last Dispeche. And Yesterday having the Furst Opertunitie to speke with the Admiral, I said unto him, that albeit it was likelyhode that the King, his Master's Ambassader then in *England*, did from Time to Time advertise them of the Processe of the Matier now in Treatie; yet your Majestie reputing him to be a Man of Honor and singular Vertue, and such a one, as with Right Judgment doth consyder the hole State of his Master's Causes, with the Circumstances; and therefore conceiving no little Affection towards him, had commanded me to signifie unto him, to the Intent he might knowe certainly the Plainnes of every Thing, what Communication had now last been had with their Ambassodor there. For the which, rising from his Seate, and making a gret and humble Reverence; after that he had given Thanks unto your Majestie, and with Two or Three Great Othes declared his Affection

Affection towards you; I entred the Accomplishment of your Majesties Commandment. And when I had declared unto him from Point to Point at length, and Word by Word (for it was a Lesson meet to be learned without Book) as is conteyned in the said Letter, aswel the Communicacion had with your Counsail at the Furst Congresse, and such Kingly and Philosophicall Conference as your Majestie had with him your self; as also the Seven Points uttered by your Majesties Counsail at their last Assemblies; and finally, the Epiloge of all together pronounced of your said Counsail as of themselfs; which he herd all together, not without Twenty Sighes, and casting up his Eyes, for I marked him when he was not ware of it; accrossing himself, and gyving a gret Sigh, he saide, As for the Amytie which ought to be between our Masters, how much I have travailed, and do travaile for the Confirmation of it, God is my Judge; and almost all the World knoweth that I am an *English-French* Man, and that next after my Master, I esteem the King your Master's Finger, more than I do any Prince's Body in all the World, and would be glad to give all the Goods I have in the World, that this Matter went through between them; for I perceive by my Master that he will not lyve alone, and yet I am sure he will seek no new Friendship, nor accept none offred, until the King your Master have refused this. As touching this Matter, I knowe they be two Princes of such Honour, and of Wise Conduct in all their Things; that though this Marriage had never been spoken of, they would have continued Friends according to their Treaties, and this Overture was never opened, neither for Confirmation, nor for encrease of Amitie between them; for greater cannot be, but Marriage and Commiction of Blood with Blood, doth unite and knit Generation to Generation, and Posteritie; the Benefit whereof how great it will be; how many Inconveniencies may therby be avoided by Processe of Time; the Wisest Man may soner think then be able to expresś. But, alas, said he, what is Two Hundred Thousand Crowns to give in Marriage with so great a King's Daughter to Monsieur *Dorleans*. Four Hundred, Five Hundred Thousand is nothing to him; Monsieur *Dorleans* is a Prince of great Courage; Monsieur *Dorleans* doth aspire to Great Things, and such is his Fortune, or els I am wonderfully deceyved. It will grieve my Master much when he shall here of this basse Offer, as we have not herd yet from our Ambassador; I marvail therof not a little; nay to tell you plainly, as one Friend shuld tell another, there is farre gretter Offers, if we would herken unto them, we might have in redy Money with the Daughter of *Portugall*, Foure Hundred Thousand Ducates, with the Increase that hath grown of it sithens her Father's Departure, which will amount to asmuch and more. At the Furst breaking of this Matter, it was said the Man must desyre the Woman; now that we have desired her, you will give nothing with her, for what is Two Hundred Thousand Crowns, and herewithall giving a great Sigh, stayed. And I because I perceived his Tale, such as was meet to be answered, said unto him, Monsieur L' Admiral I have no more to say unto you on my Master's Behalf, then I have said unto you allready. But for because you have made a long Discourse as

it were sumewhat replying to that that I have reaported; if it shall like you to give me Leave to say myn own Fantasye, as a Man that would this Thing shuld take effect, if it may be equally done, I woll saye it. Yes, quoth he, with all my Hart: Why shuld not we talke together friendly, as Two that be Servants to Two great Friends; and I neither to take your Words to be spoken as of an Ambassader, nor you to take my Words to be spoken of him that holdeth the Place about his Master that I do? Sir, quoth I, as touching the Benevolence you bear unto my Master, you may think it well employed; as well for that my Master (I think) conceirneth like Opinion of you in that Parte, as also for that you have proved my Master alwayes to be a perfaict Friend unto your Master. And to saye to you frankelly myn Opinion: Albeit I am no Man at Home, neither of great Place, nor of great Counsaile, yet have I beene of Court: And Men, you knowe, of like Sorte, whenne they mete together, will be oftentymes talking of Matiers that they have litle to do in, and bable of Heresayes. And I being one of that Sorte, have many tymes herd, that my Master hath been allwayes much affected unto your Master, and hath shewed towards him great Kindnes, when that if he would have taken Offers for the contrary, he might have had inestimable Benefites. Yea, and that he hath been so well mynded unto your Master, that neither the Maner of your Truce taken with the Emperor, nor your Strangenes at the Emperor's being here, nor *Pole*'s Passage, nor the Conveying of *Brancester*, nor the Reteyning of the Hosyer that called himself *Blancherose*, nor *Cowbridge*, nor nothing els could alienate him from you, such hath been his Friendship towardes you. And therfore, (I said) if you love him, *vous aves Raison*. And if you have set furth this Mariage for Love, let it appere. Is not Two Hundred Thousand Crowns a Faire Offer? I graunt you well, that Monsieur *D'orleanns* aspireth to Gret Things, and is of great Courage: And Reason it is, for he is a Great King's Sonne; and such a King, as both may and must, if he will have his Courage mainteyned, give him wherwithall. It is not Reason, that my Master shuld mainteyn his Courage. My Master hath a Sonne of his owne, whom I trust he shall live to see a Man of Courage, and will, I doubt not, provide him therafter. And as for his Daughter, he doth consyder her as Reason requyreth. Had King *Lowys* any more with one of my Master's Systers, than Three Hundred Thousand Crownes; and the King of *Scotts*, with another, any more than One Hundred Thousand? If our Friendship be advisable unto you, (for that was his Terme) as you say it is, seke it by reasonable Meane, I doubt not but you shall obteine it; and ask reasonably with her, and it shall be granted you to. By my truth, quoth he, and so we doe. Doe you so; quoth I? I have allwayes noted you a Man of Reasone, and so reaported you: Turne the Case, quoth I. Would you remitt Eight Hundred Thousand Crownes, discharge an Hundred Thousand a Year, for the Mariage of your Daughter? Yea, by my trouth, would I; quoth he. For the Eight Hundred Thousand Crowns I compte nothing: And as for the Pension, She shuld have redubled here in *France*; and we would

would be Amys to Amys, and Enemies to Enemies: I meane, *pour la Defence de nostre Estats*, quoth he. *Par nostre Dame*, quoth I, you shall not be myn Auditour. Here is all the Matier, quoth I. You take a wrong Pathe: You compte these Eight Hundred Thousand Crownes nothing; and we, if it were wayed in an indifferent Ballance, think they should waye down Tenne Hundred Thousand. We have a Saying in *England*, *A Penny at a time is worth a Pound.* He that should lend me Three or Four Hundred Crowns at my Nede, shuld do me even more Pleasure, then to offer me Tenne Hundred when I neded not: So much esteme I Money lent at such a tyme. Consyder our Parte, quoth he, and we must knowledge it great: Consyder your Parte, quoth he, it is nothing. The Payng is past, and not to be reckened upon. You say not much amiss, quoth I, if we had an Evil Debter; but our Debter is Riche ynough, and a good Debter. And though he have been bold of a long Respite with his Friend, yet he will pay it, quoth I. I doubt not, quoth he, but the Princes will observe their Treaties. My Master hath, and will, I am sure, quoth I; and so I think will yours. I wot not what to say, quoth he. Marrye, quoth I, do that that I have said heretofore: Aske reasonably for the Dote, and make a Recyproque for the rest, if you would be eased of it. Marke this, for it is to be embraced, and a great Mariage to Monsieur *D'orleanns*. By my Trouth, quoth he, the Dote you have offered is nothing: And if I wer as King *Lewys* and the King of *Scotts* wer, I would rather take your Daughter in her Kyrtel, and more Honour wer it for me, then, being Monsieur *D'orleanns*, to take her with Eight Hundred Thousand Crowns. But I wote not what you meane by that Reciproque. Mary, quoth I, it is to do somthing again of like Goodnes to the Thing, that you desire to have done unto you. As, quoth I, you desire to have our Daughter, and for her you will give your Sonne: There is one for an other. Your Sonne is the Reciproque of our Daughter. You would have Two Hundred Thousand Crownes with her; the Reciproque of that must be a like Jointer. Here is Sonne for Daughter, Dowery for Dote. Now, if you will be discharged of 600000 Crowns; what other Thing, that is as good, shall we have for that, and also for our Pencion? Devise a Reciproque. O Monsieur *L'Ambassedeur*, quoth he, I understand your Reciproque well. The King your Master is a Gentle Prince, and a Great Prince; and what Grive shuld it be to him, to lett passe Eight Hundred Thousand Crowns, and ywys we be not able to pay them. In Faith, quoth I, seing he hath borne so long with you for all, he will be contented to bear with you sumwhat longer for sum: And if you will give some in Hand, I think he will give you Terms for the rest. Ah Monsieur *L'Ambassadeur*, quoth he! and shoke his Head. As for the Pension, quoth he, you shall have a Reciproque here, a Dowery mete for it. Nay, quoth I, your Relative agreeth with a wrong Antecedent. My Master is the Antecedent, and the Reciproque must be to him, and not to Monsieur *D'orleans*, for he should have the Benefite by it. Nay, quoth he, it is your Master's Daughter, and it is no more but for your Master to give from

from himſelf to his Daughter. Ywys, the Queen of *Navarre*'s Daughter is a greatter Mariage. And as for the Eight Hundred Thouſand, if I were a right Man, and able to give, I would paye a great Pece of it my ſelf, er it ſhuld ſtick. What the Queen of *Navarre*'s Daughter is, I know not, quoth I: But if you might have my Maſter's Daughter upon theſe Conditions, you might ſay, you had ſuch a Mariage as was never herd of. And here we ſtay'd both. At the laſt, quoth he, ſudenly, When it was told me Yeſternight, that you ſent to ſpeke with me, I thought it was for theſe Matiers: And all this Night I have turned and toſſed, and thought upon them. I would God it had never been ſpoken of, if it take not effect. And evyn now cummyth into my Head the Overture that the King your Maſter made ones unto me. What Overture was that, quoth I? Mary, quoth he, the Overture of the Mariage of the Lady *Elizabeth*, his Daughter; you to have had Recompence for the perpetuel Pencion upon Monſieur *de Vandome*'s Lands: And for the Pencion Vyager, to have bene converted to a Eſtate. Without any other Recompence, quoth I? Yes, quoth he. We ſhuld have bene Enemys to Enemys, and left the Biſhop of *Rome*. That was ſumwhat, quoth I; and yet not a Reciproque; becauſe you ſhuld not have given as good as you tooke. But then, was none Arrerage, quoth I? And here he pauſed again. I will tell you my Fantaſy, quoth he; but you ſhall promiſe me by your Faith, that I ſhall never heare of it again. I woll ſpeke it unto you, as a Friende to a Friende; and peradventure neither of both Parties will like it. Sir, quoth I, you ſhall never take Diſhonour by Things you ſhall ſay to me. What, quoth he, if the Overture ſhuld take effect in one Parte? As how, quoth I? Mary, quoth he, the Arrerage to be remitted, for the Mariage of your Daughter. And becauſe you think it great, we to becum Friends to Friends, and Enemys to Enemys, and ſo to enter Warre together: And of that, that ſhuld be conquered by commyn Expenſes, to lay out firſt a Recompence for your Penſion Viager, and the perpetuel Pencion to be ſupplied, as the King your Maſter deviſed. How like you this Deviſe, quoth he? Mary, ſaid I, if you will heare a Fool's Anſwer, I like it not: For what need we to fight for that we have allready? Mary, quoth he, then you ſhuld have it *in perpetuum*. What if you deſyred this for a Reciproque? Mary, quoth I, peradventure my Maſter might purchaſe more Land another waye than that might coſt him. Why ſhuld we deſire Warre, quoth I; we have no Quarrell? It is true, quoth he; but we would be the Authors. And if you covenanted to be Enemye to Enemye, would you not joyne Warre with us? By my Trouth, Sir, quoth I, you be entred now into a Deep Matier, which paſſeth my Capacitie. It is a great Matier indeed, quoth he: But I talk with you privement, neither becauſe I would have you to declare this to your Maſter, nor for that I will declare it to myne: And yet both you and I may uſe Meanes to the ſame Ende. Well, quoth I, I ſee you make Curſey at the Matier, and would have a great Commodity, and yet are loth to offer for it. But I ſay unto you as a Friend, Aske, and offer reaſonably, and go roundly to worke, and make an ende of it. For, I fear, I may ſay to you, if

if you will not, others will. Yea, quoth he, we knowe the Emperor practiseth with you, as he doth with us; and that the Bishop of *London* hath brought him Three fayre Palfreys from the King your Master, for a Present. I name no Man, quoth I: But whether the Emperor practiseth with you, I report me to his Offers and his Demands. I think, he practiseth with us both, quoth he, onely to dissever us: For with your Master he will not joyne, onles he will returne again unto the Pope. For so his Nuntio told the Chancelor, and the Chancelour told the Queen of *Navarre*; who fell out with him upon the Occasion of that Conference, and told him, he was ill ynough before, but now sithens he hath gotten the Marke of the Beast, (for so She called it, because he was lately made Priest) he was worse and worse. But to my Purpose, quoth he: I think the Emperor practiseth with us both; he seeketh nothing els, but to dissever us. You speake of his Offers and his Demaunds, quoth he; knowe you what they be? No, quoth I. And yet, indeed, I did cume by the Knowledge of them within 24 Howres before. Mary, quoth he, he would make the Duke of *Orleains* King of *Naples*, and give us the Seigneurye of *Flanders*. They be faire Offers, quoth I: But what be his Demands? Wherat he smiled. By my Trouth, quoth he, I will tell you. He desireth a Renunciation of the Title of *Milan* and *Navarre*, and the Restitution of *Piedmount* and *Savoy*. What say you to it, quoth I? The King, my Master, will none of it, quoth he; for he thinketh, that the next War that shuld fall, being so great Distance between the Father and the Sonne, the Emperor would send the Duke of *Orleains* to his Father, *une Baton blanche*. I have herd saye, quoth I, the Duke of *Cleves* also laboureth now sore to have his Wife Home, and smyled therwith. Why, quoth he, heare you any thing? Yea, mary, quoth I; I hear saye, the Emperor is in great Practise with the Duke of *Cleves*; and that he hath made him Half a Promise, that for to have *Gelders* quietly, he and his Wife will renounce the Title of *Navarre*. Which indeed I had never herd. But musing upon the Word before, it came into my Head at that Time, and chauncyng then to speake it, I strucke the Admirall into a great Dumpe. Wherin, when he had pawsed a great while, I said, Sir, I desease you. No, no, Monsieur *L'Ambassadeur*, quoth he: She is too young and sickly, to go out of this Country. When Monsieur *de Cleves*, quoth he, hath done the King sume good Service, and declared himself to all the World to be *pour Le Roy*, then shall he have his Wife. You know what you have to do, Sir, quoth I: But seeing you see the World so full of Practises, it is good Dealing with them that meane plainly. Yo say Trouth, quoth he; and so it is. We knowe, the Emperor doth nothing but practise with us, as he doth with your Master: And we knowe, how he offereth your Master, to accord hym with the Pope, without Breache of his Honour; and that it shall be at the Pope's Suite. I am privye, quoth I, of no suche Mattiers; but if the Emperor desyre my Master's Friendship, I cannot greately blame him, consyderinge he knoweth partely by his own Experience, and partely by evident Tokens towards

towards other Men, my Master is a Friendly Friend. And as for the Bishop of *Rome*, quoth I, if he sue to be restored to my Master's Favour again; I think it will be herd for him to obteyn it, for Vertue and Vice cannot stand together in one Predicament. Call you him Vice, quoth he, he is the very Divel. I trust once to see his Confusion. I have begune to pick him a little, I trust to pick him better. Every Thing must have a Tyme and a Beginning. But when begin you, quoth I; I think, quoth he, er it be ought long. The King, my Master, will converte all the Abbeis of his Realme, into the Possession of his Laye Gentlemen, and so go furth by little and little, (if you will join with us) to overthrow him alltogether; why may not we have a *Patriark* here in *France*? Which Purpose, I think, he doth perceive, and his Legate therfore, now in *Almayn*, offred that for a Reformation there should be a Council called, and appointed the Place either *Mantua*, *Verona*, or *Cambray*: He had as lief be hanged, quoth he, as have a General Council; and even then will that be his Sentence. I would fayne see you ones begyne somewhat, quoth I. A Monsieur *Le Ambassadeur*, quoth he, I am sherewdely matched. Why so, quoth I, is not your Master a King, and if he mynde that you speak of, who can match you? He savoreth Woundrous well, quoth he, but every Thing I saye must have a Tyme: who was a greater Champyon for the Pope then was your Master, now who is more contrary? If they might ones, quoth he, speke together, I think it will be one of the grettest Benifites that ever came to *Chrisendome*, but that cannot well be, untill these Matiers cum to some nerer Point. The Faulte is not in us, quoth I, that it is not at a nerer Point. Nor it shall not be long of us, quoth he; but paradventure sum of your Master's Counsail moveth him more to the Emperor's Friendship. And what is that Friendship in comparison of this Friendship. *England* is a Kingdome perpetuel, and so is *France*. Our Masters, their Children, their Succession, maye joyne for ever. We be under one Clyme, and of one Complexion: We be at Hande one to another. The Emperor is but one, and when he is Dead, sum *Almayn* may be Emperor, I wot not who. Truth it is, *Spayne* is a Kingdome, but what is that alone: As for *Flanders*, it shall be our Friend if we joyne together. And as for *Italy*, when the Emperor is Dead, who shall be Master trowe you. And if the Emperor might live allways, what is his Friendship. He careth not if Friend, Father, and all together shuld sinke, so as his insatiable Desyre to Reign might be satisfied: Did he not suffer Two of his Brethren-in-Lawe to perishe for lack of Fifty Thousand Crowns; furst the King of *Hungarye*, and after the King of *Denmark*, whom he might have restored with Ten Thousand Crowns. He is a Covetous Man, saving the Honour of a Prince, and yet he is now base ynough, and therefore let us take him while he is Lowe, before he take his Breth. Sir, quoth I, you are a Man of a great Trade, and knowe to Discourse of Things better then I am able to conceyve. If you esteem the Effect of this Matier so necessary for you, and the Emperor's Friendship such as you speke of; take then a direct waye for the compassing of it. And if you have any Thing in your Stomachs, that you would have uttered, but not to many, let your Ambassadour

utter it to sum one, and lett him utter it not coldly, but frankly; and that is the next waye to make an Ende. Would God Monsieur *Le Ambassadeur*, quoth he, it lay in my Hande, it shuld then be sone at an Ende. Put to your Good Will, quoth I, in an Honest Cause, God will help you: I marvaile much, quoth he, we here not from our Ambassader there; so do I, quoth I, by lykelyhod he is ill at ease, or his Man is sike by the Way, or some other like Matier. When send you into *England*, quoth he: I have no great Matiers to write of, quoth I; and yet I am determined within a day or two to send into *England*; for I have appointed my Bank to be made at *Paris*, but now I must sende to have it changed to *Lyons*; because I here saye the King goeth thither. I pray you, quoth he, conveye a Lettre to our Ambassadeur in *England*, which I will send to you to morrow, which I promised him. And brake our Communication, and so ready to depart, and standing, I asked him whither the Ambassadeur was come to the King out of *Almayn*, or no? He asked me which Ambassadeur? I told him for Aid against the *Turk*. No, no, quoth he; Thinketh Men my Master is so unwise to aid the Emperor and King *Ferdinand* for the Defence of *Hungarye*, their private Dominion? Should my Master mainteyn their State at his Dispens, which keep his State from him? Not but if it wer to defend *Almayn*, my Master would help the best he could. What doth the King your Master? Gyveth he any Ayde? I know not, quoth I, that any hath been yet asked. If any be, I think his Majesty will make a reasonable Answer; and thus we departed.

Sir, your Majestie hath heard truely reported, the diverse Communication and Varietie of Matier that hath passed between the Admirall and me: Wherin when I consyder myn accustomed Protestations me thinketh, he shuld take none Advantage of me; and on the other side, when I remember the Simplenes of my Wit with the Scarcitie of myn Experience, joynyng therewithall their Proceeding with other your Majesties Ambassadeurs heretofore, whose Saing they reaporte at Will for their Purposes; I cannot but tremble, fearing that sumthing may have passed me to hotely, sum what to coldly, sumthing spoken more then neded, or sumthing left out that shuld have been spoken. But sure you ar my Sayntuary, and my Trust is only in your Equanimitie; whom I beseech most humbly of your gracious and favourable Interpretation, and of your Benignitie, to consyder that this is the furst time that ever I came *in arenam*; and he with whom I am matched, is an old Player; nevertheless, if I had Experience, or Wit to judge a Man, I would think him by his Words and Countenance to be none Imperiall, and an utter Enemye to *Rome*; and yet I must note a Practise in him, for that he hath promised me twise one shuld be sent over, and none is yet sent. And besides that, whereas he hath told me heretofore, that no Man knewe of this last Treatye, but he and Madame *Destampes*, adding yesterday the Queen of *Navarre*. I know of the Demands the Ambassadeur hath made there, by other Meanes then by your Majesties Signification: But your Majestie knoweth him farre better I am sure, than my foolishe Wit can comprehend. And therefore I leave to your most Excellent Wisdom the Judgment of his Proceedings.

ings, the Circumſtance whereof your Majeſtie knoweth without Addition or Diminucion of any thing, as nere as I could carye it away.

As touchinge the Occurrents of this Court, it may pleaſe your Majeſtie to be advertiſed, that the Emperor's Grand Eſcuyer paſſed by *Paris* Eight Days agone into *Flanders*, and came not att the Court.

It is ſaid here that the Emperor is in great Practiſe, with your Majeſtie, for the Marriage of the Lady *Mary*, your Majeſties Daughter, which they think here the rather to be true, for that you have ſent the Biſhop of *London* to be Ambaſſador there, whom they note here to be an Imperial, Saing commonly that the Marriage between *France* and *England* is daſhed.

Certain Merchants of *Lyons*, and Monſieur *Langey*, a Partener with them, have Sentence for them of Threeſcore and Tenne Thouſand Crowns againſt the State of *Florence*, and Repriſalls out for Execution.

Salmaiti and *Antenori*, Two *Florentynes*, having their Houſes in *Lyons*, who wer *fideinſſores de ſoluendo indicato*, be fled into the Emperor's Dominion, into *Breſſe*.

The *Florentynes* take the Matier grevioufly, and think there is no Juſtice in *France*, for they had moved theyr Caſe before in all the Univerſities and Courts of *Italy*, and thinking it out of Doubt, offred to put it to the Judgement of *France*, wherof now they repent them, and will in no wiſe ſtand to it. And to advertiſe your Majeſty of the Caſe briefly; the State of *Florence* bought of certain Marchants of *Lyons* a Quantitie of Wheat to ſuch a Sume, to be delivered at *Florence* before ſuch a Day. The Wheat arryved not before Eight Daies after the Tyme appointed. The *Florentines*, conſtreyned by Neceſſity, provided themſelves other ways, and ſay the Bargain is voyde. The *Lyonnois* alledge *tempeſtatem* for the Lett, and ſay that *emptio* is *contractus bonæ fidei*, and that therefore the *Florentynes* muſt fullfill their Bargayn; and ſo leaving their Wheate there, went there wayes.

Error is founde in the Admirall's Proceſſe, and the Sentence revoked; wherby the Application of his Lands to the Crown, and the *Amende Pecuniaire* that he ſhuld have made to diverſe Townes here in *Bourgoyn* is adnichilated, and he *reſtitutus in integrum*.

I thinke your Majeſtie heareth from your Agent at *Venice* that *James Bey*, ſumtyme a Chriſtian Man, is cuming from the *Turcque* in Ambaſſade to *Venice*; and, as I think, by this Time arryved there, if the Empereur have not intercepted him, who hath layed waye for him in *Raguſa*: His cuming is nothing pleaſant to the *Venycians*; the Cauſe therof being as the *Venycians* conjecture, the ſame that I have written to your Majeſtie before; that is to ſaye, Paſſage through their Cuntrey, or to be Enemyes to Enemyes, or to redeem the ſame with ſum great Sumes of Money, if nothing els be aſked.

Seignior *Horacio* being heretofore accuſtomed to be lodged at the Court, or near as the Place required, is lodged now Four Leaggs of, and yet the King lyeth in a great Town; wherof the Nuntio's Secretarye complayning to the Admirall, the Admirall anſwered him in Coler, he had one gyven him, and he refuſed it. We cannot give

2 him

him here a Pâlais as though he were at *Paris*, and turned his Back, and would talk no longer with the Secretary.

I ſende unto your Majeſtie herewith an other Charte of *Algiere*, ſet furth after a ſorte, with the Emperor's Aſſiege before it; the Plate wherof varieth from the other I ſent your Majeſtie before: And yett I truſt your Majeſtie will take the ſame in good Parte; for as they came to my Hands, being ſent to ſuch Perſonages as they wer; thone to the *French* King, and this to the Duke of *Ferrare*; I thought it my Duety to ſende both unto your Majeſtie, leaving unto your Excellent Wiſedome the Judgment, whither this, or the other be true, or neither of them bothe.

I ſende alſo unto your Majeſtie a little Book, both printed here in *Paris*, conteyning the Concluſion of their Dyet in *Almayn* againſt the *Turk*; whither the ſame be true, or no, I doubt not but your Majeſtie knoweth by ſuch Advertiſements as you have out of thoſe Partes. And thus having nothing els to writte unto your Majeſtie at this Time, I beſeche God to ſend you moſt proſperouſly and long to Reigne. From *Chabliz* in *Bourgoyn*, the 19th of *April.*

Your Majeſties

Moſt Humble, Faithful, and

Obedient Subject, Servant,

And Daily Oratour,

William Pagett.

POSTSCRIPT.

AFter I had Written to your Majeſtie this Letter redy to ſend the ſame furthwith; and defferring the Diſpeche onely uppon Attendance of the Admirall's Letter, to be conveyed into *England*; becauſe the ſame came not, I ſent the ſame Night one to the Courte, which is Four long Leaggs hens to the Admirall to know his Minde therin; which Meſſenger he returned to me with this Letter herincloced, written and defaced as your Majeſtie ſeith the ſame; upon Motion wherof, I was at his Lodging the next Day, by Eight in the Morning, but I found him not there. At my cumming a Letter was delivered me from certain of your Majeſties Privy Counſail, the Tenor wherof, both before and ſithens I have obſerved as far as my Wit can extend, like as your Majeſtie rather by your great Judement, and gracious Interpretation of my Diſcourſes, then by my ſimple

Writtings may gather. Anone cummeth Monſieur *Admirall*, accompaigned with Monſieur *Longeville*, Governour to the Duke of *Orleans*, and with more Solemnitie than was wont to be, took me with them to the Church, to paſſe the Tyme (they ſaid) untill the King wer up. Monſieur *Longevile* left the Admirall and me walking, and entring Communication after this Sorte. Monſieur *Le Ambaſſadeur*, I have been bold to put you to this great Payne this Morning; but this Matier troubleth me ſo ſore, that I am at my Wittes Ende: By ——— ——— I could not ſleep for it all this Night. We have received Letters from our Ambaſſadeur in *England*, conteyning the ſame Diſcourſes that you have declared, which my Maſter is ſorye to heare; mervailing that the King, his good Brother, would offer that Summe to his Sonne with his Daughter, that ſome of his Gentlemen would not accept. The Pope offred to Monſieur *de Guyſes* Sonne, with his Nepce, Two Hundred Thouſand Crownes, and he refuſed it. To ſee us ſo farre aſunder, after ſo long a Traitye, by ——. it greveth me. For you muſt underſtand, that all which be of Counſaile about my Maſter, be not of one Opinion. And upon the Receipte of our laſt Lettres, it was ſaid to me, We told you wherto the Enterpriſe of this Matier would cum at length: But ſurely I have never repented me, nor myn Affection can never diminiſhe, for the Friendſhip that hath been ſhowed on your Parte, aſwell in commyn, as to my particuler. And as for the Pope's and the Emperor's Lyes and Falſetes, we know well ynough. Wherfore, for the Love of God, let us growe to ſome Friendly Point. After I had declared unto him for ſome Recompence of his Affection, what good Affection I beare to *France*; I ſaid unto him, Monſieur *L'Admirall*, you knowe, we commun now privately, and therefore you ſhall hear my private Opinion. Seing that you knowe other Men's Proceedings with you to have been ſo indirect as you ſpeake of, and (as your ſelf hath confeſſed unto me oftentymes) that the King's Majeſtie, my Maſter, hath been ſo perfaict and ſincere a Friende unto you at all Tymes; embrace this Frendſhip; conſyder this Friend; and think that he is to be deſyred rather with One Hundred, than any other with Tenne Hundred. You ſaid, your Maſter will not live alone. Ywys, my Maſter may have Company enough, if he would ſlippe out of the Couple from you. Yea, quoth he, I know; but ſo will not every Man of this Counſaile knowe, their Faulſeties. True it is, quoth he, your Friendſhip hath been much, and we do recogniſe it, and think our ſelfs in Obligation to requite it. But we can do no more than we can do. But to come to a Point; the Matier conſiſteth in theſe Termes. Within theſe Two Yeres, we ſhall owe you a Million; after the which Tyme, we muſt pay you during the King your Maſter's Life (God grant it to be long) a Hundred Thouſand Crownes yearly, and afterward Fyfty Thouſande perpetually, you ſaye. As for the Pencions, quoth he, there may be ſumwhat ſayde for Things that ſhuld be done by Treaties: For our Defence, Things ſhuld have been done; Shipps and Men, and I wot not what. And here he began to hack and to hume. Monſieur *Le Admirall*, quoth I, ſpeke out plainly: for if you have any thing to

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to say in that Parte, I can answer. Well, well, quoth he, let those Things passe: You can clayme no Pencion yet these Two Yeres. And herewithall the King sent for him. With whom, after Masse, he went to the Standing in a Forest hereby; promising me to return ymedyately after Dyner, and praying me hartely to tary his Return. Monsieur *Le Admirall*, quoth I, in his Eare, if you talk with the King your Master of this Matier, deduce him to some Conformitie. I speake for the Affection I beare unto you: For I may say to you, there be others that woee harder thenne you, and yet hitherto we have not given like Eare. But you know, a Man may droppe Water so long upon a Stone, that it may sooke in. And herewith, Monsieur *Longevile* tooke me at his Hand by and by, and had me to Monsieur *D'orleans* Lodging, where I had an exceeding gret Feast and Chere. About Two of the Clock the Admirall sent for me; and after our Meting, every Man avoided out of the Chamber. Monsieur *Le Ambassadeur*, quoth he, let us devise some good Meane, to joyne these Two Princes together. Then must you, quoth I, go another way to work. Devide your Treatye into Two Partes: Treate a Mariage, and treate the Redemption of the rest you desyre. Well, be it, quoth he: But I understand not yet very well your Reciproque; (and here he began to be plaisant in his Countenance, and to set his Wordes merily:) And yet, quoth he, our Ambassador writteth of the same Terme, but I wot not what. You will not, quoth I, understande it: But you must learne it; for els I feare (wherof I would be wondrous sorye) that this Matier will not go forwarde. Let me hear again, quoth he. I told him even the same Lesson, that is declared in the former Parte of this Letter. It is not, quoth he, a Hundred Thousand Crownes, or Two Hundred Thousand, that can enriche my Master, or impoverishe yours: And therfore, for the Love of God, quoth he, let us go roundly together. We aske your Daughter, quoth he: For her, you shall have our Sonne, a gentye Prince, quoth he, and set him out to Sale. We aske you a Dote with her; and for that after the Som you will give, She shall have an Assignment after the Custome of the Country here. And as for the rest, quoth he, what Reciproque demande you? What will you, that we do for you? As for the rest of the Money, quoth I, take Order for the Payment of it; and for the Pencions, devise a Reciproque. Devise you, quoth he, what you will have us to do for it. Nay, quoth I, offer you furst, for it passeth my Capacitye: And Reason is so; for the first Commodity shall be yours. It is no Mattier, quoth he; we will offer furst, and you shall aske next: Or you shall offer furst, and we shall aske nexte: All is one. But I will now, as I did laste Daye, speke unto you after myn own Passion, after myn own Affection; for I would all the World knew I am not Imperial. And here, with many Qualifications and Termes, he set forth his Passion and Affections. You will give us your Daughter, and a Summe with her, (it maketh no Matier what); howbeit, I trust, your gentle Prince will aske no Money of us: And as for the Reciproque of the rest, and therewith stayed. Well, quoth he, to speake frankly

 to

to you myn Affection; will you enter the Warre with us against the Emperor? and be Enemye to Enemye, for the Defence of all such States as we have at this present, and of such as we shall Conquere together; or of such as shall be comprised in Treaty: The King your Master to sett upon Land in *Flanders*, Tenne Thousand *Englishmen*, and we Tenne Thousand *Frenchmen*; Pay the Wages of Five Thousand *Almayns*, and we of asmany; Finde Two Thousand Horsemen, and we Three Thousand; Finde a certain Number of Shipps, and we as many. And yett shall the King my Master chaffe the Emperor in other Places, he was never so chaffed: and spende a Hundred, yea Two Hundred Thousand Crowns a Month other wayes. And of such Lands as shall be conquered, the Pencion furst to be redoubled, and the rest to be devided equally. What a Thing will it be to your Master, to have *Graveling*, *Dunkirk*, *Burburg*, and all those Quarters joining to his *Calais*? Mary, quoth I, all the Craft is in the Catching. And here I put him a foolish Question; What if you spent your Money, and conquered Nothing? Mary, quoth he, then should the Pencion stand still as it standeth. Monsieur *Le Admirall*, quoth I, these Matiers you talk of, be of too great Importance for my Witt; and I have also no Commission to medle in them. But to saye my Fantasye, I knowe of no Quarrel that my Master hath against the Emperor. ——— quoth he, why say you so? Doth he not owe your Master Money? Hath he not broken his Leages with him in 600 Points? Did he not provoke us, and the Pope also, to joine for the Taking of your Realme from you, in Preye for Disobedience? And hath he not caused even now the Pope, to offer a Council at *Mantua*, *Verona*, *Cambray* or *Metz*; (which Place he added now last) the Chief Cause wherof, is to pick you? A Pestilence take him, fause Dissembler, quoth he: Saving my Dutie to the Majestie of a King. If he had you at such an Advantage, as you maye now have him, you shuld well knowe it at his Hande. And here he went furth at large against the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Emperor; discoursing what Commoditie shuld ensue of this Warre; and that he would have it in any wise beginne this Yere, now that the Emperor wer so lowe; and had, as he saithe, for all his Millions, never a *Sols*. And that he would the Matier should take effect shortely; for the Yere goith awaye: reckening how many Moneths wer now lost mete for the Warre: And how the Conquests should be fortified in the Winter; and the Warre recommenced in the Sommer. And that their Chiefe Points resolved, his Master shuld (if your Majestie would) turne into *Picardy*, to Entervieu. And a great Discourse, Sir, passing min Experience, shewing themselfs by his Wordes and Countenance wonderfully gredy of presant Warre: which when he had ended; what say you, Monsieur *Le Ambassadeur*, quoth he? Will you saye nothing to me in this Matier? Sir, quoth I, and told him Trueth, I wote not what to saye. Why do you not, quoth he? Open the Bottom of your Stomack to the King my Master, quoth I, by your Ambassadour there, by whom you have begun and treated this Matier. And also I noted in our other Conference, that you would not have these

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Difcourfes reaported again of your Mouth. Monfieur, quoth he, this is indeed but my Devife. Howbeit, to fpeake frankly to youe, I have fpoken nothing therin, but I think to perfwade my Mafter to it: And write fo to the King your Mafter, quoth he, and alfo the hole Devife. That fhall be as you will, quoth I. Nay, quoth he, I pray you to write, fo as you write as devifed of me; and repeted the Overture hole together, as is before expreffed. Sir, quoth I, feing you require me, I will write it, fo that you will promife me to confirme my Tale by your Ambaffador there. Yes, quoth he; and clapt his Hande in mine. But I pray you, quoth he, fend one in Diligence, that no Tyme be loft. Will you not write, quoth I? Yes, quoth he: But your Poft will be there before ours. And fo deperted.

Sir, I befeeche your Majeftie moft humblie on my Knees, gracioufly to accept my Good Will, al[though my] Witt be not able to ferve you in fo great an Affaire; and to pardon me, of your moft Gracious Goodnes, if any Thing have been faid, more or lefs thenne was meet to have been fpoken for the Advancement of your Purpofes: Of my Faulte wherin, if it fhould pleafe your Majeftie to advife me of, I fhould have the more Witt another Time, and take the better Hede in a femblable Cafe: For furely, Sir, I have an exceeding Good Will to ferve you; and if my Witt wer as good, I am affured I fhould ferve well, and that knoweth God: To whom I pray daily, for your profperous and long Continuance. From *Chablis*, the 22d of *April*.

Your Majefties

Moft Humble, Faithful, and

Obedient Subject, Servant,

And Daily Oratour,

William Pagett.

To the King's Moft Excellent Majeftie.

1542.

Number

Number 73.

Biſhop Thirleby's *Letter concerning the Duke of* Norfolk *and his Son.*

An Original.

Paper-Office.

I Would write unto you my Harte (if I coulde) againſt thoſe Two Ungracious, Ingrate, and Inhumane *non Homines*, the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Sonne. The Elder of whom, I confeſs that I did Love, for that I ever ſupp[illegible]m a true Servant to his Maſter; like as both his Allegiance, and the manifold Benefits of the King's Majeſtie bounde him to have been; but nowe when I ſholde begyn to wright to you herin, before God I am ſo amaſed at the Matter, that I know not what to ſay; therefore I ſhall leave them to receyve for their Deads, as they have worthily deſervyd; and thank God of his Grace that hath openyd this in Tyme, ſo that the King's Majeſtie may ſee that reformed: And in this Point, wher Almighty God hath not nowe alone, but often and ſondry Tymes hertofore, not only letted the Malice of ſuch as hathe imagenyd any Treaſon againſt the King's Majeſtie, the Chiefe Comforte, Wealth, and Proſperite of all good *Engliſhmen* next unto God; but hath ſo wonderfully manifeſt, that in ſuche Tyme that his Majeſties High Wiſdom myght let that Malice to take his Effecte, all good *Engliſhe* cannot therfore thanke God enough. And for our Parts, I pray God, that we may thorough his Grace, ſo contynue his Servants, that herafter we be not founde unworthy to receyve ſuche a Beneſyte at his Hands. On *Chriſtmas* Even, about 10 of the Clocke after Noon here aryved *Somerſet* with the Letters of the King's Majeſties moſt Honourable Counſell, Dated the 15th of *December* at *Weſtminſter*, wherby I perceyved the Malicious Purpoſe of the ſaid Two ungracious Men: And for the Execution of the King's Majeſties Commandment declared in the ſame Letters, I ſuyd immediately for Audience to the Emperor, who entred this Town within halfe an Houer after *Somerſet* was come. The Emperor praied me of Pacience, and to declare to the Secretarie *Joyſe*, that I wolde ſaie to him. For he ſaid he had determyned to repoſe him ſelfe for 3 or 4 Days; and had therfore for that Tyme refuſed Audience to the Nuntio, the Ambaſſador of *France*, and the Ambaſſador of *Venice*, which had ſued for Audience. On *Chriſtmas*-Day on the Morning, at Nine of the Clocke, *Joyſe* came to my Lodginge, to whom I declared as well as I coulde the great Benefits theis ungracious Men had receyved at the King's Majeſties Hands, and how unkindly and traytorouſly they went abought to ſearve him, with the reſt as myn Inſtructions led me. The King's Majeſtie, my Maſter (taking the ſame Affection to

to be in the Emperor, his good Brother, towards him, that his Highnes hathe to the Emperor, (*ut Amicorum omnia sint communia, gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere cum flentibus,*) hath commanded me to open this Matter to the Emperor: That as naturally all Men, and much more Princes, ought to abhore Traytors, and specially suche as had receyved so great Benyfites as theis Men had: So his Majestie might rejoyse that the King's Highnes his good Brother had founde forthe this Matter, or the Malice coulde be brought to Execution. Secretary *Joyse* said that he would Advertise the Emperor herof accordingly, and after a little Talke of the Haughtiness of the Earle of *Surrey*, and a few Salutations, he bad me fare well. When I asked him for Monsieur *de Grandevela*, to whom I said, that I wolde tell this Tale, for that I doubted not but that he, and all Honest Men wolde abhorre such Traytors: He said that he was not yet come, but he wolde this Day Advertise him herof by his Letters; for I wright (quoth he) daily to him. Albeit that this be the Hole, and the Effecte of that I have done in the Execution of the King's Majesties Commandment, declared in my said Lord's Letters, yet I will as my Dutie is, Answer a-part their said Letters to the King's Majestie: herin I dare not wright. For, to enter the Matter, and not to detest that as the Cause requireth, I think it not convenient. And again on the other side, to renew the Memorie of these Mens Ingratitude, (wher with all Noble and Princely Harts above all others be sore wounded) I thinke it not Wisdome. Therefore I beseeche you hartely, amongst other my good Lords, there to make my most humble Excuse to his Majestie for the same. This ungracious Matter that hath happened otherwise then ever I could have thought, hath caused you to have a longer Letter then ever I have bene accustomed to wright. Ye shall herwith receyve a Scedule of Courte Newis, whiche havyng lernyd while I wrote this; Secretary *Joyse* hathe prayed me to sende the Letter herwith enclosed to the Emperor's Ambassador in *England*, which I pray you to cause to be delivered, and hartely fare you well. From *Halebourne* the *Christmas*-Day at Night, 1546.

Your assured Loving Friend,

Tho. Westm'

Herewith ye shall allso receyve the Copie of my Letters of the 19th of this Mongth, sent by *Skipperus*, &c.

Number .

Number 74.

A Letter of the Duke of Norfolk's, *after he had been examined in the* Tower.

MY very good Lords, whereas at the being here with me of my Lord Great Chamberlayne, and Mr. Secretary, they examynd me of divers Thyngs, which as near as I can call to my Remembrance were the Effects as here after doth ensew.

Titus B. P. 94.

First, whether ther was any Cipher betwene me, and any other Man: For Answer wherunto, this is the Truth, there was never Cipher between me and any Man, save only such as I have had for the King's Majestie, when I was in his Service. And as God be my Judge, I do not remember that ever I wrote in Cipher, but at such Time as I was in *France*. My Lord Great Master that now is, and my Lord of *Rochford* being in Commission with me, and whether I wrote any then, or not, as God help me, I do not remember; but and I wrote any Thing, I am sure both their Hands were at it: And the Master of the Horse privy to the same: I do remember that after the Death of the Bishop of *Hereford*, *Fox*, it was shew'd me that the said Bishop had left a Letter, which I had sent him, amongst his Writings, which being found by a Servant of his, that is now with Master *Deny*, who shewd the same to the Bishop of *Durham* that now is, he caused him to throw the same in Fier; as I do remember, it was my said Lord Bishop of *Dureham* that advised him to burn it: And as I also do remember, the Matter that was conteyned therin, concerned Lewde Speaking of the *Northern* Men after the Time of the Comotion against the said *Cromwell*: If there had been any Thyng concerning the King's Majestys Affairs, neyther the Bishope, nor he, were he now alyve, would not have concealed the same; and whether any Part of that was in Cypher, or not, as I shall Answer to God, I do not remember.

Theffect of another Question there asked me, was, as near as I can call to my Remembrance, Whether anie Man had talked with me, that and ther were a Good Peace made betwene the King's Majestie, the Emperor and the *French* King, the Bishope of *Rome* would brek the same againe by his Dispensation? And whether I enclined that waies, or not, to that Purpose? As God help me now, at my most Nede, I cannot call to my Remembrance, that ever I heard any Man living speak like Words. And as for mine Inclinations, that the Bishope of *Rome* should ever have Aucthority to do such Thing; if I had Twentie Lives, I would rather have spent them all against him, then ever he should have any Power in this Realme: For no Man knoweth that better then I, by Reding of Stories, how his Usurped Power hath increased from Time to Time. Nor such Time as the King's Majestie hath found him his Enemy, no living Man

hath, both in his Harte and with his Tounge, in this Realme, in *France*, and alſo to many *Scotiſh* Jantlemen, ſpoken more ſore againſt his ſaid Uſurped Powre, then I have done, as I can prove by good Witnes.

Alſo my ſaid Lord and Mr. Secretary aſked me, whether I was ever made privy to a Letter, ſent from my Lord of *Wyncheſter* and Sir *Henry Knevet*, of any Overture made by *Grandville* to them, for a Way to be taken between his Majeſtie and the Biſhope of *Rome*; and that the ſaid Letters ſhould have come to his Majeſtie to *Dover*, I being there with him. Wherunto this is my true Anſwer: I was never at *Dover* with his Highnes ſince my Lord of *Richmond* died, but at that Time, of whoſe Death Word came to *Syttyngborne*: And as God be my Helpe, I never heard of no ſuch Overture, ſave that I do well remember, at ſuch Time as Sir *Francis Biryan* was ſore ſike, and like to have died, it was ſpoken in the Councill, that my Lord of *Wincheſter* ſhould have ſaid, He cou'd deviſe a Way, how the King's Majeſtie might have all Things upright with the ſaid Biſhope of *Rome*, and his Highnes Honour ſaved. Suche were the Words, or much like. Wherupon, as I had often ſaid in the Councill, one was ſent to the ſaid Sir *Francis*, to know, if ever he heard the ſaid Biſhope ſpeake like Words; which he denied: And as I do remember, it was Sir *Rauf Sadeler*, that was ſent to the ſaid Sir *Francis*. And to ſay that ever I heard of any ſuch Overture made by *Grandville*, or that ever I commoned with any Man conſerning any ſuch Mater, other then this of the Biſhope of *Wincheſter*, as God be my Help, I never dyd; nor unto more thenne this, I was never prevye.

Now, my Good Lords, having made Anſwer according to the Truth of ſuch Queſtions as hath been asked me, moſt humblie I beſeeche you all to be Mediators for me to his moſt Excellent Majeſtie, to cauſe ſuch as have accuſed me (if it might be with his high Pleaſure) to come before his Majeſtie, to lay to my Charge afore me, Face to Face, what they can ſay againſt me: And I am in no dout, ſo to declare my ſelfe, that it ſhall appere I am falſly accuſed. And if his Pleaſure ſhall not be, to take the Paine in his Royall Perſon, then to give you Commandment to do the ſame. My Lords, I truſt ye think *Cromwell*'s Service and mine hath not be like; and yet my Deſire is, to have no more Favour ſhew'de to me, than was ſhew'de to him, I being preſent. He was a fals Man; and ſewerly I am a trewe poore Jantleman.

My Lords, I think ſurelie there is ſome fals Man, that have laid ſome great Cauſe to my Charge, or elſe I had not be ſent hither. And therefore, eftſonyts moſt humblie I beſeeche to finde the Names, if they and I may not be brought Face to Face, yet let me be made privy what the Cauſes are; and if I do not anſwer truely to every Point, let me not live one Howre after: For ſewerlie I would hide nothing of any Queſtions that I ſhall know, that doth concern my ſelf, nor any other Creature.

My Lords, there was never Gold tried better by Fier and Watter than I have been, nor hath had greater Enemys about my Soveraign Lord, than I have had, and yet (God be thanked) my Trouth

hath ever tried me, as I dout not it ſhall do in theis Cauſes. Suerly, if I knew any Thought I had offended his Majeſtie in, I would ſuerly have declared it to his Perſon.

Upon the *Tuyſdaye* in *Whitſonweek* laſt paſt, I broke unto his Majeſtie, moſte humbley beſeeching him to helpe, that a Mariage might be had between my Daughter and Sir *Thomas Semour*: And wheras my Son of *Surey* hath a Son and divers Daughters; that, with his Favour, a Croſſe Mariage might have been made between my Lord Great Chamberline and them. And alſo wher my Son *Thomas* hath a Son, that ſhall (be his Mother) ſpend a Thouſand Marks a Yere, that he might be in like wiſe maried to one of my ſaid Lord's Daughters. I report me to your Lordſhips, whether myn Intent was honeſt in this Motion, or not. And whereas I have written, that my Truth hath been ſeverely tried, and that I have had great Enemies. Firſt, The Cardinall did confes to me at *Aſſer*, that he had gone about Fourteen Years to have deſtroyed me; ſaying, he did the ſame by the ſetting upon of my Lord of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Exeter*, and my Lord *Sands*; who ſaid often to him, that if he found not the Means to put me out of the way, at length I ſhould ſeuerly undo him.

Cromwell, at ſuch Tyme as the Marquis of *Exeter* ſuffred, examined his Wife more ſtreitly of me, then of all other Men in the Realme, as She ſent me word by her Brother, the Lord *Montjoy*. He hath ſaid to me himſelf many times, My Lord, Ye are an happy Man, that your Wife knoweth no Hurt by you; for if She did, She would undo you.

The Duke of *Buckingham* confeſſed openly at the Bar, (my Father ſitting as his Judge) that of all Men living he hated me moſt, thinking I was the Man that had hurt him moſt to the King's Majeſtie: Which now, quoth he, I perceive the contrary.

Rice, who had maried my Siſter, confeſſed, that (of all Men living) he hated me moſt; and wiſhed many times, how he might find the Meanes to thruſt his Dagger in me.

What Malice both my Neecys, that it pleaſed the King's Highnes to maarie, did bere unto me, is not unknown to ſuch Ladies as kept them in this Sute; as my Lady *Herberd*, my Lady *Tirwit*, my Lady *Kynſton*, and others, which heard what they ſaid of me. Who tried out the Falſhod of the Lord *Darcy*, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *John Bulmer*, *Aſke*, and many others, for which they ſuffer'd for? But only I. Who ſhewed his Majeſtie of the Words of my Mother-in-Law, for which She was attainted of Miſpriſion? But only I. In all Times paſt unto this Time, I have ſhewed my ſelf a moſt trewe Man to my Soveraign Lord. And ſince theſe Things done in Tymes paſt, I have received more Proffight of his Highnes, then ever I did afore. Alas! who can think, that I, having been ſo long a trew Man, ſhould now be falſe to his Majeſtie? I have received more Proffight then I have deſerved: And a Poore Man, as I am, yet I am his own near Kinſman. For whoſe Sake ſhould I be an untrewe Man to them? Alas, alas, my Lords, that ever it ſhould be thought any Ontruthe to be in me.

 Fynally,

Fynally my good Lords eftſonys moſt Humble I beſeech you to ſhew this ſcrible Letter to his Majeſtie, and all joyntle to beſeech his Highnes to grante me the Peticions that are conteyned in the ſame, and moſt eſpecyall to remyt out of his moſt Noble Gentle Hart ſuch Diſpleaſure as he hath conceyved againſt me: and I ſhall dewryng my Lyff pray for the continuence of his moſt Royall Eſtate long to endure,

By his Highnes Poor Priſoner,

T. Norfolk.

Collection of RECORDS belonging to BOOK IV, V, and VI.

Number I.

Inſtructions given by Luther *to* Melanchthon 1534; *of which, one Article was erroneouſly publiſhed by me in my IId Vol. and that being complained of, the whole is now publiſhed.*

Cogitationes meæ ſunt: (*viz. Lutheri.*)

PRimo ut nullo modo concedamus de nobis dici, quod neutri neutros antea intellexerint. Nam iſto pharmaco non medebimur tanto vulneri, cum nec ipſi credamus utrumque verum hoc eſſe, & alii putabunt à nobis hoc fingi, & ita magis ſuſpectam reddemus cauſam, vel potius per totum dubiam faciemus, cum ſit communis omnium. Et in tantis animorum turbis, & ſcrupulis non expedit hoc nomine addere offendiculum.

Forſan novum. Secundo, cum hactenus diſſenſerimus, quod illi ſignum, nos Corpus Chriſti aſſeruerimus, plane contrarii in Sacramento. Nihil minus mihi videtur utile, quam ut mediam & novam ſententiam ſtatuamus: Qua & illi concedant Corpus Chriſti addeſſe verè, & nos concedamus panem ſolum manducari. Ut enim conſcientiam taceam, conſiderandum eſt certe; Quantam hic feneſtram aperiemus in re omnibus communi cogitandi: Et orientur hic fontes quæſtionum & opinionum: Ut tutius multo ſit illos ſimpliciter manere in ſuo ſigno: Cum nec ipſi ſuam nec nos noſtram partem, multo minus utrique totum orbem pertrahemus in eam ſententiam: Sed potius irritabimus ad varias cogitationes. Ideo vellem potius ut ſopitum maneret diſſi-

dium in duabus iſtis Sententiis, quam ut Occaſio daretur infinitis Quæſtionibus ad Epicuriſmum profuturis.

Tertio, Cum ſtent hic pro noſtra Sententia, primum Textus ipſe apertiſſimus Evangelii, qui non ſine cauſa movet omnes Homines, non ſolum pios: Secundo, Patrum dicta quam plurima, quæ non tam facilè poſſunt ſolvi; nec, tuta Conſcientia, aliter quam ſonant, intelligi, cum bona Grammatica textui fortiter conſentiat. Tertio, Quia periculoſum eſt ſtatuere, Eccleſiam tot annis per totum Orbem caruiſſe vero Senſu Sacramenti; cum nos fateamur omnes, manſiſſe Sacramenta & verbum, etſi obruta multis abominationibus.

Quarto, Dicta Sancti Auguſtini de Signo, quæ contraria noſtræ Sententiæ videntur, non ſunt firma ſatis contra iſta jam tria Dicta. Maximè, cum ex Auguſtini Scriptis clarè poſſit oſtendi, & convinci, eum loqui de Signo præſentis Corporis, ut illud, contra *Adamantum*, non dubitavit Dominus appellare Corpus ſuum, cum daret Signum Corporis ſui: Vel de Signo Corporis Myſtici, in quo valdè multus eſt, præſertim in Joanne: Ubi copioſè docet, manducare Carnem Chriſti, eſſe in Corpore myſtico; ſeu, ut ipſe dicit, in Societate, Unitate, Charitate Eccleſiæ: Iſtis enim Verbis utitur.

Quinto, Omnium eſt fortiſſimus Auguſtinus, quod dicit, Non hoc Corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi eſtis, &c. Et tamen Conſcientia memor apertorum Verborum Chriſti, (Hoc eſt Corpus meum) hoc dictum S. Auguſtini facilè ſic exponit: Quod de viſibili Corpore loquatur Auguſtinus, ſicut ſonant verba (Quod videtis) ita nihil pugnat Auguſtinus cum claris verbis Chriſti: Et Auguſtinus infirmior eſt, quam ut hoc uno dicto tam incerto, imo ſatis conſono, nos moveat in contrarium ſenſum.

Sexto, Ego S. Auguſtinum non intelligo aliter (ſic & ipſe Patres ante ſe forte intellexit) quam quod contra Judæos & Gentes docendum fuit, apud Chriſtianos non comedi Corpus Chriſti viſibiliter, & more corporali. Hac ratione Fidem Sacramenti defenderunt. Rurſus contra Hypocritas Chriſtianorum docendum fuit, quod Sacramentum non eſſet ſalutare accipientibus, niſi ſpiritualiter manducarent, id eſt, Eccleſiæ eſſent uniti & incorporati. Et hàc ratione Charitatem in Sacramento exegerunt. Ut ex Auguſtino clarè accipi poteſt; qui, abſque dubio, ex prioribus Patribus, & ſui Seculi uſu, iſta accepit.

Septimo, Iſtis ſalvis, nihil eſt quod à me peti poſſit. Nam & ego hoc diſſidium vellem (Teſtis eſt mihi Chriſtus meus) redemptum non uno Corpore & Sanguine meo: Sed quid faciam? Ipſi forte Conſcientia bona capti ſunt in alteram Sententiam. Feramus igitur eos. Si ſinceri ſunt, liberabit eos Chriſtus Dominus. Ego contra captus ſum bona certè Conſcientia (niſi ipſe mihi ſim ignotus) in meam Sententiam. Ferant & me, ſi non poſſunt mihi accedere.

Si verò illi Sententiam ſuam, ſcilicet de Præſentia Corporis Chriſti cum Pane, tenere velint, & petierint nos invicem tamen tolerari; ego planè libenter tolerabo, in ſpe futuræ Communionis. Nam interim communicare illis in Fide & Senſu non poſſum.

Deinde, Si politica Concordia quæritur, ea non impeditur diverſitate Religionis: Sicut novimus poſſe Conjugia, Commercia, aliaque politica conſtare, inter diverſæ Religionis Homines: Primo Co-

rinth. 7. Christus faciat, ut perfectè conteratur Satan sub nostris pedibus. Amen.

Nostra autem Sententia est, Corpus ita cum Pane, seu in Pane esse, ut reverà cum Pane manducetur: Et quæcunque motum vel actionem Panis habet, eandem & Corpus Christi. Ut Corpus Christi verè dicatur ferri, dari, accipi, manducari, quando Panis fertur, datur, accipitur, manducatur; id est, Hoc est Corpus meum.

Coll. Corp. Christi,
Febr. 4. 95-6.

We have collated this with the Original Paper of *Luther*, and find it to agree exactly. Witness our Hands,

John Jaggard.
Rob. Moss.
Will. Lunn.

Number 2.

The Lady Mary's *Letter to the Lord Protector, and to the rest of the King's Majesty's Council, upon their suspecting some of her Houshold had encouraged the* Devonshire *Rebellion.*

My Lord,

Ex MS. D. G. Cooke.

I Have received Letters from you, and others of the King's Majesty's Council, dated the 17th of this present, and delivered unto me the 20th of the same, whereby I perceive ye be informed, that certayn of my Servants should be the Chief Stirrers, Procurers, and Doers in these Commotions; which Commotions (I assure you) no less offend me, than they do you and the rest of the Council. And you write also, that a Priest and Chapleyn of mine, at *Sampford Courtney* in *Devonshire*, should be a Doer there. Of which Report I do not a little marvel; for, to my Knowledge, I have not one Chaplayn in those Parts. And concerning *Pooly*, my Servant, which was sometime a Receiver, I am able to answer, that he remayneth continually in my House, and was never Doer amongst the Commons, nor came in their Company. It is true, that I have another Servant of that Name dwelling in *Suffolk*; and whether the Commons have taken him or no, I know not, for he resorteth seldom to my House. But by Report, they have taken by Force many Gentlemen in these Quarters, and used them very cruelly. And as touching *Lionell* my Servant, I cannot but marvell of that Bruit, speci-

ſpecially becauſe he dwelleth within Two Miles of *London*, and is not acquainted within the Shire of *Suffolk*, or *Norfolk*; nor at any Time cometh into theſe Parts, but when he waiteth upon me in my Houſe, and is now at *London* about my Buſineſſe, being no Man apt or meet for ſuch Purpoſes, but given to as much Quietneſs as any within my Houſe.

My Lord, it troubleth me to hear ſuch Reports of any of mine, and ſpecially where no Cauſe is given, truſting that my Houſhold ſhall try themſelves true Subjects to the King's Majeſty, and honeſt quiet Perſons; or elſe I would be loath to keep them. And where you charge me that my Proceedings in Matters of Religion, ſhould give no ſmall Courage to many of thoſe Men to require and do as they do: That Thing appeareth moſt evidently to be untrue, for all the Riſing about theſe Parts is touching no Point of Religion; but even as ye ungently, and without deſert charge me, ſo I, omitting ſo fully to anſwer it, as the Caſe doth require, do and will pray God, that your new Alterations, and unlawful Liberties, be not rather the Occaſion of theſe Aſſemblies, than my doings, who am (God I take to witneſſe) inquieted therewith. And as for *Devonſhire*, no indifferent Perſon can lay their Doings to my Charge; for I have neither Land, nor Acquaintance in that Country, as knoweth Almighty God, whom I humbly beſeech to ſend you all as much Plenty of his Grace, as I would wiſh to my ſelf. So with my hearty Commendations, I bid you farewel. From my Houſe at *Kennynghall* the xxth of *July*.

Your Friend to my Power,

MARY.

Number 3.

A Letter of Chriſtopher Mont *concerning the Interim.*

Chriſtophorus Montius S. D.

Wolph. Muſculo.

CUM harum Lator mihi indicaſſet ſe Dominum noſſe, nolui eum ſine meis ad te reverti literis. Cùm ego Auguſtâ diſcederem: diſceſſi autem, hujus nihil dum ibi innovatum fuit per Eccleſias, ſed optimi quique vehementer verebantur Superſtitiones inducendas pro- *Ex MS. Tigur.*

 pediem

pediem Concionator ad S. Georgium mihi significavit, Senatum à Concionatoribus eflagitare, ut modo in his calamitatibus civitatem non desererent, sed porro in ea permanerent, se eos maturè & in tempore certiores facturos, modo viderint superstitionem imminere, quasi modo non in media urbe dominetur. Rogavit quoque Senatus, ut Concionatores Populo Interim quam compositissimis & coloratissimis verbis possent, proponerent, quod major pars recusârunt, dicentes se hoc Scriptum laudare nulla ratione neque constantia posse, quod communi suffragio damnassent, duo tamen se id facturos receperunt, quod & factum audivi ad S. Crucem & Mauricium. Non dubito te audiisse, de eo Scripto, quod huc nuper allatum fuit ex Saxonia. Utinam Germana virtus & Constantia alicubi permanens emineat, ut si non fortiter agendo, saltem fortiter adversa propter Domini gloriam ferendo, professionem & officium nostrum testentur. Dux Gemini pontis Augustâ discessisse dicitur, ut qui *Interim* indictionem & promulgationem Diocesano præstandam & committendam dixerit, neque se neque suos huic executioni idoneos Ministros esse. Tamen qua conditione dimissus sit, certo nondum didici. Bremenses discessisse audio nondum reconciliatos, nam tam graves eis conditiones præscribi audio, ut quas omnino etiam si eas acceperint, præstare non possint. Multi putant consultò tam gravia præscribi, ut sub specie contumaciæ & obstinationis, obsidione pressi & expugnati Frisiæ jungantur. Civitas quoque ea plurimis rebus agendis aptissima est, ut quæ supra Visurgim & Albim posita accessum aperiat ad Chersonesum totam occupandum. Qua lege Constantienses redierint domum ex Domino nosse cupio. Rogo quoque ut mihi significare velis quæ concordiæ & communicationis spes ipsis inter se Helvetis sit. Literas quas ad me perlatas voles, cura ad D. Bucerum adferri. Bene vale. Argentinæ 18. Jul. 1548. Literas tectas exuras.

Number 4.

A Part of a Letter of Hooper's *to* Bullinger, *giving an Account of the Cruelty of the* Spaniards *in the* Netherlands.

Ex MS. Tigur.

NOS 14. Aprilis relicta Colonia, iter versus Antwerpiam, per Campiniam Brabantinam, sterilem ac arenosam, instituimus. 18. ejusdem, venimus omnes, Dei Gratia, salvi & incolumes Antwerpiam. 20. Die, Precibus Oratoris Regis nostri, qui apud Cæsarem nunc agit, compulsus, Bruxellam me contuli, unà cum Joh. Stumphio, ut videret mollitiem ac miserias Aulæ, præterea servitutem Civium Bruxellensium, qui jam Hispanorum Imperium, latrocinium ac furtum, violationem Filiarum, Uxorum impudicitiam, minas denique ac plagas perditissimæ Gentis ferre coguntur; ut Statum ac Condi-

tionem suæ Patriæ altius consideraret, ardentius pro illo oraret, ac diligentius suos admoneret, ut alienis malis edoctos cautiores redderet. Cæsarem non vidimus, quòd raró Cubiculum suum egreditur, nec Filium, qui Pascha suum egit extra Civitatem, in Monasterio quodam. Ducem Saxoniæ Jo. Stumphius vidit per fenestram. Ego bis fui in Ædibus illius valdè humaniter acceptus à suis Germanis, qui ei adhuc inserviunt, ad numerum 30. Voluit Dux, bis vel ter, me admittere ad Colloquium; sed impedivit semper primi Capitanei Hispanorum præsentia. Vivit constanter in sua Fide. Non valet, quantum ad Valetudinem Corporis spectat, de liberatione illius nulla penitus affulget spes, nisi quod absit, Religionem suam mutet: non malè sperat de Verbo Dei. Catus Landgravius Captivus detinetur Auldenardi, septem milliaribus à Gandavo: Homo omnibus numeris miser & inconstans: nunc omnem Obedientiam Cæsari, ac Fidem pollicetur; Missam, ac cætera impia sacra, obviis ulnis amplectitur, nunc Cæsarem, cum suo interdicto, execratur ac detestatur. Dominus misereatur illius; miserè affligitur, ac meritas pœnas perfidiæ suæ jam luit. Et vidimus, præterea Lazarum Scuendi proditorem illum, quem nostis. De Brandeburgensi, ac aliis Germanis, Hispanorum mancipiis, nihil opus est quod scriberem. Legatus Papæ, per totam Quadragesimam, in sua Aula est concionatus, quàm impiè non scribam. Hoc tamen pro certo scio, non bene convenire inter Papam & Cæsarem, nec inter Gallum ac Cæsarem. Uterque valdè sibi timet à Cæsare: Cæsar vicissim à fulmine Papæ maximè timet. Jam agitur seriò inter illos, an Concilium Generale Tridenti, an Bologniæ sit celebrandum. Papa urget, mandat, rogat ac jubet, ut Cæsar consentiat de Bolognia: Is renuit, negat ac pernegat, omnibus modis: & potius dicit se omnes Amicitias cum Papa desinere, quam illum locum, Bologniam scil. admittere: Quid monstri in hoc, ex parte Papæ, lateat, facilè divinare licet. Diffidit Regno suo valde; nam hoc didici ab Oratore nostro, quòd si Cæsaris Confessor esset mediocriter pius, esset maxima spes, quod brevi in Cognitionem Christi induceretur. Nam apertè mihi retulit, & Cæsarem, & Consiliarios suos omnes regi, impelli, duci ac trahi, per Confessorem, qui omnia Papæ suasu & concilio agit. Et facilè credo: Nam ante septem Menses, cum Cæsar adhuc erat in superiore Germania, fuit derelictus à suo Confessore, quod crudelius voluit sævire in pios Viros, & in integrum Papatum restituere. Cæsar obtulit ei Episcopatum in Hispania, ad 20. Millia Coronatorum per Annum: neglexit Cæsaris Liberalitatem, & Cæsarem ipsum hisce Verbis, Ecclesiæ Christi me solum debeo, sed non Tibi, non Dono tuo, nisi Ecclesiæ mavis majori studio inservire. Jam de Cæsaris animo ergo Helvetiam. Omnes in hoc consentiunt illum vestræ libertati hostiliter invidere, propterea nullum non movere lapidem, ut rumpat inter vos concordiam: si hac via res non succedat, omnia aget pollicitationibus. Cavete igitur, ne lactet vos inani spe. Denique absque dubio vos aggredietur hostili manu, non ut sic vincat, vel multos ex suis exponat periculo, sed ut vobis incutiat timorem. Rogo itaque ut unanimiter ac mutuò vos diligatis, Deum timete, sanctè vivite, strenuè pugnate, ac expectate Victoriam à Deo, qui procul dubio vobis aderit ac defendet. Adhuc putem vobis non imminere periculum, sed sitis semper parati: & absit procul omnis securitas,

ritas, ne obruat inopinantes. Adhuc Cæsar bene scit, se non posse pro Voto uti rebus Germaniæ. Doluit illi sæpius, (ut accepi à Viris fide dignis) aliquid tentâsse in Religione: quidem si Germanis permisisset liberam maximè fuisse in re illius. Aiunt Cæsarem brevi profecturum, Gandavum & à Gandavo iterum petiturum Bruxellam, vel ascensurum versus Spiram. Copias militum habet prope Bremam ac civitates maritimas, sed otiosas: Nihil proficiunt res, à civibus multum timetur, indies magis ac magis Civitates suas muniunt & comeatum habent ad quinque annos, non multum Cæsaris gratiam amplius ambiunt. Quam graves exactiones à suis Cæsar jam exigit credo se non ignorare. Dicam tamen tristem ac deplorandam Orationem, quam effudit pia mulier, hospita nostra in Campinia: Si inquit ferre potuerint in sinu meo magnam ac jam nunc molestam turbam liberorum meorum, fugerem ac per stipem victum quærerem, nam Cæsare ac Reginæ exactores labores sudores nostri exantlant. Hac ex parte Angli etiam jam valde laborant, concessa est Regi quinta pars omnium bonorum. Sed adhuc de Helvetia unum. Heri 25. Aprilis invitatus ad prandium à quodam cive Antverpensi, qui optimè novit Helvetiam, ac sæpe in omnibus civitatibus Helvetiorum exposuit merces suas, is mihi retulit, se frequenter vidisse in aula Cæsaris ex eo quod Cæsar superiorem partem Germaniæ reliquerit, publicos Ministros Civitatis Lucernanæ, nam bene novit illos ex colore vestium, metuendum est, ne arcana patriæ per hujusmodi patefiant, vel aliquid majus malum lateat.

The Rest of the Letter relates to private Concerns.

Number 5.

The Oath of Supremacy, as it was made when the Bishops did Homage in King Henry *the VIIIth's Time. The last Words were struck out by King* Edward *the VIth.*

Ex MSS. Rymer.

YE shall say and swere as foloweth, I shall be Faithful and True, and Faith and Trowth I shall bere unto your Majestie, and to your Heires Kings of this Realme; and with Liff and Lymme, and Erththelie Honour for to Live and Dye as your Faithful Subject, agayne all Persons of what Degre, State, or Condition soever they bee: And I shall preferr, sustayne, and mayntayne the Honour, Surtie, Right, Preheminence, and Prerogatif of your Majestie, and your Heires Kings of this Realm, and Jurisdiction of your Imperiall Crowne of the same, afore and agaynst all maner of Persones, Powers, and Auctorities whatsoever they bee: And I shall not witlynglie do, or attempt, nor to my Power suffer to be done, or attempted any Thing, or Things, privily, or apartly, that may be to the Dymunytion, or Derogation of your Crowne of this Realme; or of the Lawes, Liberties, Rights, and Prerogatiffes belonging to the same, but put myne effectual Endevour from Tyme to Tyme, as the Case shall

ſhall requier to advance and increas the ſame to my Wit and uttermoſt of my Power : And in nowiſe herafter I ſhall accept any Othe, or make any Promiſe, Pact, or Covenant, ſecretly, or apertlye by any maner of Means, or by any Colour of Pretence to the contrary of this my Othe, or any Part therof. And I ſhall be diligentlye attendant uppon your Majeſtie, and to your Heires Kings of this Realme, in all your Commaundements, Cauſes, and Buſyneſſes. And alſo I knowledge and recognize your Majeſtie ymmediately under Almightie God to be the Chief and *Supreme Hede of the Church* of *England*, and clayme to have the *Biſhepriche of Cheſter*, Holye and allonlye of your Gift : And to have and to hold the Proffites Temporal and Spiritual of the ſame allonlye of your Majeſtie, and of your Heires Kings of this Realme, and of none other : And in that ſorte and none other, I ſhall take my Reſtitution owt of your Handes accordinglye, utterly renownſing any other Suit to be had herefore to any other Creature liffyng, or hereafter to be, except your Heires. And I ſhall to my Wit, and uttermoſt of my Power obſerve, keep, mayntayn, and defende all the Statutes of this Realme made agaynſt the Reſervations and Proviſions of the Biſhop of *Rome*, called the Pope, of any of the Archiebuſshopriches, or Buſshopriches in this Realme, or of other your Domynions. And alſo I ſhall obſerve, fullfill, defende, mayntayn, and kepe to the uttermoſt of my Power all the hole Effects and Content of the Statute made for the Surtie of your Succeſſion of your Crowne of this Realme, and all the Cauſes and Articles mentioned and conteagned in the ſaide Statute : And alſo all other Statutes made in conformation, or for the due Execution of the ſame. And all theis Things I ſhall do without colour, fraude, or any other undue Mean agaynſt all Perſons, Powers, and Auctorities of the World, whatſoever they be. And in one wiſe for any maner of Cauſe, Colour, or Pretence, prively, or apertlye I ſhall move, do, or attempt ; nor to any Power ſuffer to be done, or attempted any Thing or Things to the contrary herof, So help me God, all Sayntes, and the Holye Evangels.

Per me Roland' Co' & Lich' Electum.

Number 6.

A Letter of Peter Martyr's *to* Bullinger *of the State of the Univerſity of* Oxford, *in the Year* 1550, June 1.

S. D. Literis tuis vir eximie mihique in Chriſto plurimum obſervande, longè antea reſpondiſſe debueram, ad quod faciendum, non ſolum inſtitutum officium inter amicos, verum etiam quod ſuaviſſimæ fuerunt & bene comitatæ aliis ſymmiſtarum epiſtolis jucundiſſimis : vehementer extimulabar ſed quando redditæ ſunt adverſa valetudine nonnihil

nihil afflictabar: & statim ut convalui, ea mole negotiorum penè sum oppressus, ut quod maximè cupiebam facere non licuerit, cujusmodi autem fuerint hæ occupationes paucis expediam. Præter quotidianas Interpretationes Pauli, quod totum ferme hominem sibi vendicat, si velit in eis pro dignitate versari, accessit ex legibus modò latis à Regia Majestate, huic Academiæ novum onus. Quippe decretum est, ut frequenter publicæ Disputationes de Rebus Theologicis habeantur, hoc est alternis hebdomadis, quibus mihi præcipitur, ut & intersim & præsim. Deinde in hoc Regio Collegio ubi dego, singula quaque septimana, Theologicæ Disputationes agitantur, quæ cum ad illas audiendas aditus omnibus patet, identidem publicæ dici possunt, hisque sum constitutus pariter, atque aliis censor. Est itaque cum adversariis perpetuò luctandum, & quidem pertinacissimis, quò fit, ut velim nolim facilè cogar, alias non rarò seponere literas, & vocationi cui sum obstrictus, totum tempus mihi concessum transmittere. Verum certè scio boni consules, nec in malam partem capias (quæ tua est humanitas) quod à contemptione profectum non esse animadvertes. Gaudeo quas scripseram literas, abs te hilari lætoque animo fuisse susceptas: neque vulgares ago gratias, quod tuum præsidium, si quid me possis cojuvare, tam promtè atque alacriter offers. Recompenset Deus istum Animum, ut ego illum sincera charitate complector! Hic verò sciò negotium religionis procedere non quidem eo successu, eoque ardore quo velim, sed tamen plus quàm nostra peccata mereantur, & aliquantiò felicius, atque mihi ante quatuor menses polliceri ausus essem. Permulta certè sunt quæ nobis obstant, cumprimis adversariorum copia, concionatorum inopia, & eorum qui profitentur Evangelium crassa vitia, & quorundam præterea humana prudentia, qui judicant religionem quidem repurgandam sed ita vellent demutari quam minimè fieri possit, quod cum Animo sint & *judicio civiles*, existimant maximos motus republicæ fore perniciosos. Verum tu ipse cernis, cúm innumeræ corruptiones, infiniti abusus, & immensæ superstitiones in ecclesia Christi passim inoleverint, fieri non posse ut justa habeatur instauratio nisi quæ deflexerunt in vitium, ad suos genuinos ortus purissimos fontes & inadulterata principia revocentur. Satan astutè sanctos conatus aggreditur, vellet enim hoc prætextu q. numerosissimas papatus relinquere reliquias. Partim ne homines ejus facilè obliviscerentur. partim verò ut reditus ad illum facilior maneret. At vicissim inde Consolationis hausimus, quod Regem habemus verè sanctum, qui tanto studio Pietatis flagrat, ea est, hac ætate, prædictus Eruditione, eaque Prudentia jam nunc & Gravitate loquitur, ut omnes in admirationem stuporemque se audientes, convertat. Quamobrem, orandus est Deus contentissimis Votis, ut eum Regno & Ecclesiæ multò diutissimè conservet. Sunt & complures Heroes, Regnique Proceres, bene admodum sentientes; & aliquos Episcopos habemus, non pessimos, inter quos est uti signifer Cantuariensis. Deinde in eorum Album cooptatus est Hooperus, magna porrò bonorum omnium lætitia; utque audio, contigit ei Populus non malus: Me illum spero visurum, quando ad suum Episcopatum iter faciet. Nam si Glocestriam se conferet, quæ est ejus Ecclesia, per nos hac transibit. Quo autem pacto duci potuerit, ut fieret Episcopus, referrem pluribus, nisi compertissimum haberem, illum ipsum (quæ est ejus in te observantia)

observantia) omnia fusissimè scripturum. Est alius præterea Vir bonus, Michael Coverdallus, qui superioribus annis agebat in Germania Parochum: Is multum in Devonia, & prædicando, & interpretando Scripturas, laborat; eum te probè nôsse arbitror, qui Excestrensis Episcopus fiet. Nilque potest commodi, ut & utilius fieri ad Religionis Repurgationem, quam si homines hujus farinæ ad Ecclesiæ Administrationem impellantur. Contulit etiam se huc Dominus Alasco, quum ejus Phrysia Imperatorium *Interim* admisit, utque olfacio, Londini Germanorum Ecclesiæ præerit; quod mihi vehementer placet. Degit nunc apud D. Cantuariensem. Accepisti jam quo loco nostræ Res in Anglia sint, quæ adhuc nonnihil melioris spei efficit; Pax ista, cum Rege Gallorum facta, quæ videtur indies magis corroborari. Solum nonnulli verentur, ne in bonorum perniciem, quod jactitare incipiunt Papistæ celebretur Concilium: Verum si sapuerimus & hoc genus Cogitationum, in Deum rejiciamus. Sermones quos edidisti, fuerunt hoc tempore utiles monilares, qui ut ex mediis Scripturis sanctis recitati sunt, ita & grati fuerunt; & spero, non absque fructu legentur. Johannem ab Ulmis, & Stumphium, quos mihi commendâsti, câ quâ possum Charitate complector; atque ipsi vicissim me colunt, & observant: Ad me ventitant sæpius; & si quid vel scribendum, vel aliud agendum, mea causa sit, præstare non detrectant, sed lubenti volentique animo faciunt; qua de causa, illis non parum debeo. Sed audio, Stumphium ad vos delatum esse, quod contra quàm vestris Legibus liceat, nescio quod ab Anglis Stipendium accipiat; id verò certò scias, falsum esse. Vixit hic aliquandiu in nostro Collegio, sed sua pecunia; quod posthac non illi fraudi sit, utque ulla specie mali abstineat: Hic discessit, & in Oppido, apud Civem Bibliopolam, divertit. Modò quòd superest, tuos, tuorumque Preces, quanta possum cum instantia imploro; quo progrediatur in hoc Regno Domini Opus, atque tandem Corda Patrum in Filios, & Corda Filiorum in Patres suos, nostro Ministerio revocentur. Oxonij, primâ Junij 1550. Valeas in Domino; & me, ut facias, ama.

Tuus, ex Animo,

Petrus Martyr.

Salutes, quæso, isthic meo Nomine, omnes bonos in Fratres; ac nominatim, D. Bibliandrum, & Doctorem Ghisnerum.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clarissimo, Pietate & Doctrina, Viro, D. Henrico Bullingero, Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ Pastori Fidelissimo, Domino suo ac Fr. Colendissimo, Tiguri.

Number 7.

A Mandate, in K. Edward's *Name, to the Officers of the Archbishop of* Canterbury; *requiring them to see, that the Articles of Religion should be Subscribed.*

Mandatum pro Publicatione nonnullorum Articulorum, veram proponi Fidem concernentium.

Reg. Cranmer, f. 65.

EDwardus Sextus, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, & Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, & in Terra Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ & Hiberniæ Supremum Caput. Dilectis Sibi, Officiali Curiæ Cantuar' & Decano Decanatûs de Arcubus Londin' ac eorum Surrogatis, deputatis, aut locum tenentibus, Uni vel Pluribus, Salutem. Quoniam nuper, per Literas nostras Regias, Signeto nostro obsignatas, Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, Consiliario nostro Fidelissimo, Thomæ Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ Primati & Metropolitano, dederimus in Mandatis. Quatenus ipse, ad Dei Optimi Maximi Gloriam illustrandam, nostramque, & Ecclesiæ nostræ Anglicanæ (cujus Caput Supremum, post Christum, esse dignoscimur) Honorem, & ad tollendam Opinionis Dissensionem, & Consensum veræ Religionis firmandum, nonnullos Articulos, & alia rectam Christi Fidem spirantia, Clero & Populo nostris, ubi libet infra suam Jurisdictionem degentibus, pro Parte nostra exponeret, publicaret, denunciaret & significaret; prout in Literis nostris (quarum Tenores, pro hic insertis haberi volumus) latius continetur, & describitur. Vobis igitur, & eorum cuilibet, tenore præsentium, districtè præcipiendo nostra sublimi Regia Auctoritate, mandamus; Quatenus moneatis, monerive faciatis, peremptoriè, omnes & singulos Rectores, Vicarios, Presbyteros, Stipendiarios, Curatos, Plebanos, Ministros, Ludimagistros cujuslibet Scholæ Grammatices, aut aliter vel alias Grammaticam, apertè vel privatim profitentes, aut pubem instituentes, Verbi Dei Prædicatores, vel Prælectores, necnon quoscunque alios, quamcunque aliam Functionem Ecclesiasticam, (quocunque Nomine, aut Appellatione, censetur, habetur, aut nuncupetur) obtinentes & habentes. Oeconimos quoque cujuslibet Parochiæ, infra Decanatum de Arcubus prædictum, existentes aut degentes, quod ipsi omnes, & eorum quilibet, per se compareat, & compareat personaliter, coram dicto Reverendissimo Patre Cantuar' Archiepiscopo, in Aula Ædium suarum, apud Lambehithe, die Veneris vicesimo tertio die præsentis Mensis Junij, inter Horas septimam & nonam, ante Meridiem ejusdem Diei. Hisque tunc iis ex Parte nostra fuerint significanda, humiliter obtemperaturos, facturosque ulterius & recepturos, quod consonans fuerit Rationi, ac suo convenerit erga nostram Regiam Dignitatem Officio. Mandantes quatenus, dictis Die, Loco & Horis, eundem Reverendissimum, de Executione hujus Regij nostri Mandati, unà cum

Nominibus & Cognominibus, omnium & ſingulorum, per vos Monitorum, ritè, rećtè, & auctenticè reddatis, certiorem, unà cum præſentibus, uti decet. Teſte Thomâ Cant' Archiepiſcopo, prædicto, decimo nono die Junii, Anno Regni noſtri Septimo.

Certificatorium factum ſuper Executione Mandati prædicti.

REverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & Domino Domino Thomæ, Permiſſione Divina, Cantuarienſi Archiepiſcopo, totius Angliæ Primati & Metropolitano; Auctoritate Illuſtriſſimi in Chriſto Principis, & Domini noſtri Domini Edwardi Sexti, Dei Gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Regis, Fidei Defenſoris, ac in Terrâ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ & Hibernicæ, Supremi Capitis; ſufficienti Auctoritate fulcito Johannes Gibbon Civilium Legum Profeſſor, veſtræ celcitudinis obſervantiſſimus, pariter eidem addictiſſimus decanatus veſtr' Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, de Archibus London, Commiſſarius omnem que decet Reverentiam, & Obedientiam, tanto Reverendiſſimo Patri debitam cùm Honore. Mandatum Illuſtriſſimi & Potentiſſimi Domini noſtri Regis, preſentibus annexum, nuper accepimus, cujus vigore pariter & auctoritate omnes & ſingulos Rectores, Preſbiteros, &c. Dat. Viceſſimo Secundo Die Menſis Junii, Anno Domini Milleſſimo Quingenteſſimo Quinquageſſimo Tertio.

Number 8.

By the King.

The King's Mandate to the Biſhop of Norwich, *ſent with the Articles to be ſubſcribed by the Clergy.*

RIght Reverende Father in God, Right Truſtie and Well-beloved, We Grete you Well: And bicauſe it hath pleaſed Almightie God in this latter Time of the World, after long Darkenes of Knowleadge to reveale to this his Churche of *Englande*; whereof we have under Chriſt the Chief Charge in Earth; a ſincere Knowlege of the Goſpell, to the ineſtimable Benefit of Us and our People, redeemed by our Saviour Chriſt. We have thought it mete, and our Dutie for the Pure Conſervacon of the ſame Goſpell in our Church, with one Uniforme Profeſſion, Doctryne, and Preachinge, and for the avoyding of many Perilous and Vain Opinions, and Errors, to ſende unto you certayne Articles, deviſed and gathered with great Study,

and by Council, and good Advice of the greateſt learned Parte of our Byſhoppes of this Realm, and ſundry others of our Clergie; which Articles we Wyll and Exhort your ſelf to Subſcribe, and in your Preachings, Redings, and Teachings, to obſerve and cauſe to be ſubſcribed and obſerved, of all other which do, or hereafter ſhall Preache, or Reade, within your Dioces. And if any Perſon, or Perſons, having Benefice within your Dioces, ſhall from henceforth, not only refuſe wylfully to ſett their Hands to theſe Articles, but alſo obſtinatly Exhort their Parrochians to withſtande the ſame, and Teache the People in a contrary way; Our Pleaſure is, that beinge duly proved, ye ſhall advertiſe Us, or our Cownſaile of the hoole Mattier, fully to thintent ſuche furter Ordre may by Direction from Us, or our ſaid Cownſail, to be taken as the Caſe ſhall require, and ſhall ſtande with Juſtice, and th'Ordre of our Lawes. And further, that when, and as often as ye ſhall have any manner of Perſon preſented unto you to be admitted by yowe as the Ordinary to any Eccleſiaſtical Ordre, Miniſtry, Office, or Cure, within your Dioces, that ye ſhall before you admit him, conferre with him in every theis Articles. And finding him therto conſentinge, to cawſe him Subſcribe the ſame in one Legier Book to be fourmed for that Purpoſe, which maye remayne as a Regiſtre for a Concorde, and to let him have a Copye of the ſame Articles. And if any Men in that Caſe ſhall refuſe to conſent to any of the ſaid Articles, and to Subſcribe the ſame, then we Will and Command you, that neither ye, nor any for you, or by your Procurement in any wiſe ſhall admitt him, or allowe him as ſufficient and mete to take any Ordre, Miniſtery, or Eccleſiaſtical Cure. For whiche yower ſo doinge, we ſhall diſcharge yowe from all maner of Penalties, or Daungers of Actions, Suits, or Plees of Premonirees, *quare impedit*, or ſuch lyke. And yet our Meaning is, that if any Partie refuſe to Subſcribe any of theſe Articles, for lack of Learning and Knowledge of the Trewth, ye ſhall in that Caſe by Teachinge, Conference, and Prouf of the ſame by the Scriptures, reaſonably and diſcretely move, and perſwade him therto before yow ſhall Peremptorilye Judge him as unhable and a Recuſant. And for the Tryall of his Conformitie, ye ſhall according to your Diſcrecion prefix a Time and Space convenient to Deliberate and give his Conſent, ſo that be betwixt Three Weks and Six Weks, from the Time of his Firſt Acceſſe unto yowe. And if after Six Weks he wyll not conſent and agree wyllinglie to Subſcribe, then ye may lawfullye, and ſhall in any wyſe refuſe to admytt, or enhable him. And where there is of late ſett fourthe by our Authoritie a Cathechiſme for the Inſtruction of Younge Scolers in the Feare of God, and the Trewe Knowleage of his Holy Religion, with expreſſe Commaundyment from us to all Scole Maiſters to teache and inſtruct their Scholars the ſaide Cathechiſme, making it the Beginning and Firſt Foundacion of ther Teaching in their Scholes: Our Pleaſure is, that for the better Exequution of our ſaid Commaundyment, ye ſhall Yearely, at the leaſt once viſit, or cauſe to be viſited, every Schole within your ſaide Dioces, in which Viſitacion yt ſhall be enquired both howgh the Scole Maiſter of every ſuch Schole hath uſed himſelf in the Teaching of the ſaid Cathecisme; and alſo howgh the Scholars do receyve and followe the ſame, making

ving playne and full Certificate of the Offendors, contrary to this our Ordre, and of their feverall Offences, to the Archbifhop of that Province, within the Monethes from Tyme to Tyme after every fuch Offence. Yeoven undre our Signet at the Manor of *Grenewich* the ixth Daye of *June*, the viith Yeare of our Reign.

This is Faithfully Tranfcribed from the Beginning of a Folio MS. Book in the Principal Regiftry of the Lord Bifhop of *Norwich*—— After which immediately follow

Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinenfi, Anno Domini 1552. *ad tollendam Diffenfionem & Confenfu veræ Religionis, firmandum inter Epifcopos & alios eruditos Viros, convenerat Regiâ Authoritate in lucem Editi.*

42 Articles as in the Appendix of IId Volume of the Hiftory of the Reformation, N. 55. Subfcribed by about 50 Original Hands, thus:

Per me Milonem Spenfer.

Per me Johannem Barrett.

Per me Petrum Watts, *&c.*

Feb. 12, 1713.

Examined by

Thom. Tanner.

Number 9.

Ornatiff. Viris Dominis Sands, *ac Regentibus & Non-Regentibus Academiæ* Cantabr.

ÆQuum eft, ut qui fe Literarum Studiis dediderunt, & in veri Inquifitione verfantur, illius Difciplinæ veritatem profiteantur, quæ ad vivendum eft utiliffima, & ad judicandum cum Verbo Dei convenientiffima. Cùm autem in redintigranda Religione, multum

diuque Regiæ Majeſtatis Authoritate, & bonorum atque eruditorum Virorum judiciis ſit elaboratum, & de Articulis quibuſdam in Synodo Londonenſi Anno Domini 1552. ad tollendam opinionum diſpentionem, concluſum: Æquiſſimum judicavimus, eoſdem Regiâ Authoritate promulgatos, & omnibus Epiſcopis ad meliorem Dioceſeos ſuæ Adminiſtrationem traditos, vobis etiam commendare, & viſitationis noſtræ Authoritate præcipere ac Statuere de his, ad hunc modum.

Singuli Doctores & Bachallores Theologiæ, & ſinguli prætcrea Artium Doctores, ſolenniter & publice, ante creationem ſuam, hoc Jurejurando ſequenti ſe aſtringant, & in Commentarios Academiæ, ad id deſignatos, ſuâ ipſerum manu referant. Quod ni fecerint gradus ſui capiendi repulſam patiantus.

Ego N. N. Deo Teſte promitto ac ſpondeo, primo me veram Chriſti Religionem, omni Animo Complexurum, Scripturæ Authoritatem Hominum judicio præpoſiturum, Regulam Vitæ & ſummam Fidei, ex Verbo Dei petiturum, cætera quæ ex Verbo Dei non probantur, pro humanis & non neceſſariis habiturum. Authoritatem Regiam in hominibus ſummam, & externorum Epiſcoporum Juriſdictioni minime ſubjectam æſtimaturum; & contrarias Verbo Dei Opiniones, omni voluntate ac mente refutaturum. Vera conſuetis, Scripta non Scriptis, in Religionis Causâ antehabiturum. Deinde me Articulos, de quibus in Sinodo Londenenſi Anno Domini 1553. ad tollendam Opinionum Diſſenſionem & conſenſum veræ Religionis firmandum inter Epiſcopos & alios eruditos Viros convenerat, & Regiâ Authoritate in lucem editos, pro veris & certis habiturum, & omni in loco tanquam Conſentientes cum Verbo Dei defenſurum, & contrarios Articulos in Scholis & Pulpitis vel reſpondendo vel concionando oppugnaturum. Hæc omnia in me recipio, Deoque Teſte, me Sedulo facturum promitto ac Spondeo.

An. 1553, 1 *Jun. Ex MS. Coll. Corp. Chr. Cant.*

Tho. Ely *Canc.* Joannes Cheeke.
Gul. Meye. Tho Wendy.

Number 10.

King Edward's *Deviſe for the Succeſſion, written with his own Hand.*

FOR lack of *Iſſue Male* of my Body, *to the Iſſue Male coming of the Iſſue Female, as I have after declared.* To the ſaid *Frances* Heirs Males, if ſhe have any; for lack of ſuch Iſſue before my Death, to the ſaid *Jane* and Heirs Males; to the ſaid *Katherine*'s Heirs Males;

to

the Lady *Mary*'s Heirs Males: To the Heirs Males of the Daughters, which She shall have hereafter. Then to the Lady *Marget*'s Heirs Males. For Lack of such Issue, to the Heirs Males of the Lady *Jane*'s Daughters; to the Heirs Males of the Lady *Katherine*'s Daughters, and so forth, till you come to the Lady *Marget*'s Heirs Males.

2. If after my Death the Heir Male be entred into Eighteen Year old, then He to have the whole Rule and Governance thereof.

3. But if He be under Eighteen, then his Mother to be Governes, till He enters Eighteen Year old: But to do nothing without the Advice and Aggreement of Six Parcell of a Councill, to be pointed by my last Will, to the Number of 20.

4. If the Mother die before the Heir enter into Eighteen, the Realm to be governed by the Councill: Provided that after He be Fourteen Year, all Great Matters of Importance be opened to Him.

5. *If I died without Issue, and there were none Heir Male; then the Lady* Frances *to be Gouvernes Regent. For lack of her, her Eldest Daughters; and for lack of them, the Lady* Marget *to be Governes after, as is aforesaid, till some Heir Male be born; and then the Mother of that Child to be Governes.*

6. *And if, during the Rule of the Gouvernes, there die Four of the Councill; then shall She, by her Letters, call an Assembly of the Councill, within One Month following, and chuse Four more: Wherein She shall have Three Voices. But after her Death, the Sixteen shall Chuse among themselves, till the Heir come to Fourteen Year old; and then He, by their Advice, shall chuse them.*

The last Two Paragraphs, and what is scored underneath, are dash'd out, yet so as to be legible.

Number 11.

The Council's Original Subscription, to Edward *the* VIth's *Limitation of the Crown; in these Words:*

EDWARD.

WE whose Hands are underwritten, having heretofore many times heard the King's Majesty, our most Gracious Sovereign Lord's earnest Desire, and express Commandment, touching the Limitation of the Succession in the Imperial Crown of this Realm, and others his Majesty's Realms and Dominions; and having seen his Majesty's own Device, touching the said Succession, first wholly written with his most Gracious Hand, and after Copied out in

in his Majesties Presence, by his most High Commandment, and confirmed with the Subscription of his Majesties own Hand; and by his Highness deliver'd to certain Judges, and other Learned Men, to be written in full Order: Do, by his Majesties Speciall and Absolute Commandment, estsoones given us, aggree, and by these Presents signed with our Hands, and sealed with our Seals, promise by our Oaths and Honours, to observe fully, perform and keep, all and every Article, Clause, Branch and Matter, contained in the said Writing delivered to the Judges and others, and superscribed with his Majesties Hand in Six several Places: And all such other Matter, as his Majesty, by his last Will, shall appoint, declare or command, touching or concerning the Limitation of the Succession of the said Imperiall Crown. And we do further promise, by his Majesty's said Commandment, never to vary or swerve, during our Lives, from the said Limitation of the Succession; but the same shall, to the uttermost of our Powers, defend and maintain. And if any of us, or any other, shall at any time hereafter (which God forbid) vary from this Agreement, or any Part thereof; we, and every of us, do assent to take, use and repute him, for a Breaker of the Common Concord, Peace and Unity of this Realme; and to do our uttermost, to see him or them so varying or swerving, punished with most sharp Punishments, according to their Deserts.

T. Cant. T. Ely, Canc. *Winchester. Northumberland. J. Bedford. H. Suffolk. W. Northampton. F. Shrewsbury. F. Huntington. Pembroke. E. Clinton. T. Darcy. G. Cobham. R. Ryche. T. Cheyne.*

John Gate. William Petre. John Cheek. W. Cecill. Edward Mountague. John Baker.

Edward Gryffin. John Lucas. John Gosnald.

Number 12.

Articles and Instructions, annexed to the Commission, for Taking the Surrender of the Cathedral of Norwich.

FIrst, the said Commissioners shall repair to the Cathedral-Church of *Norwich*, declaring to the Dean and Chapter of the same, that the King's Majesty's Pleasure is, for diverse good and reasonable Causes and Considerations, to have the said College to be surrendred and given up into his Majesty's Hands; to the intent, that the same shall be altered in such Good and Godly wise, as the King that

dead.

dead is, (whose Soul God pardon) amongst other his Godly Purposes and Intents, and the King's Majesty that now is, by the Advice of his Honourable Council, hath determined. And that they shall practise and conclude with them, for and in his Highness's Name, for the same Surrender, to be had, done and performed, in such Manner and Form, as by their Discretions shall be thought most reasonable and convenient.

2. And after the said Surrender, and Gift made of the said College, and of all Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments and Possessions of the same, by the Dean and Chapter thereof, to the Use of the King's Highness, according to a Deed and Writing, devised and delivered to the said Commissioners for that Purpose; The said Commissioners to take Order, with the Dean and Prebendaries, Canons, and all other Officers and Ministers of the said Cathedral-Church, that they shall be, remain, continue and minister there, in such sort as they do, until the Alteration of the said Church shall be made perfect. Declaring further to the same Dean, Prebendaries and Canons, that they, and every of them, shewing themselves willing and conformable, according to the King's Majesty's Commission, shall, from the Time of the said Surrender, have as much in Profit and Commodity, for and towards their Living, as they had before the same Surrender, in such wise, as they shall have good Cause to be well satisfied and contented.

3. Also the said Commissioners shall make an Inventory of all the Plate and Jewels, Ornaments, Goods and Chattels of the said Cathedral-Church, and deliver the same to the Dean and Prebendaries, by Bills indented: And the said Commissioners are to take Order with them, that the same may continue, remain, and be used there, until the New Erection of the said Church, to the Intents and Purposes that they were ordained for: And declaring further, that the same shall be assigned, and given to them, upon the New Erection and Foundation of the said Cathedral-Church.

4. Also the said Commissioners, calling to them the Officers and Ministers of the said Cathedral-Church, shall cause a perfect Book, Rental or Value, to be made, of all the Possessions, as well Spiritual as Temporal, of the same Church, with the Rents, Resolute, and Deduction of the same: And also to note and certify the Decays thereof, if any be: And to cause the same Rentals, Book or Value, to be certified and delivered into the Court of Augmentations and Revenues of the King's Majesty's Crown, with as convenient Speed as it may be done.

5. *Item*, The said Commissioners are to do and execute, all such other Things as they shall think convenient and necessary, to the full Accomplishment of this Commission; and to certify the Truth and Circumstance of the same, together with this Commission.

Vera Copia,

H. Prideaux.

Number 13.

An Original Letter of Queen Mary's *to King* Philip, *before He wrote to Her.*

MOnſieur, mon bon & perpetuel Allie : Entendant que l'Ambaſſadeur de l'Empereur, Monſeigneur & bon Pere, reſidant ches moy Depeſchoyt le Porteur de ceſtes devers voſtre Haulteſſe. Encores que ne niayes particuliezement eſcript dois, que noſtre Alliance à eſte traictee. Si eſt ce me ſentant tant obligee, de la ſincere & vray Affection que me portes, que ves confirmee, tant par les effectz que par les Lettres eſcriptes, audict Ambaſſadeur, & par la Negociation que le Sieur *d'Egmont* & aultres, & l'Ambaſſadeur de mondict Seigneur ont traicte. Je ne peu delaiſſer, vous teſmoigner le Vouloyr & Debuoyr, que jay de vous correſpondre a jamais : Et vous Mercie treſhumblement tant de bons Offices, & joynctement vous advertis, que le Parlement, qui repreſente les Eſtats du mon Royaulme, à approuve les Articles de noſtre Maryage ſans Contradiction, comme trouvant les Condicions dicelluy Honorables, Advantaigenſes, & pluſque Raiſonnables ; que me meſt en entiere Confidence, que voſtre Venue par deca ſera ſeure & agreable. Et eſperant de brief ſuplier le ſurplus Verbalement, je feray Fin aux preſentes ; priant le Createur qui vous donnat, Monſeigneur, mon bon & perpetuel Allie, faire voſtre Voyage par deca en proſperite & ſante, me recommendant treſaffectuenſement & humblement à voſtre Haulteſſe.

A Londres, le xx.
d' April.

Voſtre Entierement,
Aſſuree,
Et plus Obligee Alliee,

MARYE.

Number 14.

Queen Mary's *Letter to the Earl of* Suſſex, *to take Care of Elections to the Parliament.*

MARY the Queen.

Ex MSS. Petyti.

RIght Truſty and Welbeloved Coſen, we greet you well. And where for diverſe Cauſes, tending principally to the Advancement of God's Glory, and the Commonwealth of this our Realme, we,

wee have thought Convenient to call our High Court of Parliament to the 12th of the next Moneth, as by our Writ of Summonds, sent unto you for that Purpose, ye may at better length perceive; likeas for your own Part, wee doubt not but ye wil be ready to assist us with your best Advice and Counsail for the furtherance of our Good Purpose, in such Matters as are to be treated of in our said Parliament; so to the End the same may be more gravely debated, and circumspectly handled, to the Honour of Almighty God, and General Comodity of our Loving Subjects, wee have thought convenient specially to require and pray you to admonish on our Behalfe such our Good and Loving Subjects, as by Order of our Writs, have the Elections of Knights, Citisens, or Burgeses, within our Rule, to choose of their Inhabitants, as being eligible, by Order of our Lawes, may be of the Wise, Grave, and Catholick Sort. Such, as indeed, mean the true Honour of God, with the Prosperity of the Common-Wealth. The Advancement whereof wee, and our Dear Husband the King, doe chiefly professe and intend, without Alteration of any particular Man's Possession, as amongst other false Rumours, the Hinderers of our Good Purposes, and Favorers of Heresies, doe utterly report. And to the End wee may the better confer with you about these Matters that are to be treated of in our said Parliament, our Pleasure is, you do put your self in a Readiness to make your Repair hither, so as ye may be with us against the Feast of *All-Saints* at the furthest. Given under our Signet at our Palace of *Westminster* the 6th of *October*, the IId Year of our Reigne.

Number 15.

Cardinal Pole's *First Letter to Queen* Mary.

Ex MS. penes me.

BEnedicta Manus Omnipotentis Dei, quæ non solum Majestatem tuam in alto Throno, & Possessione Regni collocavit; (quod multos Annos ad eam spectabat, & ab omnibus bonis optabatur, atq; inter Sacras Preces petebatur a Divina Clementia:) Sed etiam eò res deduxit, ut non modo res ipsa, verum etiam ratio ipsius rei conficiendæ omnes Amicos incredibili lætitia perfundat, & precipuè Pium Animum tuum, quia sine sanguine res peracta est, prope cum magna clades esset timenda propter fraudes Adversariorum, quæ non parvis viribus erant suffultæ ad eam justissima Successione privandam; atque cum propter longum spacium sibi divinitus concessum ad suas insidias subtexendas, putarant se ad finem optatum cum scelere suscepti consilii pervenisse, sine novis auxiliis, sed solis viribus quas Spiritus Dei excitavit in Animis mortalium, effectum est Divinâ Providentiâ, ut Brevi momento Temporis irriti ac delusi sint omnes Mortalium apparatus: Ita conversi sunt, qui Humanæ Malitiæ Militabant ad prote-

gendum Honorem Dei, Majestatis tuæ incolumitatem, ac totius Regni salutem.

Si quis itaque miratur cur tua Majestas nullis externis Viribus, paucis etiam subditis audentibus ejus partes amplecti, potuerit Regnum ita Usurpatum adversus tantam Hominum malitiam & Potentiam recuperare; aut siquis rogaret, quo modo factum est istud? Res ipsa respondere poterit; Spiritus Sanctus supervenit in corda Hominum, qui ea ratione tibi Regnum restituere voluit; atque hoc uno Exemplo non solum vestris Populis, sed Universis Christianis, & Barbaris Nationibus Manifestum fit, quia nullum fit Consilium, nec Prudentia, nec Fortitudo contra Dominum Deum, & quod excelsus dominetur, in Regno Hominum, & cui voluerit, & quando voluerit dabit illud. Ejus Divinæ Providentiæ in rebus Humanis Credulitas (Præcipium nostræ Religionis Fundamentum) si unquam in istud Regnum introduci, & confirmari debuit, per ullam Manifestam Experientiam; hoc maxime tempore introduci necesse est, quo propter impiorum tam diuturnam Authoritatem, ita erat in Animis Hominum debilitata & in eorum Animis præsertim, qui prudentiores, sapientioresque putabantur, ut penitus videretur extincta. Cum Divinæ itaque Bonitati placuerit, ita evidentibus signis suam potentiam in tua Majestate extollenda, tunc cum à suis inimicis, & à multis aliis prorsus oppressa putabatur, declarare; hoc est cur maximè omnes Boni, & Pii Glorientur, & quod tibi magis gratum esse certò scio, quam Regiam Dignitatem. Atque, si ulla fæmina debuit Deum laudare iis Verbis suæ Sanctissimæ Matris, cujus nomen refers, quibus ea usa est ad exprimendam lætitiam propter Divinam Providentiam ad sui, Humanique generis salutem, cum Spiritu Sancto repleta inquit, Magnificat Anima mea Dominum, cum iis quæ sequuntur; tua Majestas justissima de Causa eum Psalmum canere potest; cum in se ipsa sentiat, quod omnes vident, ut Divina Bonitas respexit Humilitatem ancillæ suæ: Et fecit potentiam in brachio suo, statim deposuit Potentes de sede & exaltavit humiles. Hoc dictum de Divina Providentia erga Majestatem tuam semper manifestius in Administratione cognoscetur tua, cum increnento illo lætitiæ, quod desideratur ad honorem & laudem Divinæ Majestatis. Enimvero mea erga Deum, & suam Ecclesiam Pietas, & erga Majestatem tuam me cogit ut unum tibi in memoriam revocem initio regnandi; quod est cum ita singulare Beneficium à Deo acceperis, diligenter consideres è quibus radicibus perturbationes pullularint, rerum adjustitiam pertinentium & ad veræ Religionis cultum; quippe cum illæ indies cum tanta ruina succreverint, in isto Regno Privata & Publica, quanta non ignorantur: atque si hoc ita feceris; percipies profectò Principium & Causam omnium malorum tunc pullulasse, cum perpetuus humani generis Adversarius Patri tuo persua sit impurum Concilium; ut divortium fieret Matris tuæ optimæ Reginæ, atque illi magnæ in Deum, in ipsam, in te in seipsum injuriæ, majus additum est scelus, quod à Matre Spiritus divortium fecit omnium Christianorum; à Sancta Catholica Obedientia & ab Apostolica Reverentia. Ex hoc iniquo & impio semine tot pestiferi fructus nati sunt, ut ita Regnum corruperint, ut nullum neque justitiæ neque Religionis vestigium apparuerit: Tanquam relegatæ sint ambæ, quando Reverentia, & Obedientia Ecclesiæ ejecta fuit; neque prius sunt rediturræ,

rediture, quam Divina Obedientia in Animum recepta sit eorum, qui rebus præfuerint. Hoc facile tua Majestas illi servo suo potest credere, qui omnium viventium plura, & istâ, Majestatis vestræ Causâ passus est: Neque ullam defendendæ Causæ tuæ rationem prætermisi, ubi aliquod extaret remedium, quo toties molestiis sublevarem. Quod nisi mei labores eum finem consecuti sint, quem semper desideravi; sæpius vel vitam ipsam periculis exponens; tamen nunc multo magis lætor, quam si ipse adjutor fuissem; cum apertissimè cognoverim, Divinæ Providentiæ in Majestatem tuam propensam voluntatem: Nam profectò noluit Deus ulla humanâ manu te adjuvari, neque Cæsaris, neque ullius Principis: Quamvis nunquam cessavit Pontifex Cæsarem ad opem ferendam adhortari: Neque mea defuit diligentia, utrisque ad hoc pium opus sollicitantibus, sed Divinitus Res protracta est donec statutum tempus à Deo adventarit, quo Divinâ manu sublevareris. Interim usus est Deus eadem ratione, qua erga carissimos & dilectissimos uti consuevit, quos nutrit, & educat in omni calamitatum, ærumnarumque genere: Ut gratiæ suæ semen altiores radices in corde ipsorum posset extendere, meliusque floreat, ac nobiliores fructus producat, cum visum fuerit in pristinam fælicitatem revocare. Istud nunc omnes boni expectant, atque ego in primis, cui major occasio concessa est dotes Animi tui, quæ Divinitus tibi concessæ sunt, à teneris cognoscendi. Ea res me multò etiam magis impellit, ut Majestati tuæ id significem dere tanta, quanta est Ecclesiæ Obedientia, me magis etiam sollicitum esse, quàm antea, qua mente sis erga Religionem, & quo pacto affecta: nam cum circiter trecenta millia passuum distam ab Urbe Roma, nuper ad me de rebus Britannicis est delatum; per literas summi Pontificis certior factus sum, te ad summum imperium esse provectam, & quod ego sim delectus Legatus à Sancta sede Apostolica ad Majestatem tuam & ad Cæsarem, atque ad Galliarum Regem, ut tibi gratularer pro Victoria Dei in hac Causa ipsius Dei: Sed quia quanti res sit intelligo, censui non inutile fore, si Majestatis tuæ mentem quo pacto Deus moverit, prius percunctatus fuero: Cujus causâ præsentem nuncium cum meis literis mittto: Neque istud quidem, quia de optima voluntate tua subdubitem, quoniam te semper gratam, erga Deum fuisse cognovi, & acceptorum non immemorem, legumque divinarum observatissimam, inter quas Obedientia Apostolicæ sedis continetur, cui maximè omnium favere debes. Nam certè quidem Majestatis tuæ Pater nullâ aliâ de Causa Apostolicam Obedientiam reliquit, nisi quia nollet Pontifex Romanus Causæ suæ favere turpi. & iniquo ejus desiderio assentiri. Sed quoniam tot annos tanta facta est mutatio, tantáque malitia conata est evellere ex Animis Hominum penitusque restinguere hanc ipsam Obedientiam & Observantiam, mihi visum est non absurdum fore, si ex te ipsa percunctarer, quod tempus, aut quæ ratio aptior, commodiorque videretur futura ad ipsius Vicarii Christi Legatione perfungendum, idque ad istius Regni Beneficium & Consolationem, cujus Fælicitas & Quies semper magis oppressa fuit, ex qua Sancta Obedientia expugnari cæpta est, coactáque solum vertere. Decrevi igitur prius responsum expectare, quod ut expectationi meæ optimæ respondeat, ab Omnipotente Deo suppliciter peto, omniumque piorum spei, quam habent de Majestate tua conceptam, idque ad confirmationem, & incrementum

Fælicitatis tuæ, & iſtius Regni. Quod ſi mihi benignam audientiam conceſſeris, ſpero futurum Dei optimi maximi Beneficio, ut intelligas in hac ipſa Obedientia Eccleſiæ conſiſtere, & collocatum eſſe fundamentum & ſtabilimentum omnium bonorum ipſius Regni. Sic igitur rogans Omnipotentem Deum, ut pro ſua infinita Miſericordia Majeſtatem tuam fortunet in ipſo imperio, in quo collocavit, finem faciam dicendi. Cænobio Megazeni Benaci. Eidus Sextilis. 1553.

Reginaldus Polus.

Number 16.

The Queen's Anſwer to it.

OPtime, ſobrine Pole, in Chriſto Obſervandiſſime; accepi literas tuas, quas tuus familiaris mihi reddidit, exquibus intellexi perpetuam tuam optimam voluntatem erga hoc Regnum, Patriam tuam nimirum, & erga Legitimos Hæredes, cum ſumma lætitiæ ſignificatione ob ea, quæ placuerunt Divinæ Clementiæ Omnipotentis Dei in oſtendenda ſua erga me vera, juſtiſſima, infinitáq; Miſericordia; propter quam me tibi etiam non parum debere ſentio, cum monitus amantiſſimos præterea in literis addideris: Quod ſi nullum naturæ vinculum inter nos intercederet, quod certè maximum intercedit; tamen vel hac unâ de Cauſa maximas tibi deberem gratias, quod me tam amenter monueris; atque ego dabo operam pro viribus, ut monitis tuis ſatisfaciam, quippe cum neq; unquam fuerim, nec ſim, neq; ut Divinæ Miſericordiæ confido, unquam futura ſim Catholicæ adhortationis in tuis literis contentæ adverſaria. Quod attinet ad meam Obedientiam, & debitam Obſervantiam erga ſponſam Chriſti, & Matrem Divinam, ſuam Catholicam & Apoſtolicam Eccleſiam, harum literarum lator poterit te commodè docere: Is non poterit explanare quanta ſit Animi mei moleſtia, propterea quod non poſſim Animi mei Sententiam, in hac re prorſus patefacere; ſed cum primum data erit facultas ſinceritatis Animi mei erga Divinum cultum explicandæ, Obedientiæq; quid Sentiam exequendæ, faciam te per literas certiorem. Quod ſpectat ad Coronationem, idem Nuncius omnia planè explicare poterit, multáq; alia quibus illum adeſſe volui; cum mirificè Omnipotentis Dei Miſericordia confidam, futurum ut hæc Comitia omnia ſtatuta abrogent, unde omnium calamitatum hujuſce Regni ſemina pollularunt. Spero autem futurum ut delictorum veniam à ſummi Pontificis Clementia obtineam, cui te rogo, ut meo nomine humillimè gratias agas pro ſua multiplici in me Bonitate, ut in eadem perſiſtat Clementia, omnemq; præteritorum commiſſorum Oblivionem concedat; hunc igitur remitto ſpe poſtulationis non irritæ futuræ

operâ tuâ; quando tantum Benevolentiæ, & fraternæ Charitatis, mihi pignus obtulisti: Me itaque plurimum Sancto Patri, ac tibi commendans, finem facio scribendi.

Westmonasterij, *Sexto Idus* Octobris.

Maria *Regina*.

Number 17.

Cardinal Pole's *General Powers, for Reconciling* England *to the Church of* Rome.

Julius Papa III.

Dilecte Fili noster, Salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Dudum, cum charissima in Christo Filia nostra, Maria Angliæ tunc Princeps, Regina declarata fuisset, & speraretur Regnum Angliæ, quod, sæva Regum Tyrannide, ab Unione Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ separatum fuerat; ad Ovile Gregis Domini, & ejusdem Ecclesiæ Unionem, ipsâ Maria primum regnante, redire posse. Nos Te, præstanti Virtute, singulari Pietate, ac multa Doctrina insignem, ad eandem Mariam Reginam, & universum Angliæ Regnum, de Fratrum nostrorum Consilio, & unanimi Consensu, Nostrum & Apostolicæ Sedis, Legatum de Latere destinavimus. Tibique, inter cætera, omnes & singulas utriusque Sexus, tam Laicas quam Ecclesiasticas, Seculares, & quorumvis Ordinum Regulares, Personas, in quibusvis etiam Sacris Ordinibus constitutas, cujuscunque Statûs, Gradûs, Conditionis & Qualitatis existerent, ac quacunque Ecclesiasticâ, etiam Episcopali, Archiepiscopali, & Patriarchali; aut mundano, etiam Marchionali, Ducali, aut Regia Dignitate præfulgerent: Etiamsi Capitulum, Collegium, Universitas, seu Communitas forent: quarumcunque Hæresium, aut novarum Sectarum, Professores, aut in eis culpabiles, vel suspectos, ac credentes, receptatores, & fautores eorum, etiamsi relapsæ fuissent, eorum Errorem cognoscentes, & de illis dolentes, ac ad Orthodoxam Fidem recipi humiliter postulantes, cognita in eis, vera & non ficta, aut simulata Pœnitentia, ab omnibus & singulis per eos perpetratis, (Hæreses, & ab eadem Fide Apostasias, Blasphemias, & alios quoscunque Errores, etiam sub generali Sermone non venientes, sapientibus) peccatis, criminibus, excessibus & delictis; nec non Excommunicationum, Suspensionum, Interdictorum, & aliis Ecclesiasticis, ac Temporalibus etiam Corporis afflictivis, & capitalibus sententiis, censuris & pœnis, in eos Præmissorum occasione, à Jure vel ab Homine latis, vel promulgatis; etiam si in iis viginti, & plus annis insorduissent; & eorum Absolutio, Nobis & Divinæ Sedi, & per Literas, in die Cœnæ Domini legi consuetas, reservata

Ex M^s. penes me.

ſervata exiſteret, in utroque, Conſcientiæ videlicet, & contentioſo foro, plenariè abſolvendi, & liberandi, ac aliorum Chriſti fidelium conſortio aggregandi: Nec non cum eis ſuper irregularitate, per eos, Præmiſſorum occaſione, etiam quia ſic ligati, Miſſas & alia divina Officia, etiam contra Ritus & Ceremonias ab Eccleſia eatenus probatas & uſitatas, celebráſſent, aut illis alias ſemiſcuiſſent. Contracta nec non Bigamia per eoſdem Eccleſiaſticos, Seculares, vel Regulares, verè aut fictè, ſeu alias qualitercunque incurſa; (etiamſi ex eo quod Clerici in Sacris conſtituti, cum Viduis vel aliis corruptis, Matrimonium contraxiſſent, pretenderetur) rejectis & expulſis tamen prius Uxoribus, ſic de facto copulatis. Quodque Bigamia, & irregularitate ac aliis præmiſſis non obſtantibus, in eorum Ordinibus, dummodo ante eorum Lapſum in Hæreſin hujuſmodi, ritè & legitimè promoti vel ordinati fuiſſent, etiam in Altaris Miniſterio miniſtrare, ac quæcunque & qualitercunque etiam curata Beneficia, ſecularia vel regularia, ut prius, dummodo ſuper eis alteri jus quæſitum non exiſteret, retinere: Et non promoti, ad omnes etiam Sacros & Preſbyteratus Ordines, ab eorum Ordinariis, ſi digni & idonei reperti fuiſſent, promoveri, Beneficia Eccleſiaſtica, ſi iis alias canonicè conferentur, recipere & retinere valerent, diſpenſandi & indulgendi: Ac omnem infamiæ, & inhabilitatis maculam ſive notam, ex præmiſſis quomodolibet inſurgentem, penitus & omnino abolendi; nec non ad priſtinos Honores, Dignitates, Famam & Patriam, & bona etiam confiſcata; in priſtinumque, & eum, in quo ante præmiſſa quomodolibet erant, Statum reſtituendi, reponendi, & reintegrandi: Ac eis, dummodo corde contriti eorum errata & exceſſus, alicui per eos eligendo Catholico Confeſſori, ſacramentaliter confiterentur, ac Pœnitentiam ſalutarem, eis per ipſum Confeſſorem propterea injungendam omnino adimplerent, omnem publicam Confeſſionem, Abjurationem, Renunciationem, & Pœnitentiam jure debitam, arbitrio ſuo moderandi, vel in totum remittendi. Nec non Communitates & Univerſitates, ac ſingulares Perſonas quaſcunque, à quibuſvis illicitis Pactionibus & Conventionibus, per eos cum Dominis aberrantibus, ſeu in eorum favorem, quomodolibet initis, & iis præſtitis Juramentis, & Homagiis, illorumque omnium obſervatione; & ſi quem eatenus occaſione eorum incurriſſent Perjurij reatum, etiam abſolvendi, & Juramenta ipſa relaxandi. Ac quoſcunque Regulares & Religioſos, etiam in Hæreſin hujuſmodi ut prefertur lapſos, extra eorum regularia loca abſque dictæ Sedis licentia vagantes, ab Apoſtaſiæ reatu, & Excommunicationis, aliiſque Cenſuris ac Pœnis Eccleſiaſticis, per eos propterea etiam juxta ſuorum Ordinum inſtituta incurſis, pariter abſolvendi. Ac cum eis ut alicui Beneficio Eccleſiaſtico curato, de illud obtinentis conſenſu; etiam in habitu Clerici ſecularis, habitum ſuum regularem, ſub honeſta toga Preſbyteri ſecularis deferendo, deſervire, & extra eadem regularia loca remanere, liberè & licitè poſſint, diſpenſandi. Nec non quibuſvis Perſonis, etiam Eccleſiaſticis, ut quadrageſimalibus, & aliis anni temporibus & diebus, quibus uſus ovorum & carnium eſt de jure prohibitus, butiro & caſeo, & aliis lacticiniis; ac dictis ovis & carnibus, de utriuſque ſeu alterius, ſpiritualis, qui Catholicus exiſteret, medici Conſilio, aut ſi Io-

corum

corum & Personarum Qualitate inspecta, ex defectu Piscium aut Olei, vel indispositione Personarum earundem, seu alia Causa legitima id Tibi faciendum videretur, ut tuo arbitrio uti & vesci possint, indulgendi & concedendi. Nec non per Te in præteritis duntaxat Casibus, aliquos Clericos seculares, tantum Presbyteros, Diaconos, aut Subdiaconos, qui Matrimonium cum aliquibus Virginibus, vel corruptis Secularibus, etiam Mulieribus, de facto eatenus contraxissent, considerata aliqua ipsorum singulari qualitate, & cognita eorum vera ad Christi Fidem conversione, ac aliis circumstantiis, ac modificationibus tuo tantum arbitrio adhibendis; ex quibus aliis præsertim Clericis in sacris Ordinibus hujusmodi constitutis, quibus non licet Uxores habere, scandalum omnino non generetur; citra tamen Altaris, ac alia Sacerdotum Ministeria, & Titulos Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum, ac omni ipsorum Ordinum Exercitio sublato, ab Excommunicationis Sententia, & aliis Reatibus propterea incursis; injuncta inde eis etiam tuo arbitrio pœnitentia salutari, absolvendi ac cum eis dummodo alter eorum superstes remaneret, de cætero sine spe Conjugij, quod inter se Matrimonium legitimè contrahere, & in eo postquam contractum foret, licitè remanere possent, Prolem exinde legitimam decernendo, misericorditer dispensandi. Ac quæcunque Beneficia Ecclesiastica, tam Secularia quam Regularia, & quæ per Rectores Catholicos possidebantur, de ipsorum tamen Rectorum Catholicorum consensu, seu absque eorum præjudicio, cuicunque alteri Beneficio Ecclesiastico, ob ejus fructûs tenuitatem, aut Hospitali jam erecto vel erigendo, seu Studio Universali, vel Scholis Literariis; uniendi, annectendi, & incorporandi, aut fructus, reditus, & proventus, seu bonorum eorundem Beneficiorum dividendi, separandi, & dismembrandi; ac eorum sic divisorum, separatorum & dismembratorum partem aliis Beneficiis, seu Hospitalibus, vel Studiis aut Scholis, seu piis Usibus, similiter arbitrio tuo perpetuo applicandi & appropriandi. *At cum Possessoribus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, (restitutis, prius si Tibi expedire videretur, immobilibus per eos indebitè detentis) super fructibus malè perceptis, ac bonis mobilibus, consumptis, concordandi, & transigendi, ac eos desuper liberandi & quietandi.* Ac quicquid Concordiis & Transactionibus hujusmodi proveniret, in Ecclesia cujus essent bona, vel in Studiorum Universalium, aut Scholarum hujusmodi, seu alios pios Usus convertendi; omniaque & singula alia, in quæ in præmissis, & circa ea quomodolibet necessaria & opportuna esse cognosceres, faciendi, dicendi, gerendi, & exercendi. Nec non Catholicos locorum Ordinarios, aut alias Personas Deum timentes, Fide insignes, & Literarum Scientia præditas, ac Gravitate Morum conspicuas, & Ætate veneranda; de quarum Probitate & Circumspectione, ac Charitatis Zelo plena Fiducia conspici posset, ad præmissa omnia, cum simili vel limitata Potestate, (Absolutione & Dispensatione Clericorum, circa Connubia, ac Unione Beneficiorum, seu eorum fructuum & bonorum separatione, & applicatione, ac concordia cum Possessoribus bonorum Ecclesiasticorum, & eorum liberatione duntaxat exceptis) substituendi & subdelegandi: Ac diversas alias Facultates, per diversas alias nostras tam sub plumbo quam in forma Brevis confectas literas, concessimus, prout in illis plenius contine-

N. B.

tur. Verum cum Tu ad Partes Flandriæ, ex quibus breviſſima ad Regnum transfreatio exiſtit, Te contuleris, ac ex certis rationalibus Nobis notis Cauſis inibi aliquandiu ſubſiſtere habeas, ac à nonnullis, nimium forſan ſcrupuloſis, hæſitetur; an Tu, in Partibus hujuſmodi ſubſiſtens, prædictis ac aliis Tibi conceſſis Facultatibus, uti ac in eodem Regno locorum Ordinarios, aut alias Perſonas (ut præmittitur) qualificatas; quæ Facultatibus per Te, juxta dictarum Literarum Continentiam pro Tempore conceſſis utantur, alias juxta earundem Literarum tenorem ſubſtituere & delegare poſſis. Nós cauſam tuæ Subſiſtentiæ in eiſdem partibus approbantes, & ſingularum Literarum prædictarum tenores, præſentibus pro ſufficienter expreſſis, ac de verbo ad verbum inſertis, habentes, Circumſpectioni tuæ, quod quamdiu in eiſdem partibus de licentia noſtra moram traxeris, Legatione tua prædicta durante, etiam extra ipſum Regnum exiſtens; omnibus & ſingulis prædictis, & quibuſvis aliis Tibi conceſſis, & quæ per præſentes Tibi conceduntur; Facultatibus etiam erga quoſcunque, Archiepiſcopos, Epiſcopos, ac Abbates, alioſque, Eccleſiarum tam Secularium, quam quorumvis Ordinum Regularium, nec non Monaſteriorum, & aliorum Regularium Locorum Prelatos, non ſecus ac erga alios inferiores Clericos, uti poſſis; nec non erga alias Perſonas, in ſingulis Literis prædictis quoviſmodo nominatas, ad Te pro Tempore recurrentes, vel mittentes; etiam circa Ordines, quos nunquam aut malè ſuſceperunt, & Munus Conſecrationis, quod iis, ab aliis Epiſcopis vel Archiepiſcopis, etiam Hæreticis & Schiſmaticis, aut alias minus ritè & non ſervata forma Eccleſiæ conſueta impenſum fuit: Etiam ſi Ordines & Munus hujuſmodi, etiam circa Altaris Miniſterium temerè executi ſint, per Te ipſum, vel alios, ad id à Te pro Tempore deputatos, liberè uti; ac in eodem Regno, tot quot Tibi videbuntur Locorum Ordinarios alias Perſonas (ut præmittitur) qualificatas, quæ Facultatibus per Te, eis pro tempore conceſſis (citra tamen eas quæ ſolum tibi ut præfertur conceſſæ exiſtunt) etiam te in partibus Flandriæ hujuſmodi ſubſiſtente, libere utantur; & eas exerceant & exequantur: Alias, juxta ipſarum Literarum continentiam ac tenorem ſubſtituere & ſubdelegare. Nec non de Perſonis quorumcunque Epiſcoporum vel Archiepiſcoporum, qui Metropolitanam aut alias Cathedrales Eccleſias de manu Laicorum etiam Schiſmaticorum, & preſertim qui de Henrici Regis & Edvardi ejus nati receperunt, & eorum regimini & adminiſtratione ſe ingreſſerunt, & eorum fructus reditus & proventus etiam longiſſimo tempore, tanquam veri Archiepiſcopi aut Epiſcopi temere & de facto uſurpando, etiamſi in Hæreſin aut prefertur, inciderint, ſeu ante Hæretici fuerint, poſtquam per te unitati Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ reſtituti extiterint, tuque eos rehabilitandos eſſe cenſueris, ſi tibi alias digni & idonei videbuntur, eiſdem Metropolitanis & aliis Cathedralibus Eccleſiis denuo, nec non quibuſvis aliis Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Eccleſiis per obitum vel privationem illorum Præſulum, ſeu alias quovis modo pro tempore vacantibus, de Perſonis idoneis pro quibus ipſa Maria Regina juxta conſuetudinis ipſius Regni, tibi ſupplicaverit Authoritate noſtra providere ipſaſque Perſonas eiſdem Eccleſiis in Epiſcopos aut Archiepiſcopos præficere: Ac cum iis qui Eccleſias Cathedrales

thedrales & Metropolitanas, de manu Laicorum etiam Schismaticorum ut prefertur, receperunt, quod eisdem seu aliis ad quas eas alias ritè transferri contigerit, Cathedralibus etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis, in Episcopos vel Archiepiscopos præesse ipsasq; Ecclesias in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus regere & gubernare ac munere Consecrationis eis hactenus impenso uti, vel si illud eis nondum impensum extiterit, ab Episcopis vel Archiepiscopis Catholicis per te nominandis suscipere libere & licite possint. Nec non cum quibusvis per te ut præmittitur pro tempore absolutis & rehabilitatis, ut eorum erroribus & excessibus preteritis non obstantibus, quibusvis Cathedralibus, etiam Metropolitanis Ecclesiis in Episcopos & Archiepiscopos prefici & præesse, illasq; in eisdem Spiritualibus & Temporalibus regere & gubernare: Ac ad quoscunq; etiam Sacros & Presbyteratos Ordines promovere, & in illis aut per eos jam licet minus rite susceptis Ordinibus etiam in altaris Ministerio Ministrare nec non munus Consecrationis suscipere, & illo uti libere & licite valeant; dispensare etiam libere & licite possis, plenam & liberam Apostolicam Authoritatem per presentes concedimus Facultatem & Potestatem: Non obstantibus Constitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apostolicis, ac omnibus illis quæ in singulis Literis præteritis Voluimus non obstare, cæterisq; contrariis quibuscunque.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, Die 8. *Martis* 1554. *Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.*

Number 18.

A Letter from Cardinal Pole *to the Bishop of* Arras, *upon King* Philip's *Arrival in* England, *and his Marriage to the Queen.*

A Mons^r^. d' Arras.

M^to^. Ill^re^. è Rev^do^. Sig^re^

HAvendo à quest' hora ricevuto particolari avisi dopo l' arrivo del Serenissimo Principe nel Regno d' Inghilterra, del felice successo del Matrimonio mi e parso convenire al debito mio rallegrarmene con S. Majestà Cesarea sicome fo con l' alligata la quale indirizzo à V. S. per la confidenza chè ho nella solita sua cortesia, pregandola sia contenta presentarla à sua Majestà col baciarle riverentemente le mani da parte mia. L' Abbate Sagante suo l' altr' hieri mi communico

una Lettera di V. S. che dava particolar aviso della ritirata de Franzesi il che mi fu di molta consolatione. Ben si e visto di quant' importanza sia la presenza di S. Majestà. Ancor non e arrivato ill messo mio da Roma, ma spero non possa tardar molto: subbito che sarà gionto, non mancarò di darne aviso a V. S. alla quale di cuore mi racommando e prego N. Sig[r] Iddio la conservire favorisca a suo servitio. Di Bruxelles alli 29 di Luglio 1554.

Reginaldo Card. Pole.

Number 19.

A Letter from Cardinal Pole *to the Cardinal* de Monte, *acknowledging the Pope's Favour in sending him full Powers.*

Al Card. di Monte

Rev[mo]. & Ill[mo]. Sig[r]. mio Oss[mo].

SCrissi a V. S. Reverendissima per l' ultime mie, l' aviso dell' arrivo in Inghilterra del Serenissimo Principe, il qual' e poi stato con la Serenissima Regina a Vincestre, ove hanno celebrato il sponsalitio il di di San Giacomo con gran sollennita come V. S. Reverendissima piacendole potra intendere dall' essibitor di questa, al quale mi rimetto in quel di piu, che in tal proposito io le potessi dire e bacio humil mente la mano di V. S. Reverendissima & Illustrissima in suo buona gratia reccommendandomi. di Bruxelles alli 29 di luglio 1554.

In quest' hora e giunto l' Ormaneto con l' Espeditione che e piacciuto darle alla Santità di nostro Signore, tutto secondo quello, che si potesse desiderare dalla pietà e benignità sua in servitio di Dio, e della sua Chiesa in questa causa cossi importante del che prego V. S. Reverendissima sia contenta baciarne humilmente a nome mio i piedi a sua Beatit[ne] alla quale con la prima occasione non mac caro di dar pieno aviso di quanto sarà bisogno. In vero l' arrivar dell' Ormaneto non poteva esser più a tempo, e spero che N. Signor' Iddio ci fara gratia, che le cose s' indirizzeranno in modo che sua Santità col servitio di sua Divina Maestà ne resterà consolata. Il tempo non patisce che per hora io possa essere più lungo, e di nuovo bacio humilmente le mani di V. S. Reverendissima & Illustrissima.

Reginaldo Card. Polo.

Alli 29 di luglio 1554 il Signore Ormaneto arrivo a Bruxelles con l' infratta speditione.

Number

Number 20.

A Breve *impowering Cardinal* Pole *to execute his Faculties with relation to* England, *while he yet remained beyond Sea, and out of* England.

Al Card. Polo.

Julius Papa III.

DIlecte Fili noster salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Superioribus mensibus ex diversis tunc expressis causis te ad Charissimam in Christo Filiam nostram Mariam Angliæ Reginam Illustrem, & Universum Angliæ Regnum primò, & deinde pro conciliando inter eos pace ad Charissimos in Christo Filios nostros Carolum Romanum Imperatorem semper Augustum, & Henricum Francorum Regem Christianissimum, nostrum & Apostolicæ sedis Legatum de latere de Fratrum nostrorum Concilio destinavimus. Et licet te multis, & quidem amplissimis facultatibus, quibus etiam in partibus Flandriæ existens, quoad Personas & Negocia Regni Angliæ hujusmodi uti posses per diversas nostras tam sub plumbo, quam in forma brevis confectas litteras muniverimus, prout in illis plenius continetur. Quia tamen ob Schismata, & alios errores, quibus dictum Regnum diutius inflectum fuit, multi casus potuerunt contingere, qui provisione per dictam sedem facienda indigebunt & sub dictis facultatibus veluti infiniti, & inexcogitabiles comprehendi nequiverunt, & insuper à nonnullis hæsitatur an tu facultatibus hujusmodi in insulis & Dominiis eidem Mariæ Reginæ subjectis uti possis, quibus item facultatibus apud Carolum Imperatorem & quibus apud Henricum Regem præfatos existens utaris: Nos de tuis fide, pietate, religione, doctrina, & prudentia, in Domino benè confidentes, & volentes omnem in præmissis hæsitandi materiam amputare, circumspectioni tuæ, ut ubicumq; fueris etiam extra partes Flandriæ Legatione tua hujusmodi durante, omnibus & singulis tibi concessis hactenus, & in posterum concedendis Facultatibus, quo ad Personas & Negotia Regni ac Insularum & Dominiorum hujusmodi per te vel alium vel alios juxta ipsarum Facultatum continentiam, & tenorem uti, ac omnia & singula quæ tibi pro Omnipotentis Dei, & nostro ac ejusdem sedis honore, nec non Regni, Insularum & Dominorum prædictorum ad Sanctæ, Catholicæ, Ecclesiæ, Communionem, reductione ac Personarum in illis existentium Animarum salute expedire judicaveris & si ea in generali mandato & Facultatibus tibi alias concessis non veniant, sed specialem expressionem & mandatum magis speciale requirant, dicere, facere, exercere, & exequi, nec non quandiù pro pace hujusmodi tractanda, vel aliis

Negociis nostrum, & sedis prædictæ honorem concernentibus, apud dictum Carolum Imperatorem fueris, omnibus & singulis Facultatibus olim dilecto Filio Hieronimo Tituli St. Matthæi Presbitero Cardinali tunc apud ipsum Carolum Imperatorem nostro & præfatæ sedis Legato de latere concessis, & in omnibus Provinciis, Regnis, Dominiis, Terris, & Locis, sub illis comprehensis. Si vero apud dictum Henricum Regem extiteris eis omnibus, que dudum dilecto Filio Hieronimo Sancti Georgii ad velum Aureum Diacono Cardinali tunc apud Henricum Regem eundem, nostro & dictæ sedis legato concessæ fuerunt, Facultatibus, & in omnibus Provinciis Regnis, Dominiis, Terris, & locis sub illis comprehensis uti liberè & licitè valeas, in omnibus & per omnia perinde ac si illæ tibi specialitur & expresse concessæ fuissent, Apostolica autem tenore presentium concedimus, & indulgemus, ac Facultates tibi concessas prædictas ad hæc omnia extendimus. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus, & Ordinationibus Apostolicis, ac omnibus illis, quæ in singulis Facultatibus tam tibi, quam Hieronimo Presbitero, & Hieronimo Diacono Cardinalibus præfatis concessis, voluimus non obstare cæterisq; contrariis quibusq; dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, sub annulo piscatoris Die XXVI Junii 1554, Pontificatus nostri Anno Quinto.

Jo. Larinen'.

Number 21.

A Second Breve *containing more special Powers, relating to the Abbey-Lands.*

JULIUS Papa III.

Dilecte Fili noster salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem. Superioribus mensibus oblata nobis spe per Dei Misericordiam, & Charissimæ in Christo Filiæ nostræ Mariæ Angliæ Reginæ, summam Religionem, & Pietatem, Nobilissimi illius Angliæ Regni, quod jamdiu quorundem Impietate, à reliquo Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Corpore à vulsum fuit, ad ejusdem Catholicæ & Universalis Ecclesiæ unionem, extra quam nemini salus esse potest, reducendi; te ad præfatum Mariam Reginam, atque Universum illud Regnum, nostrum & Apostolicæ sedis Legatum de latere, tanquam Pacis & Concordiæ Angelum, de venerabilum Fratrum nostrorum, Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalium Consilio atque unanimi assensu, destinavimus, illisque Facultatibus omnibus munivimus, quas ad tanti Negotii confectionem Necessarias putavimus esse, seu quommodolibet opportunas. Atque inter

alia Circumſpectione tua, ut cum bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum Poſſeſſoribus, ſuper fructibus malè perceptis, & bonis mobilibus conſumptis, concordare & tranſigere, ac eos deſuper liberare & quietare, ubi expedire poſſet, Authoritatem conceſſimus & Facultatem, prout in Noſtris deſuper confectis Literis plenius continetur: Cum autem ex iis Principiis, quæ ejuſdem Mariæ Sedulitate & Diligentia, rectaque & conſtante in Deum Mente, tuo & in ea re cooperante Studio atque Conſilio, præfatum reductionis opus in prædicto Regno uſque ad hanc diem habetur, ejuſdemque præclari Operis perfectio indies magis ſperetur; eoque faciliores progreſſus habitura res eſſe dignoſcatur, quo nos majorem in bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum Poſſeſſionibus, in illa ſuperiorum Temporum confuſione, per illius Provinciæ homines occupatis, Apoſtolicæ Benignitatis & Indulgentiæ ſpem oſtenderimus. Nos nolentes tantam dilectiſſimæ Nobis in Chriſto Nationis Recuperationem, & tot Animarum pretioſo Jeſu Chriſti Domini noſtri Sanguine redemptarum, Salutem, ullis terrenarum rerum reſpectibus impediri; more Pij Patris, in Noſtrorum & Sanctæ Catholicæ Filiorum, poſt longum periculoſæ peregrinationis tempus, ad Nos reſpectantium & redeuntium, peroptatum complexum occurrentes; Tibi, de cujus præſtanti Virtute, ſingulari Pietate, Doctrina, Sapientia, ac in Rebus gerendis Prudentia & Dexteritate, plenam in Domino Fiduciam habemus, cum quibuſcunque bonorum Eccleſiaſticorum, tam mobilium quam immobilium, in præfato Regno Poſſeſſoribus, ſeu Detentoribus, pro quibus ipſa Sereniſſima Regina Maria interceſſerit, de bonis per eos indebitè detentis, Arbitrio tuo, Authoritate noſtra, tractandi, concordandi, tranſigendi, componendi, & cum eis ut præfata bona ſine ullo ſcrupulo in poſterum retinere poſſint, diſpenſandi, omniaque & ſingula alia, quæ in his, & circa ea quomodolibet neceſſaria & opportuna fuerint, concludendi & faciendi. Salvo tamen in his, in quibus, propter rerum magnitudinem & gravitatem, hæc Sancta Sedes merito tibi videretur conſulenda, noſtro & præfatæ Sedis, beneplacito & confirmatione, plenam & liberam Apoſtolicam Authoritatem, tenore præſentium, & ex certa ſcientia, concedimus Facultatem. Non obſtantibus Literis, fælicis Recordationis Pauli Papæ II. Prædeceſſoris noſtri, de non alienandis bonis Eccleſiaſticis, niſi certa forma ſervata, & aliis quibuſvis Apoſtolicis, ac in Provincialibus & Synodalibus Conciliis, Edictis Generalibus, vel Specialibus Conſtitutionibus, & Ordinationibus. Nec non quarumvis Eccleſiarum & Monaſteriorum, ac aliorum regularium & piorum Locorum, Juramento, Confirmatione Apoſtolica, vel quavis alia Firmitate roboratis, Fundationibus, Statutis & Conſuetudinibus, illorum Tenores pro ſufficienter expreſſis habentes contrariis quibuſcunque.

N. B.

N. B.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum, ſub Annulo Piſcatoris, Die 28. Junij 1554, *Pontificatûs Noſtri Anno Quinto.*

Number

Number 22.

A Letter to Cardinal Pole, *from Cardinal* de Monte, *full of High Civilities.*

Al. Card. Polo.

Rev^{mo}. & Ill^{mo}. Sig^{r}. mio Col^{mo}.

RItornando à V. S. Reverendissima & Illustrissima l'Auditor suo con l'Espeditioni, che ella vedrà, à me non occorre dirle altro se non supplicarla, che si degni mantenermi nella sua bona gratia, è di non si scordare d'haver qui un Servitore che in amarla, & osserverla non cede à qualsivoglia altra Persona, è che il maggior Favore, che io sia per aspettare sempre da V. S. Reverendissima & Illustrissima sarà, che le piaccia di comandarmi in tutto questo, che mi conoscerà buono per servirla; il che sò d'haverle scritto più volte, e non mi e grave di replicarlo. Sua Sanctita sta cossi bene della Persona come sia stata di dieci anni in quà, ringratiato Iddio: e saluta e benedice V. S. Reverendissima & Illustrissima e li desidera, e prega ogni prosperità nelle sue Negociationi importantissime, a tutta la Christianita, & io le bacio humilmente le Mani. Di Roma alli xv. di Luglio 1554.

H. Card. di Monte.

Number 23.

A Letter from Cardinal Morone *to Cardinal* Pole, *telling him how uneasy the Pope was, to see his Going to* England *so long delayed; but that the Pope was resolved not to Recal him.*

Al Card. Polo.

Rev^{mo}. & Ill^{mo}. Sig^{r}. mio Oss^{mo}.

AVanti la partita mia di Roma hebbi la Lettera di V. S. Reverendissima delli 25 di Maggio in risposta delle mie, che gli haveuo scritto pur alli 6 di Maggio, quando vennero li primi avisi del Nuncio,

cio, doppo che V. S. Reverendissima fu ritornata alla Corte dal Viaggio di Francia, hebbi ancora l'altra di 28 del Medesmo, con la Querela Christiana, che ella fà contro di me, anzi per dir meglio con la Dottrina che V. S. Reverendissima con Sancta Charità querelandosi m' insegna, sopra la quale non m' occorre dir altro, se non che ella ha gran Raggione, & che io l' ho fatto torto a scriverle in quel modo, di che in una parte mi pento, e spero che ella mi habbi perdonato; nell' altra mi allegro, havendo havuto occasione di Guadagnar questa sua altra Lettera, e dato a lei occasione di esplicarsi in questo modo in Lettre come ha fatto, e ne ringratio Dio prima, e poi lei ancora, che si sia degnata mandarmi Lettera cossi grata, la qual potrà servire a più d'un proposito.

La prima di 21, Fù in summa communicata da me a Nostro Signiore parendomi necessario chiarir bene sua Sanctità, si per Giustificatione delle attioni passate di V. S. Reverendissima come per non lasciar, che sua Sanctità stesse nella disperatione dimostrata gia delle cose d' Inghilterra, e della bonta del mezzo della Persona sua: e Benche S. Sanctità non havesse patienza secondo l' ordinario suo di leggere, o di udir la Lettera, nondimeno le dissi talmente la summa, che mostrò restare satisfattissima, e disse esser più che certa, che quella non haveua dato causa ne all' Imperatore, ne ad altri d' usar con lei termini cosi estravaganti. E quanto alla Revocatione di V. S. Reverendissima sempre persisteva che non si potesse fare senza grand indignità sua, e dishonor della Sede Apostolica, e carico dell' Imperatore istesso, e di V. S. Reverendissima, e gran pregiudicio del Regno d' Ingliterra: & Benche dicesse di scrivere alla Cæsarea Majestà, nondimeno non si risolveua in tutto, com anco non si risolveua nella materia delli beni Ecclesiastici, sopra la qual sua Sanctità ha parlato molte volte variamente; e nel rescrivere alla Regina d' Inghliterra, & al Prencipe di Spagna, come V. S. Reverendissima havera inteso da M. Francisco Stella, & intenderà hora dall' Ormaneto, il qual sarà portator di questa, e tandem vien' espedito in tutti li punti quasi conformi al bisogno, & al desiderio suo.

Io son venuto a star qui a Sutrio fin le prime acque d' Agotto, che poi piacendo a Dio ritornero a Roma. E le cause della partita mia V. S. Reverendissima hora l' intenderà dal prefato Ormaneto, non essendo stato opportuno scriverle prima; non ho havuto altro scrupulo se non partirmi, restando il Negocio, e l' Espeditioni dell' Ormaneto cossi in pendente. Ma conoscendo la sufficienza, e la diligenza, e la buon' Introduttione, che hanno quelli Ministri di V. S. Reverendissima giudicando, non poterui far di più di quel che già più volte haveua fatto, pensai che essi haveriano potuto supplire meglio di me, come hanno di poi fatto.

Non occorre al presente che io le scriva più a lungo venendo il detto M. Nicolò informato, che non e bisogno affaticarla in leggere mie Lettere. Resta solo che Iddio conduca esso, e M. Antonio a salvamento essendo il viaggio in ogni parte da qui in Fiandra tanto pericoloso; doppo che io preghi, che sua Majestà divina prosperi e feliciti V. S. Reverendissima, ad Honor e Gloria sua in quell' Attioni, che ha per le mani, come son certo farà, e che quella mi ami, e mi co-

mandi al solito, perche comme ho detto, faccio conto, s'altro non mi interviene, avanti che di quella possi haver risposta da lei, poter' esser di ritorno a Roma, e con questo faccio fine, e baciandole humilmente la mano in buona Gratia di V. S. Reverendissima mi raccomando. Di Sutrio, alli 13 di Luglio 1554.

Il Card. Morone.

Al Card. Polo.

Number 24.

A Letter from Ormanet *to* Priuli, *giving an Account of what pass'd in an Audience the Bishop of* Arras *gave him.*

A Monsieur Priuli.

Claris^mo^. e M^to^. Rev^do^. Sig^r^. mio.

QUesta mattina assai per Tempo io gionsi al Campo, & ancor che io poco sperassi d'haver commoda audienza da Monsieur d'Arras, stando si sul Marchiare, nondimeno l'hebbi con la Gratia di nostro Signiore Iddio, assai commoda e grata, e fui gratiosamente visto da S. Signoria alla quale feci intendere tutto quello, che mi era stato commesso da Monsieur Illustrissimo. La Risposta fù che l' Imperatore haveua molto a cuore queste cose della Religione, e che non haverebbe mai mancaco d'aiutare questa sant' impresa, come ha sempre atto in simili occasioni con pericoli fin della Vita, ma che quanto all' opportunità del tempo, la quale era stata il principio e fundamento del mio Raggionamento, a lui pareva, che si fosse caminato alquanto prosperamente, non si sapendo altro doppo la venuta del Rè d' Inghilterra, che la Celebration' e solennità del matrimonio, e che pur Sarebbe stato a proposito, innanzi che s' andasse più oltre, veder che camino pigliavano le cose del Regno, e che dovendosi dar conto a sua Majestà di quello, perche io ero stato mandato, esso giudicava necessario che si fosse venuto più al particolare circa due cose, la forma delle faculta d'intorno questi beni (che gran differenza Sarebbe se fosse stata commessa la cosa o al S. Cardinale, o alli Serenissimi Principi) e poi il modo che voleua tener sua Sig. Reverendissima circa questo assetto, e qui esso tocco che fosse stato bene vedere la Copia delle Faculta. A la cosa del tempo io risposi che per questa opera era sempre maturo, immò che non se ne doveua perdere momento per il pericolo dell' anime, oltre che dovendosi dar principio a quest' impresa col far capace ogn' uno di quello; che veramente fosse il ben suo, e persuaderlo ad abbracciarlo, il qual' Officio spetta principalmente al Signior Legato, non si vede che a far questo il tempo non sia sempre maturo, soggiongendo che S. Majesta non doverebbe mai

la

lasciar passer l' occasione di questa venuta del Principe suo figlivolo in dar compimento a questa riduttione, percio che facendosi hora, l' honor di questa impresa sarebbe stato attribuito a lui. Quanto al particolar delle facultà, dissi che havendo detto a S. Signoria che questo assetto era stato commessa all' arbitrio di S. Signoria Illustrissima mi pareva d' haver satisfatto assai, e che del modo del procedere ella non era ancora risoluto, non si potendo pigliare in una cosa tale alcuna risolutione se non sul fatto, e doppo che ella fosse stata presente, per la necessaria informatione di molte cose che corrono in questa materia, circa la quale toccai alcuni altri punti, che S. Signoria Reverendissima intendera più lungamente alla mia venuta. La conclusione fù che esso non mancarebbe d' informar sua Majestà del tutto, e per far ogni buon officio in questo, e qui mi disse dell animo che haveva sempre havuto d' aiutar queste cose della Religione, e del desiderio che teneva di servir sempre S. S. Illustrissima ringratiandola che l' adoperasse io. Circa l' aspetter la risposta di S. Majestà mi disse che non potendo esso far' all' hora questo officio per la partita del campo, io me ne venissi a Valentiana, dove havuta la resolutione da S. Majestà mi farebbe chiamarè: e che non mi pigliassi altro affanno di questo, e cossi me ne son venuto quà con questo disegno, di dar tempo tutto dimane a S. Signoria di far quest' officio, e posdimane non essendo chiamato ritornarmene a sollcitare l' espeditione. Io ho voluto dar questo conto di quello che fin' hora e passato acciò che non ritornando io, a quel tempo che fossi stato aspettato, non si stesse in qualche sospension d' animo. Sua Majestà stà gagliarda, e cavalca, e va personalmente vedendo l' essercito, e le cose come passano, il qual' essercito hoggi innanzi mezzo giorno e partito da Dolci quattro leghe lontano di quà, & e andato ad un altro viaggio chiamato lieu S. Amando lontano da quello una legha, e più vicino al campo Francese, il quale questa mattina e partito da Crevacore e venuto una legha più in quà. Bascio la mano a Mons^r. Illustrissimo e mi raccomando a V. S. da Valentiano. L' ultimo di Luglio 1554.

Ser' Nicolò Ormaneta.

Number 25.

The Letter that the Bishop of Arras *wrote to Cardinal* Pole *upon that Audience.*

Al Card. Polo.

Ill^mo. e Rev^mo. Sig^r. mio Oss^mo.

TRovomi con due Lettere di V. S. Illustrissima nella prima delle quali elle si rallegra della felice arrivata del Principe N. S. adesso Rè d' Inghilterra in quel Regno, e del consumato Matrimonio, la

la Lettera del medesimo per S. Majestà Cesarea ho data io medesimo, alla quale e piacciuto sommamente l' officio tanto amorevolmente di V. S. Illustrissima: dipoi arrivò assai presto il suo Auditore portator di questa, venuto da Roma, dal quale ho inteso quanto V. S. Reverendissima li haveva commesso di riferirmi sopra le Lettere Credentiali, che egli mi ha portato, di che tutto ho fatto relatione a S. Majestà Cesarea, la quale mi ha comandata risponderle quello che esso suo Auditore le potrà riferire, non giudicando S. Majestà conveniente, che V. S. Reverendissima pigli il camino d' Inghilterra fin tanto, che consultato il tutto con quelli Serenissimi Re, come fa con un corriero expresso partito hoggi, s' intenda da loro il stato presente delle cose di la e quello che conforme a questo quel Regno potria al presente comportare, accio che inteso il tutto S. Majestà possa meglio risolversi alla risposta che ella haverà a dare a V. S. Reverendissima su quella che di sua parte ha proposto il detto suo Auditore: non dubitando punto che come sua Maestà e V. S. Illustrissima hanno il zelo, che esse & ambidoi i Rè hanno alle cose delle Religione, che terranno per certo, che non lascieranno preterir punto di quello che convenghi al rimedio d' esse nel punto Regno: caminandovi contal moderatione, che in luogo di farvi del bene, non si troncasse per sempre il camino al remedio. E senza più a V. S. Illustrissima bacio humilmente la mano. Dall' exercito Cesarea appresso Buchain li iij d' Agosto 1554.

Di V. S. Reverendissima

Humil Ser^t il Vescovo d' Arras.

Number 26.

Cardinal Pole'*s Answer to the Bishop of* Arras *his Letter.*

A Mons^r. d' Arras.

Molto Ill^re. Rev^do. Sig^r.

DAlla Lettera di V. S. e dalla relatione del mio Auditore ho inteso quanto e piaciuto a sua Maestà farmi per hora sapere della mente sua, intorno il negocio della mia legatione in Inghilterra, riservandosi a darmene maggior risolutione, quando haverà inteso da quelli Serenissimi Prencipi il presente stato delle cose di la, perilche haveva spedito subbito un corriero; Io mio sono molto rallegrato, vedendo che in mezo di tanti, & si urgenti negocii della guerra S. Majestà habbia havuto tanta cura, e sollicitudine di questa causa di Dio, la quale quando sia ben conclusa, non dubito le porterà seco ogni buon successo in tutto il resto; stato a spettando quello che piacerà a S. Majestà

jestà di farmi sapere, poiche haverà havuto risposta d' Inghilterra, ne altramente pensai prima mi convenisse fare. Et in questo mezo pregarò la bontà d' Iddio, che cossi faccia ben intendere a tutto il corpo di quel Regno questo tempo, nel quale sua Divina Maestà lo visita con la gratia sua, come son certo intendino benissimo i capi loro, acciò che non si habbita a dir contra di essi, miluus cognovit tempus suum, populus autem hic non cognovit tempus visitationis suæ, ma havendo Iddio data gratia e quei Catholici Principi, a i quali tocca far' intendere & essequir' à gli altri, quello che in questa causa con l' honor di S. Majestà sarà di salute, & universal beneficio di tutti, spero che le Maestà loro non siano per mancare di far' in ciò quello, ch' ogn' uno aspetta dalla pietà loro, essende massimamente eccitati, & aiutati, & in ciò dall' authorità e prudentia di sua Majestà Cesarea: havendo inteso che a V. S. saria stato di satisfattione veder copia del Breve della facultà concessami da N. S^r. circa la dispositione di i beni ecclesiastici, io glie la mando con questa, pregandola sia contenta farmi intendere dalla ricevuta, e molto la ringratio dell' amorevolezza sua verso di me, e della cortesia usata al detto mio Auditore. Dal Monasterio di Diligàm. alli 5 d' Agosto 1554.

Reginaldo Card. Polo.

Number 27.

Cardinal Pole's *Letter to King* Philip.

Al Re d' Inghilterra.

Ser^me Rex.

CUM maximè antea lætatus essem, cognito ex fama ipsa, & litteris meorum optatissimo Majestis tuæ in Angliam adventu, & fælicissimis nuptiis, quæ cum Serenissima Regina nostra summo omnium gaudio & gratulatione celebratæ sunt: tamen hanc meam lætitiam magnoperè cumularunt Serenitatis tuæ litteræ a Domino Comite de Horne, cum is in castris apud Majestem Cæsaream remansisset, heri missæ ad me per nobilem Virum D. de S^to. Martino Majestis tuæ domesticum, eumdem cui ego has ad illam perferendas dedi. Etenim expressam in illis imaginem vidi ejus humanitatis ac benignitatis, qua Majestatem tuam præter reliquas eximias virtutes excellere omnes prædicant, quæ quidem virtus ab animi verè Regii altitudine proficiscitur. Itaq; ego Majestati tuæ ob hoc benevolentiæ signum mihi impertitum maximas ut debeo gratias, ac tametsi per alia Litteras uberius hoc ipso officio functus sum, tamen iterum illi de hoc fælici matrimonio divina providentia,

providentia, ut planè persuasum habeo, ad istius Regni quietem conciliato, gratulor. Idq; eo magis quod confido brevi futurum, ut ad coram sibi Pontificis Maximi nomine gratulandum, quemadmodum in mandatis habeo, Majestatis tuæ pietas aditum mihi patefaciat cum summo totius Ecclesiæ gaudio, & istius Regni salute. Reliquum est ut Majestati tuæ omnia obsequa, quæ illi vel pro Legationis munere publice præstare possum, vel jam ut meo Principi ac Domino privatim debeo, deferam, atque pollicear. Quæ quidem in rebus omnibus, quæ ad ejus amplitudinem, laudem, honorèmque pertinebunt Studiosissimè semper præstabo. Deus Opt. Max. Majestatem tuam una cum Serenissima Reverendissima Regina custodiat, ac diutissimè fælicem conservat. Monrio. Diligà prope Bruxellas vii Idus Augusti 1554.

Reginaldo Card. Polus.

Number 28.

A Letter of Cardinal Pole*'s to the Pope, giving an Account of a Conference that he had with* Charles *the Vth, concerning the Church Lands.*

Beatissime Pater.

E Molto tempo che non havendo cosa d' importanza, non ho scritto a V. Santita per non molestarle: facendole col mezo del mio Agente intendere tutto quello che occurreva; e benche hora jo non habbia da dirle quanto desiderarei, nondimeno mi e parso conveniente scriverle, e darle conto del raggiamento prima havuta con Monsieur d' Arrass & poi di quel che ho negotiato con sua Majestà. Mons. d' Arras alli ex che fu il giorno istesso che sua Majestà torno, essendomi venuto a visitare, trovandosi all hora meco Monsieur il Nuncio, mi disse, che sua Majestà havea veduta la Lettera che io mandai ultimamente per l' auditor mio, e che ella era benissimo disposta verso questo negotio della Religione in Inghilterra come si conveniva, e si poteva credere per la sua. Pietat, & anche per l' interesse, che ne sequeria de quel Regno & de questi Paiesi per la congiuntione che e tra loro, Si che quanto a questa parte di disponer sua Majestà non accader far altro. Ma che era ben necessario, che io venissi a particolari, & atrattar de gli impedimenti, e della via di rimoverli: Sopra che sua Maesta mi udiva molto volentieri, Jo risposi che veramente non era da dubitare del buono e pronto animo di sua Maesta,

e che io ni era ſtato ſempre perſuaſſiſſimo. Na che quanto pertineva all officio mio per eſſer io ſtato mandato da V. Santita per far intender L'ottima ſua mente verſo la ſalute di quello Regno, e la prontezza di porgere tutti quei remedii che dall' autorita ſua poteſſer venire; a me non toccava ſar altro, che procurar d'haver l'adito: E che ad eſſe Principi, quali ſono ſul fatto, & hanno il governo in mano, le apparteneva, ſar intendere gli impedimenti, che fuſſero in contrario: E tornando pur eſſo Monſieur d'Arras che biſognava che io deſcendeſſi alli particulari, io replicai che in queſta cauſa non conveniva in modo alcuno che ſi procedeſſe come ſi era fatto inquella della pace; nella quale ciaſcuna delle parti ſtava ſopra di ſe non volendoſi ſcoprire, ma ſolo cercando di ſcoprirne, l'altra, per riſpetto de gli intereſſe particulari; percio che queſta e una cauſa commune e nella quale V. Santita e ſua Maeſta Ceſarea, & quei Principi hanno il medeſimo fine, & noi ancora come miniſtri. Confermo cio eſſer vero quanto al tratar della pace, con dire in effetto in tratar del negocio della pace io mi armo tutto. Ma pur tuttavia tornava a dire, che io doveſſi penſare e raggionar in particolare, con ſua Maeſta di queſt impedimenti. E Monſieur il Nuncio al hora voltatoſi a me deſſe, che in effetto era biſogno venire a queſti particolari: E coſi al fine reſtammo che ogniuno ci penſaſſe ſopra.

Alli xi poi nell andar da S. Majeſta, Monſieur d'Arras torna a replicarmi il medeſimo; nell audientia di S. Maeſta, nella quale ſi trovo preſente Monſieur il Nuncio, e Monſieur d'Arras, poiche mi fui ralegrato con ſua Maeſta, che havendo liberato queſti ſuoi paeſi della Moleſtie della Guerre, doppo tanti travagli, e d' animo e di corpo fuſſe tornato piu gagliarda e meglio diſpoſita che quando ſi parti; in che ſi videva che il Signior Iddio haveva preſervata & preſervava, a maggior coſe in honor di S. Divina Maeſta a beneficio commune. Sua Maeſta confermo ſenterſi aſſai bene, e diſſe dele indiſpoſitione che haveva havuta in Arras e altre coſe in ſimil propoſito: Entrai poi a dire della Lettera, che io haveva ſcritta a S. Maeſta della reſpoſta che Monſieur d' Arras mi haveva fatta, che era ſtata di rimeterſi al breve. Retorno di ſua Maeſta qui, e diſſi che ſe haveſſi a tratter queſto negocio con altro Principe, della Pieta del quale non fuſſi tanto perſuaſo, quanto io ſono certo di quella di ſua Maeſta, dimoſtrata da lei con tanti ſegni, e nella vita ſua privata, e nell attioni publiche, cercarei de eſſortarlo per tante vie quante ſi potria ad abbracciar, e favorir queſta coſi ſanta cauſa. Ma che non eſſendo biſogno fare queſto con S. Maeſta, e tanto piu per eſſer in queſta cauſa con honore d'Iddio, congionto anco il beneficio di S. Maeſta & del Sereniſſimo Re ſuo figlivolo, ſolo aſpettava da lei ogni ajuto per remover gli impedimenti, che fuſſero in queſto negocio: i quali per quanto io poteva conſiderere ſono di duo ſorti: Uno pertinente alla Doctrina Catollica, nella quale non poteva eſſer in alcun modo indulgente, per eſſer coſa pertinente alla fide ne poteva ſanar altrimente queſto male, che con introdure de nuovo la buona Doctrina. L' altro impedimento eſſendo de i beni, gli uſurpatori di quale, ſapendo la ſeverita delle Leggi Eccleſiaſtiche, temevano per queſta cauſa di ritornar al Obedienza della Chieſa, deſſe diſſi che in queſta parte V. Santita

tita poteva, & era disposta ad usar la sua benignita & indulgenza : E primo quanto alle Censure e pene incorse, & alle Restitutione de frutti percetti, che era di grand' importanza, V. Santita haveva animo nell una, nell altra di questo due cose d'usar ogni indulgenza, rimittendo liberamento il tutto : Ne pensava d'applicar parte alcuna de detti beni a se, ne alla Sede Apostolica, come multi temevano : Benche di Raggione lo potesse fare, per le ingiurie & damni recevuti ; ma che voleva convertir il tutto in sevitio d'Iddio, & a Beneficio del Regno, seuza haver pur una minima consideratione del suo privato interesse : Et confidandosi nella Pieta di quei Principi, voleva far loro quest' Honore di far per mezo del suo Legato, quelle gratie che paressero convenienti secondo la proposta & intercessione delle loro Maesta, a quelle Persone che esse giudicassero degne d'essere gratificate, & atte ad ajutar la Causa della Religione. Sua Maesta respondendo ringratio prima molto V. Santita mostrando di conoscere la sua bona mente, & con dire, che ella in vero haveva fatto assai : Poi disse che per gli impedimenti & occupationi della guerra, non haveva potuto attendere a questo negocio, come faria stato ij suo desiderio : Ma che hora gli attenderia ; & che haveva gia scritto e mandato in Inghilterra, per intender meglio in questa parte il stato delle cosa, & aspettava in breve risposta : Et che bisognava ben considerare fin dove si potesse andare nel rimover questo impedimento d' beni ; il quali esso per lesperienza che haveva havuto in Germania, conosceva esser il principale. Perchioche quanto alla Doctrina, disse, che poco se ne curavano questo tali, non credendo ne all' una ne all' altra via : Disse anche che essendo stati questi beni dedicati a Dio, non era da concedere cosi ogni cosa, a quelli che li tenevano : E che se bene a lei io dicesse fin dove s'estendesse la mia faculta, non pero si haveva da far intendere il tutto ad altri : E che sara bisogni veder il breve della faculta, per ampliarle dove fusse necessario : Alche io risposi haverlio gia fatto vedere a Monsieur d' Arras, il quale non disse altra : E dubitando io che questa non fusse via di maggior dilatione dissi a S. Maesta, che devendosi come io intendeva e come S. Maesta doveva saper meglio, fare in breve il Parlamento, era d'avertire grandimente, che non si facesse senza Conclusione nella causa dell obedienza della Chiesa ; che quando altrimente si facesse, sarebbe d' un grandissimo scandalo a tutto il Mondo, e danno alla detta causa : E che se bene la Regina a fare un cosi grande atto, haveva giudicato haver bisogno della congiuntione del Re suo Marito, come che non esse bonum Mulierem esse solam, se hora che Iddio ha prosperito e condotto al fine questa santa congiuntione, si differisse piu l'essecutione di questo effetto, che dove essar il Principio & il Fundamento di tutte le loro Regie attioni, non restarebbe via di satisfar a Dio, ne a gli Huomini : E dicendo S. Maesta, che bisognava anco haver grand respetto alla mala Dispositione de gli interessati, e quanto universalmente sia abborito questo nome d'obedienza della Chiesa, e questo cappel rosso, e l'habito ancora de i Religiosi, Voltatosi all hora a Monsieur Nuncio e in tel proposito parlando de frati condotti di Spagnia dal Re suo figlivolo, che fu conseggliato far loro mutar l'habito, se bene cio non si feci, ne si conve-

tiva fare : con dire anco di quanto importanza fusse il tumulto del Popolo, & in tal proposito toccando anche de i mali officij, che non cessavano di fare per ogni via i neinici esterni. Io risposi che volendo aspettare che tutti dà se si disponessero, e che cessasse ogni impedimento, saria un non venir mai a fine, perchioche, gli interessali massimamente, altro non vorriano se non che si continuasse nel presente stato, con tenere & godere esse, tutto quello che hanno. In fine fu concluso che si aspettasse la riposta d'Inghilterra, col ritorno del Secretario Eras, che saria fra pochi di, e che in questo mezzo io pensassi, e conferissi di quelle cose con Monsieur d'Arras. V. Beatitudine puo con la sua prudenza vedere in che stato si trovi questa causa; e come sara necessario, che qui si trattino le difficulta sopra questa beni; e per non tediarla con maggior lunghezza, quel di piu che mi occurreria dirle V. Santita si degnira intendere dall Agente mio, alla quale con la debità reverenza bacio i santissimi piedi pregnando il Sig. Iddio, che la conservi longamente a Servitio della sua Chiesa. Di Bruxelles alli 13 d'October 1554.

Reginaldus Card. Polus.

Number 29.

A Part of Mason's *Letter to Queen* Mary, *concerning Cardinal* Pole.

CArdinal *Poole* having been sent to these Quarters for Two Purposes, th'one for the Meanning of a Cyvill Peas between the *French* King and the Emperor; and the other for the helping to conclude a Spirituall Peas, as he termeth yt, in the Realme of *England*; perceyving neither of them both to come to such a pass as his good Mynde doth desyre, dothe begynne, as me semeth, to be owte of Comfort : And being in manner clerely in dispayre of th'one, yf he receyve not shortlye some Likeliadde of the other, being wery of so much Tyme spent wythout Frute, begynneth in that case to talk of his Return to *Italy*. If he return without the seing of his Countrey, lyke as he shall retourne a sorrowful Man, so shall the Realme have lost the Fruition of such a one, as for his Wysdome, joyned with Learning, Vertue and Godlynes, all the World seeketh and adoureth. In whome it is to bee thought, that God hath chosen a speciall Place of Habitation. Such is his Conversation, adorned with infinite Godly Qualities above the ordinary Sorte of Men. And who soever within the Realme lyketh him worst, I wold he might have with him the Talke of one Half Howre : It were a right stony Harte, that in a small Tyme he could not soften. If

it

it be his Fortune to depart, without shewing the Experience hereof in the Realme, his going away shall be, in myne Opinion, like the Storye of the Gospell, of such as dwelt *in Regione Geresenorum*, who uppon a fond Feare, desyred Christe, offring himself unto them, *ut discedere a Finibus illorum.*

Thus, most humbly desyring your Grace to pardone my bolde and presumptiouse medling in Matters passing my Capacitye. I commit the same to the Tuicion of Almighty Godde.

From *Bruxells*, the vth of *October* 1554.

Your Grace's

Most Humble, Faithful,

and Obedient Subject,

John Masone.

To the Queen's most Excellent Majestie.

Number 30.

A Letter of Cardinal Pole's *to* Philip *the* IId, *complaining of the Delays that had been made, and desiring a speedy Admittance into* England.

Serenissime Rex,

JAM Annus est, cum istius Regiæ domus fores pulsare cœpi, nedum quisquam eas mihi apperuit. Tu vero, Rex, si quæras, ut solent qui suas fores pulsare audiunt, quisnam pulset? Atque ego hoc tantum respondeam, me esse qui, ne meo assensu Regia ista domus ei clauderetur, quæ tecum simul eam nunc tenet, passus sum me Domo & Patria expelli, & exilium viginti annorum hac de causa pertuli. An si hoc dicam, non vel uno hoc nomine dignus videar, cui & in Patriam reditus, & ad vos aditus detur? At ego, nec meo nomine, nec privatam Personam gerens pulso, aut quidquam postulo, sed ejus nomine ejusque Personam referens, qui Summi Regis & Pastoris Hominum in Terris vicem gerit. Hic est Petri Successor; atque adeo ut non minus verè dicam, ipse Petrus, cujus Authoritas & Potestas, cum antea

antea in isto Regno maximè vigeret ac floreret, postquam non passa est jus Regiæ domus ei adimi, quæ nunc eam possidet, ex eo per summam injuriam est ejecta. Is Regias per me fores jampridem pulsat, & tamen quæ reliquis omnibus patent ei uni nondum aperiuntur. Quid ita ejus ne pulsantis sonum an vocantis vocem non audierunt, qui intus sunt? Audierunt sane, & quidem non minore cum admiratione Divinæ Potentiæ & Benignitatis erga Ecclesiam, quam olim Maria illa affecta fuerit, cum ut est in Actis Apostolorum, Rhode ancilla ei nunciasset Petrum quem Rex in vincula conjecerat, ut mox necaret, & pro quo Ecclesia assidue precabatur è carcere liberatum ante ostium pulsantem stare. Ut enim hoc ei cæterisque qui cum illa erant magnam attulit admirationem, ita nunc qui norunt eos qui Petri Authoritatem Potestatemq; in isto Regno retinendam esse contendebant, in vincula Herodiano Imperio conjectos, & crudelissime interfectos fuisse, quin etiam Successorum Petri nomina è libris omnibus sublata in quibus precationes Ecclesiæ pro eorum incolumitate ac salute continebantur, qui inquam hæc norunt, facta ad omnem Memoriam Petri Autoritatis à Christo traditæ penitus ex Animis Hominum delendam, qui fieri potest ut non maximè admirentur hoc Divinæ Benignitatis & Potentiæ pignus ac Testimonium: Petrum nunc quasi iterum è carcere Herodis liberatum, ad Regiæ domus fores unde hæc omnia iniquissima in eum edicta emanarunt, pulsantem stare, & cum hoc maximè mirandum est, tum illud non minus mirum, à Maria Regina domum hanc teneri: Sed cur illa tamdiu foras aperire distulit. De ancilla quidem illud Mariæ Scriptum est, eam Petri Voce audita præ nimio gaudio suæ quasi oblitam, de aperiendo non cogitasse: Rem prius, ut Mariæ aliisq; qui cum ea erant nunciaret, accurrisse, qui cum primo an ita esset dubitassent, mox cum Petrus pulsare pergeret aperierunt, neq; illum domo recipere sunt veriti, etsi maximam timendi causam habebant, Herode ipso vivo & regnante. Hic vero quid dicam de Maria Regina, gaudeo ne eam an timore esse prohibitam quominus aperuerit; presertim cum ipsa Petri Vocem audierit, cum certo sciat eum ad domus suæ januam jamdiu pulsantem stare: Cum admirabilem Dei in hac re potentiam agnoscat, qui non per Angelum, ut tunc Petrum è carcere Herodis, sed sua manu eduxit, dejecta porta ferrea quæ viam ad Regiam ejus domum intercludebat: Scio equidem illam gaudere, scio etiam vero timere; neq; enim nisi timeret tam diu distulisset. Verum si Petri liberatione gaudet, si rei miraculum agnoscit, quid impedimento fuit quo minus ei ad januam lætabunda occurrerit, eumque meritas Deo gratias agens, introduxerit, Herode presertim mortuo, omniq; ejus imperio ad eam delato? An fortassis Divina Providentia quæ te dilectum Petri Filium & ei Virum destinarat, illam timore aliquo tantisper affici permisit, dum venisses, ut utriusq; ad rem tam præclaram & salutarem agendam, opera atque officium conjungeretur: Equidem sic antea hunc Mariæ Reginæ conjugis tuæ timorem, quod etiam ad eam Scripsi sum interpretatus: Ac propterea ad te nunc, Virum ejus, Principem Religoisissimum, scribo, & abs te ipsius Petri Christi Vicarii nomine postulo, ut illi omnes timoris causas prorsus excutias: Habes vero expeditissimam excutiendi rationem, si consideres eique proponas, quam indignum sit si dum te illa Corporis sui sponsum accerserit, cum non deessent quæ

timenda viderentur, tamen omnem timorem sola vicerit, nunc te tanto Principi illi conjuncto, timore prohiberi quominus ad.iem ad se aperiat sponsæ animæ suæ, mecum una & cum Petro tamdiu ad fores expectanti; qui presertim tot, & tam miris modis custodem ejus ... defensoremq; esse declaravit. Noli enim, Rex, putare, me aut solum ad vestram Regiam domum, aut uno tantum Petro comitatum venisse; cujus rei hoc quidem tibi certum Argumentum esse potest, quod tamdiu persevero pulsans: Nam sive ego solus venissem, solus jampridem abiissem, querens & expostulans quæ aliis omnibus pateant, mihi uni occlusas esse fores; sive una mecum solus Petrus, jampridem is quoque discessisset, meque secum abduxisset, pulvere pedum excusso, quod ei preceptum fuit a Domino ut faceret quotiescunque ejus nomine aliquo accedens non admitteretur. Cum vero nihil ego, quod ad me quidem attinet conquerens, perseverem, cum Petrus pulsare non desistat, utrumque scito ab ipso Christo retineri, ut sibi sponso animæ utriusque vestrum aditus ad vos patefiat. Neque enim unquam vere bor dicere, Christum in hac Legatione, qua pro ejus Vicario fungor mecum adesse: Quamdiu quidem mihi conscius ero me nihil meum, me non vestra, sed vos ipsos toto animo omnique studio quærere. Tu vero, Princeps Catholicæ, cui nunc Divina Providentia & Benignitate additum est alterum hoc præclarum Fidei Defensoris cognomen, quo Reges Angliæ Apostolica Petri Autoritate sunt aucti atque ornati, tecum nunc considera quam id tuæ Pietati conveniat, cum omnibus omnium Principum ad te Legatis aditus patuerit, ut tibi de hoc ipso cognomine adepto gratularentur, solum Successoris Petri qui hoc dedit, Legatum, qui propterea missus est ut te in solio Regni Divina summi omnium Regis quam affert pace & gratia, confirmet, non admitti? An si quidquam hic ad timorem proponitur, quominus eum admittis non multo magis Christi hac in re metuanda esset offensio, quod ejus Legatus qui omnium primus audiri debuit, tamdiu fores expectet, cum cæteri Homines qui multo post venerunt, nulla interposita mora, introducti auditiq; sint & honorifice dimissi. At hic conqueri incipio; conqueror quidem, sed idcirco conqueror, ne justam tuæ Majestati causam de me conquerendi præbeam, quam sane præberem, si cum periculi, quod ex hac cunctatione admittendi Legati à Christi Vicario Missi, nobis vestroq; Regno impendet, Reginam sæpe admonuerim, nihil de ea re ad Majestatem tuam Scriberem; quod officium cum tibi à me pro eo quo fungor munere maximè debeatur, id me satis persoluturum esse arbitror, si his Literis ostendero quantum periculi ei immineat, cui illud vere dici potest, distulisti Christum tuum. Is autem Christum differt, qui Legatum missum, ab ejus Vicario, ad requirendam Obedientiam Ecclesiæ, ipsi Christo debitam, ex quo nostra omnium pendet salus, non statim admittit. Differs vero, tu Princeps, si cum accercitus fueris, ut pro munere Regio viam ad hanc Divinam Obedientiam in tuo isto Regno restituendam munias, ipse alia agas.

Number

Number 31.

The Lord Paget's *and the Lord* Hastings's *Letter concerning Cardinal* Pole.

An Original.

IT maie please your most Excellent Majesty to be advertised, that arriving here upon *Sunday* last in the Forenoone, we had Audience of the Emperor's Majestie in the Afternoone, notwithstanding that the same had that Daie received the Blessed Sacrament, wherby we noted a great Care in him, for the Expedicion of us hence again: After dew Commendation made unto him by us, on your Majesties Behalfe, and the Causes of our comyng declared unto him with suche Circumstances, as by the Tenure of our Instructions, we have in Charge to open unto him, he rejoyced verey much to here the same; and first giving unto you both most harty Thanks for your Commendations, and then inquiering very diligently of your good Prosperities and Wellfares, and specially (Madame) of the State of your Majesties Persone, he roused himself with a merry Chere, and said, that among many great Benefits, for the which he thought himself most bounden unto God, this was one of the greatest, that it had pleased him to hold his Blessed Hand over that Realme; and so taking occasion to reherse in what good Estate, and great Reputation, he knew the Realme of *England* had bene in the Beginning; and afterward into what Calamities the same fell into, much (he said) to his Regret; he gave God Thanks, not only for the great Miracles, which he had shewed upon your Majestie to make you his apt Minister for the restoring of that Kingdome to the Auncient Dignite, Welth, and Renowne, but also for that it hath pleased him to give you so sone, so certaine a Hope of Succession; wherof like as he hathe Cause for his Parte, (he said) to Rejoyce and take great Comforte, so hath all *England* greater Cause to think themselfs most bounden unto God, to please him, and to serve him for the same: These Tydings, he said, of the State of your Majesties Persone (Madame) with the Reaport that we had made unto him of the great Conformite, and hole Consent of the Noble Men, and others in their Proceedings before your Majesties, touching the receiving of my Lord Cardinal into *England*, and their earnest Submissions to the Obedience, and Union of the Catholique Church, were so pleasant unto him, as if he had been half Deade, yet they shuld have been ynoughe to have revived him again. These and many other suche like Wordes he used to declare the Joy, and Contentment of his Minde, for the good Succeisse of this Matter. In the maynin whereof there, if any Thing (said he) shuld fortune, wherin his Advise might be thought requisite, your Majesties shuld not onley find the same ready, but also in any other Thing that laie in him, which might serve to your Honors, and the Benefite of the Realme: To this when we for our Parts had joined such Talk, as to this Purpose semed to our Poor Witts Convenient, declaring your Godly Dispositiones in this Mater, how much you reposed your selfs upon his great Wisdome and Experience; what Confidence you had

in his Fatherly Love, and Friendly Affections towards your Majesties, and the Benefite of your Realms: We toke our leaves of his Majestie, and repaired furthwith unto my Lord Cardinal, whose Gladnes of our comyng we shall not need with many Words to declare unto your Majestie; nor yet what Speech he used to set furth, how much he was bounden unto your Majesties for your Gracious Dispositions towards him, and how much both you and he were bounden to Almighty God, for the bending of your Harts this waies, for your Majesties shall and maie perceive the same more plainly by himself at his comyng unto your Presence. This under your Majesties Corrections we maie be bold to write unto you, that we believe verely that whensoever he shall be in *England*, the same shall fare the better for him, for he is the Man of God, full of all Godlines and Vertue, ready to humble himself to all Facions that may do good; and therefore he is contented, not only to come into *England* in such sort as your Majesties have appointed, not as a Legate, but as a Cardinal, and Ambassador to your Majesties, but in any other sort whatsoever it be, that your Majesties will apoint; he assuring your Majesties, that touching the Matter of Possessions, all Things shall come to passe, on the Pope's Behalfe, in such sort as every Man there shall have Cause to be contented. Yesterday Night he toke his Leave of the Emperor, and so did we also. This Daie he repaireth onwards his Journey, to an Abbaye Two Miles hence, whither he hath used much to resorte, the Tyme of his abode here. To Morrow at Night to *Dendermount*; *Thursday* to *Gawnte*; *Friday* to *Bruges*; *Saturday* to *Newport*; *Sunday* to *Dunkirke*; *Monday* to *Calice*; (for his weake Body can make no great Journies) and his Estate also is to be considered. In this Journey we shall not faile to do him all the Honour and Service we can, aswell for that we take it to be our special Charge, as for that also his great Vertues have wonne us, and bind us to the same: We have written now, besides our speaking at our passing by, to the Lord Depute of *Calice*, for all Things to be in a redines for his Transportation; so as we trust we shall not have occasion to tarry long there. And thus we beseeche Almighty God to preserve both your Majesties long, and long to live together to your own good Contentments, and to the great Comfort, and Benefit of us your poor Subjects. From *Bruxells* the 13th of *November* in the Morning, 1554.

Your Majesties,

Most Humble, Faithful,

And Obedient Servants

William Paget.
Edw. Hastings.

To the King and Queen's Majesties.

Number 32.

An Original Letter of Mason's, of a Preacher that pressed the Restitution of Church-Lands.

Paper-Office.

AFter most hartie Commendations, I have sent to my Lords at this present the Emperor's Commissaries Answere made at the Diett, to a Letter lately sent from the *French* King to the said Diett, of the Circulls of *Germanye* assembled at *Francfort*. And forasmuche as yt chanced me at the Closing up of my Lettre, to have the Sight of an other Answer made to the saied Lettre, by some bearing good Will to the Emperor's Affaires, I thought good to coppye it, and to send it unto you; albeit by the reading therof, yt may appere yt was made by some Man, rather to assaye his Witte, and to declare his Affection, then of intent to answere perticulerly the Matier. It was this Morning told me, by one of the Emperor's Counsell, who misliked muche the Matier, that a Preacher of ours, whose Name he rehersed, betithe the Pulpet jolyly in *England*, for the Restitution of Abbaye Lands. If it be so meant by the Prince, and be thought convenient so to be, then doth he his Duetie; but yf contrarely, yt be neither meant nor thought convenient, it is a strange Thing in a well ordered Commonwelth, that a Subject shall be so hardie to crye unto the People openly such Learning, as wherby your Winter Works maye in the Somer be attempted with some Storme. And wer the Thing fitt to be talked of, yet were the Princes and the Counsell, who might remedy it, meter to be spoken with therin, then the Multitude, who therby may receyve an yll Impression, and an Occasion of lewd Thinking, and lewde Talking, and lewd Doing also, if it may lye in their Powers; and that is all, that of Sowing thies Maters amongs them can ensue. These unbridled Preachings were so much to be misliked in the yll governed Tyme, as Good Men trusted, in this Good Governance, it should have been amended. And so maye it be, when it shall please my Lords of the Counsell as diligently to consyder it, as it is more then necessarie to be loked unto. The Partye, me thinketh, might well be put to Silence, if he were asked, How, being a Monk, and having professed and vowed solemply wilfull Poverty, he can with Conscience keep a Deanery, and Three or Four Benefices? I heare, by the Report of other Ambassadors here, of the Return of the Realme to the Unitie of Christen Church, wherof all good Men have much cause to rejoyse. I would have been glad to have been able, at the least, to have confyrmed the News by some certaine Knowledge: But being the Ordenarye of Ambassadors of *England*, to knowe least of all others of the Matiers of the Realm, I must content my self; trusting that, as I am enformed, the Ambassador ther hath lost his Name: For that it is not thought necessarie the Father to have an Ambassador

dor to the Sonne, so shall with Tyme, this Office on this Side being no more needfull then it is, be discharged also. Or if myne Abode shall be longer, then wold I att Lesure be a Suter to you, to be a Mean for besure to come over for Three Weeks, or a Month, to see the King's Highnes, and to doe his Majesty my Duty, and so to return. I mean no Haste, but as Matter and Occasion may serve hereafter. Thus I committ you to the Keeping of Almighty God. At *Brussels*, the 12th Day of *December* 1554.

Your most assuredly

John Masone.

12th of *December* 1554.

To the Right Honourable Sir Wm. Peter, *Kt. King and Queen's Principal Secretarye.*

Number 33.

Cardinal Pole's *Commission to the Bishops, to Reconcile all in their Dioceses to the Church of* Rome.

Ex Reg. Norwic. *F.* 58. b.

Reginaldus, Miseratione divina, Sanctæ Mariæ in Cosmedim Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Cardinalis Polus, Nuncupatus Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ, & Sedis Apostolicæ, ad Serenissimos Philippum & Mariam, Angliæ Reges, & universum Angliæ Regnum, de Latere Legatus. Venerabili, ac Nobis in Christo Dilecto, Episcopo Norwicensi, seu ejus in Spiritualibus [Vicario] Generali, Salutem in Domino sempiternam. Cum Sanctissimus in Christo Pater Dominus noster, Dominus Julius, divina Providentia Papa Tertius, inter alias Facultates, pro hujus Regni, omniumque Personarum in eo existentium, Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Reconciliationem faciendam necessarias, Nobis in nostra hac Legatione concessas, hanc specialiter indulgerit, ut quoscunque in Hæresium & Schismatis errores lapsos, ab iis, & à quibuscunque censuris & pœnis propterea incursis, absolvere, & cum eis super irregularitate præmissorum occasione contracta dispensare, & alia multa ad hæc necessaria, seu quomodolibet opportuna facere. Et hoc idem munus Catholicis locorum Ordinariis, & aliis

aliis Personis Deum timentibus, fide insignibus, & Literarum scientia præditis, demandare possumus; prout in ejus Literis, tam sub plumbo, quam in forma brevis expeditis plenius continetur. Cumque Dei Benignitate, & Serenissimorum Regum Pietate, Regnum hoc universaliter, & omnes Domini, Spirituales & Temporales, aliæque Personæ communitatum, in eo quod proximè celebratum est, Parliamento congregato singulariter primo: Et deinde universum Corpus Cleri Provinciæ Cantuariens', & omnes ferè Personæ singulæ dictum Corpus repræsentantes, coram nobis existen', aliæque pleræque fuerint Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, per Nos ipsos reconciliatæ. Speramusque fore, ut omnes aliæ quæ reconciliatæ adhuc non sunt, reconciliari debeant; difficileque, & potius impossibile sit, ut tam numerosa Multitudo per Nos ipsos reconcilietur. Ideo vices nostras, in hoc, Locorum Ordinariis, & aliis Personis ut supra qualificatis, delegandas duximus: Circumspectioni igitur vestræ, de cujus Probitate, & Charitatis zelo, plenam in Domino Fiduciam obtinemus, Auctoritate Apostolica, Nobis, per Literas ejusdem Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papæ concessa, & per nos vobis nunc impensa, omnes & singulas utriusque Sexus, tam Laicas quam Ecclesiasticas, Seculares, & quorumve Ordinum Regulares vestræ Civitatis & Dioces' Personas, in quibusvis etiam Sacris Ordinibus constitutas, cujuscunque Status & Qualitatis existant, Etiam si Capitulum, Collegium, Universitas, seu Communitas fuerit, quarumvis Hæresum aut novarum Sectarum Professores, aut in eis culpabiles vel suspectas, ac credentes, receptatores, aut fautores eorum, suos errores agnoscentes, ac de illis dolentes; & ad orthodoxam Fidem recepi humiliter postulan' cognita in ipsis, vera, & non ficta, aut simulata *Potentia, ab omnibus & singulis Hæresum, Schismatis, & ab orthodoxa Fide, Apostasiarum & Blasphemiarum, & aliorum quorumcunque similium errorum; etiam sub generali Sermone non venientium peccatis, criminibus, excessibus & delictis; de quibus tamen jam inquisiti, vel accusati, seu condemnati non fuerint, & quibusvis Excommunicationis, Suspensionis, & Interdictorum, & aliis Ecclesiasticis & Temporalibus, Censuris & Pœnis, in eas præmissorum & infrascriptorum occasione, à Jure vel ab Homine latis vel promulgatis; etiam si in eis pluribus Annis insorduerint, & earum Absolutio, dictæ Sedi etiam per Literas in Cœna Domini legi consuetas, reservata existat in utroque Conscientiæ, scilicet & contentioso foro, eos vero qui jam inquisiti, vel accusati, aut condemnati fuerint, ut præfertur, ad cor revertentes in foro Conscientiæ, tantum plenariè absolventur & liberentur. Necnon cum eis super irregularitate, per eos præmissorum occasione contracta, etiam quia sic Ligati, Missas & alia Divina Officia, etiam contra Ritus & Ceremonias hactenus probatas & usitatas celebraverint, aut illis alias se immiscuerint, contracta quoque irregularitate, & aliis præmissis non obstantibus, in suis Ordinibus, etiam ab Hæreticis & Schismaticis Episcopis, etiam minus ritè, dummodo in eorum collatione, Ecclesiæ Forma & Intentio sit servata, per eos susceptis, & in eorum susceptione; etiamsi Juramentum contra Papatum Romanum præstiterint; etiam in Altaris Ministerio ministrare, ac quæcunque, quotcunque, & qualiacunque; etiam Curata invicem tamen se Compatientia, Beneficia Secularia vel Regularia, Dignitatibus in Collegiatis, Ecclesiis Principalibus, & in Cathe-

* L. *Pœnitentia.*

 dralibus,

dralibus, etiam Metropolitanis post Pontificalem, majoribus exceptis; etiam à Schismaticis Episcopis, seu aliis Collatoribus; etiam Laicalis Pietatis prætextu habita, Auctoritate Apostolica retinere, dummodo alteri Jus quæsitum non sit, & non promotos ad omnes etiam Sacros, & Presbiteratus Ordines, à suis Ordinariis, si digni & idonei reperti fuerint, ritè & legitimè promoveri, ac Beneficia Ecclesiastica etiam curata, si eis alias canonicè conferantur, recipere & retinere valeant, qualitate temporis, Ministrorum defectu, & Ecclesiæ Necessitatibus, Utilitatibusque ita poscen' dispensand' & indulgend' ac omnem inhabilitatis & infamiæ maculam, sive notam, ex præmiss' quomodolibet insurgen' penitus & omnino abolend'. Necnon in pristinum, & eum in quo ante præmissa quomodolibet erant, Statum ita ut omnibus & singulis Gratiis, Privilegiis, Favoribus & Indultis, quibus cæteri Christi Fideles gaudent, & gaudere quomodolibet possunt, uti & gaudere valeant, in omnibus, & per omnia; perinde ac si à Fide Catholica in aliquo nunquam defecissent, restituend' & reponend' & redintegrand', & eis, dummodo Corde contriti, sua errata & excessus, Circumspectioni vestræ, alicui alteri per eos eligend', Catholico Confessori sacramentaliter confiteantur; & Peniten' salutare eis præmiss' injungend' omnino adimpleatur: omnem publicam Confessionem, Abjurationem, Renunciationem & Pœnitentiam, jure debit' arbitrio vestro moderan', vel in tot' remitten'. Necnon quoscunque Regulares & Religiosos, extra eorum regularia loca, absque Sedis Apostolicæ Licentia, errantes ab Apostasiæ reatu & Excommunicationis, aliisque Censuris & Pœnis Ecclesiasticis, per eos propterea, etiam juxta suorum Ordinum instituta incurs', injuncta eis pro modo culpæ, Pœnitentia salutari pariter absolvend': Et super quacunq; irregularitate propterea, per eos contracta, ac eum eis ut alicui Curato Benefic' de illud obtinen' consensu, etiam in habitu Clerici Secularis, habitur' suum regularem sub honesta toga Presbiteri Secularis deferen', deservire, & extra eadem loca regularia remanere ad beneplacitum nostrum, liberè & licitè possunt, eadem Auctoritate Apostolica, ob defectum Ministrorum, & alias prædictas causas, dispensandi. Ac quoscunque quum in Sacris Ordinibus constituti, Matrimonia etiam cum Viduis & corruptis Mulieribus de fact' contraxerint, postquam Mulieres sic copulat' rejecerint, illisque abjuraverint, ab hujusmodi excessibus, & Excommunicationis Sententia imposit', eis pro modo culpæ, Pœnitentia salutari, in forma Ecclesiæ consueta absolvend': Ac cum eis, postquam Pœnitentiam peregerint, & continenter ac laudabiliter vivere cogniti fuerint, super Bigamia propterea per eos contract'; Ita ut ea non obstan', in quibusvis susceptis & suscipiendis Ordinibus; etiam in Altaris Ministerio ministrare, ac alicui Beneficio Ecclesiastico, de illud obtinentis consensu, deservire; & extra tamen Diocesin, in qua fuit copulatus eisdem de caus' dispensand'. Necnon Parochialium Ecclesiarum tuæ Dioces' Rectores sive Curatos, de quorum Fide, Probitate, Circumspection' ac Charitatis zelo, plena Fiducia conspici possit, ad quarumcunque utriusque Sexus suæ Parochiæ Personarum Laicarum, tantum Absolutionem, & Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Reconciliationem, ut præfertur, Auctoritate Apostolica, faciendam. Et si qui ex Curatis prædictis ad id idonei non fuerint, in eorum defectum alias ido-

F. 60. a.

neas

reas & sufficientes Personas, qui eorum Vices suppleant nominand' & deputand' quas sic per eas nominat' & deputat' in locum nostrum in Ræmissionibus, absolutionibus, & reconsiliationibus substituimus eiisque vices nostras subdelegamus: plenam & liberam Auctoritate Apostolica nobis ut præmittitur concessa, tenore presentium concedimus Facultatem: vosque in præmissis omnibusque in nostrum locum substituimus præmissis ac regula de insordesen' & ordinationibus Apostolicis, & omnibus illis, quæ in Literis Prædictis Sanctitas sua voluit, non obstare, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque presentibus in præteritis casibus locum haberi' & ad beneplacitum nostrum duraturis. Dat' Lambeth' prope Londin' Winton' Dioc' Anno à Nativitate Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Quinquegesimo Quinto Quarto Calen' Februarii Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris & Domini nostri Domini Julii Divina Providentia Papa Tertii Anno Quinto Regni.

Car[lis]. *Polus*, Leg.

M. Antonius Faita, Secr.

Number 34.

Articles of such Things as be to be put in Execution.

E Libro Memorandum temp. Tho. Thirlby, Jo. Hopton, & Jo. Parkhurst, Epp. Norvic. in Reg. Prin. R. P. Dom. Ep. Norvic. F. 56.

1. THE Divorce of married Priests according to the Canons.

2. The Restitution of them by Penitence, thereupon to recommende them to other Diocesses as Penitents.

3. To certifie the Exhilitie of Benefices, which for want of Livings, have noo Curats.

4. To certifie the Counsaill of as maney as they know to have taken into their Hands the Goods of the Church.

5. To certifie what Chauncells of Benefices impropered * by some decaye, as they need present Reparacion; and to signifie therwith in whome the Fault is.

* L. be so in.

6. Not to confirme aney Lease of aneye Benefice, to the Prejudice of the Successor.

7. To cause the Churches decay'd with vacant Fruits and Goods, ministred with what remaineth in the Executors Names.

8. To interrupt them that Eat Flesh by pretence of Dispensacion granted by the Princes.

9. To appoint suche as dwell in Scites of Monasteries, to repaire to some Churche for to hear the Servyce.

10. To keep the Regestre for Buryeinge, Christininge, and Marriage.

11. A Fourme of Sute for Layemen to receyve their Tythe in Spiritual Courts.

Instructions given by the Cardinal to the Bishops, and their Officials.

SInguli Domini Episcopi, necnon Officiales Ecclesiarum quæ nunc vacant pro exequutione eorum quæ à Reverendissimo Domino Legato sunt eis demandata Ordinem quam infrascript est, poterint observare.

Primum vocatum ad se totum singularum civitatum, quibus singuli presunt Clerum, de hiis quæ sequuntur, instuere procurabunt.

De Paterno Amore & Charitate quam Sanctissimus Dominus noster Julius Papa Tertius erga Nationem Anglicam declaravit, qui ut primum cognovit Serenissimam Mariam fuisse Reginam declaratam Reverendissimum Dominum Reginaldum Cardinalem Polum de suo Latere ad has Partes Legatum misit ut Regnum hoc tot jam Annos ab Ecclesia Catholica separatum, ad ejus unionem reducere, & in errorem lapsos Consolari atque in Dei Gratiam restituere studeret.

De ejusdem Domini Legati adventu, quanta Lætitia & honore is exceptus fuerit tum à Serenissimis Regibus, tum ab aliis omnibus.

De hiis quæ in Proximo Parliamento Acta & conclusa sunt. Scilicet de omnibus Dominis de Parliamento & Universo Regno à Schismate & Censuris incursis absolutis & Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, reconciliatis : de omnibus Legibus quæ contra Authoritatem Sedis Apostolicæ & Romani Pontificis fuerant per Henricum Octavum & Edvardum Sextum latæ & promulgate, revocatis & abolitis. De restituta Sanctissimo Domino nostro Papæ & Ecclesiæ Romanæ eadem Obedientia quæ ante hoc perniciosissimum Schisma prestabatur.

F. 57. a. DE AUCTORITATE Episcopis restituta & maximè ut possint contra Hereticos & Schismaticos procedere, & eos juxta Canonicas Sanctiones coercere & punire : hiis ita expositis veniant ad Facultates sibi ad eodem Reverendissimo D. Legato concessas, quæ recitentur, & hic omnes qui in Schismata vel alios Errores lapsi sunt invitentur ad Absolutionem & Reconciliationem Humiliter & ex toto corde petendam. Necnon dispensationes tam super Ordinibus quam super beneficiis Necessarias & opportunas postulandas ; deinde præfigatur dies infra quem dicti de Clero Humiles & Penitentes compareant ad petendum suppliciter Absolutionem, Reconciliationem & Dispensationes Prædictas : secundum vero Dominium Episcopi postquam illi omnibus Erroribus suis renunciaverint & promisserint Sacramentaliter ipsis, aut alteri Sacerdoti Catholico Confessuros esse Errores suos Penitentiam sibi injungendam adimpleturos eos absolvent, & Ecclesiæ reconciliabunt, & cum ipsis juxta formam Facultatum perpetendum Necessitatibus prout sibi visum fuerit, dispensabunt : adhibendo semper convenientem distinctionem inter eos, qui solum in Schisma & Hereses inciderunt, & eos qui ea etiam Publicè docuerunt & alios ad peccandum induxerunt.

EODEM

Eodem Die constituetur Dies Festus & Solemnis in quo astante in Ecclesia Populi Multitudine Domini Episcopi omnes Curati Ecclesiis suis, omnia eadem quæ Clero jam exposit' fuerunt Populo quoq; insinuabent & omnes invitabunt Paterne & cum omni affectu, ut agnitis erroribus suis ad Ecclesiæ Catholicæ gremium revertantur: promittendo fore, ut omnibus preterita Crimina omnia condonentur & remittantur modo eos ex animo illorum peniteat, & illis renuncient. Prefigatur autem terminus, ut pote tota paschatis Octava, infra terminum omnes Ecclesiæ reconcilientur alioquin eo lapso contra ipsos & eos qui post, reconciliationem ad vomitum aversi fuerint severissime procedetur, dicatur etiam de Facultate concessa à Reverendissimo Domino Legato Episcopis, & aliis ut absolvere possint, omnes quicunq; ad vos reversi fuerint.

Idem Domini Episcopi & Officiales nominabunt & deputabunt, Ecclesiarum Parochialium Rectores seu alias Personas idoneas, quæ Laicos ab Heresi, Schismate, & quibuscunq; Censuris absolvant juxta Facultatum Formam & tenorem. Data per Episcopos formula qua in Absolutione & Reconciliatione uti debeant.

Eadem poterint cum Clero totius Dioces' observari prout commodius visum fuerit. Domini Episcopi & officiales præfati, necnon omnes Curati seu alii ad id deputati, habeant Librum in quo nomen & cognomen Parochianorum reconciliatorum inscribantur: & postea sciatur qui fuerint reconciliati & qui non.

Idem Domini Episcopi & Officiales Octava Paschatis elapsa poterint facere visitationem Civitatis primo, deinde Dioc' & se qui non fuerint reconciliati, poterint eos ad se vocare, & cognoscere propter quas ab erroribus suis nolint recedere, & si in eis obstinate perseverarint, tum con' eos procedent.

In hac secunda visitatione attendant diligenter quæ in hoc brevi compendio sunt notata, & maximè faciant ut omnes Ecclesiasticæ Personæ ostendant Titulos suorum Ordinum & Beneficiorum, ut si in eis aliquis alius defectus in sit illis, provideant & omni studio procurent ut Errores quibus Dioceses eorum fiut infectæ extirpentur, ut veritas fidei tum in concionibus tum inconfessionibus doceatur: deputando Personas idoneas ad conciones faciendas, & confessiones audiendas. Id & curent ; ut Sacrorum Canonum instituta in omnibus observentur & Nomen Divi Thomæ Martyris nocnon Sanctissimi Domini nostri Papa ex Libris dispunctum in illis restituatur & pro eo Secundum morem Ecclesiæ ut ante Schisma fiebat oretur.

In publicationibus hujusmodi erit antè omnia facienda commemoratio miseriarum & in felicitatis preteritorum temporum & Magnæ Gratiæ, quam nunc Deus pro sua Misericordia Populo huic exhibuit, hortando omnes ad hæc grato animo cognoscendum, & infinitas Gratias Divinæ ipsius Bonitate assiduè agendum.

Hortandi

Hortandi & sunt omnes ut devote orent Deum pro Salute & Felici statu horum Serenissimorum & de hoc Regno optimè meritorum & merentium Regum & Sperialitur pro filici statu Serenissimæ & Piissimæ Reginæ.

Faithfully transcribed from the Old Book aforementioned, with which Collated by

Thom. Tanner.

Number 25.

The Process and Condemnation of Bishop Hooper, *and the Order given for his Execution.*

Condemnatio Johannis Hooper super Articulos Hæreticam pravitatem concernentes.

ACTA Die Lunæ XXVIII *Die Januarii Anno Domini in sequendo computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ* M CCCCC LIIII *in Ecclesia Parochiali Sancti Salvatoris in Burgo de Southwarke Winton' Dioc' coram Reverendo Patre Domino Stephano Permissione Divina Winton' Episcopo, &c. Auctoritate sua Ordinaria illic judicialiter seden' assisten' sibi Reverend' in Christi Patribus Episcopis, &c. In Presentia nostra Antonii Husey, Roberti Johnson, & Wilhelmi Day, Notoriorum, &c.*

Officium Domini contra Johannem Hooper.

QUibus Die & loco Productus fuit in Judicium Joannes Hooper Clericus de & super Hæretica pravitate, Publicè & Notoriè infamatus: cui dictus Reverendus Pater palam proposuit, quod cum ipse Superiori Die coram eodem Reverendo Patre & nonnullis aliis à Privato Consilio Dominorum Regis & Reginæ ad hoc specialiter destinatis evocabatur & exhortatus fuerat, ut agnoscens transactæ Vitæ suæ & Perversæ Doctrinæ Errores & Hereses, rediret cum cæteris ad unitatem Ecclesiæ: Oblataque fuerat ei sic volenti preteritorum Errat[illegible]rum & facinorum suorum condonacio. Ipseq; Johannes tunc in[illegible] animo sic redire renuerit. Propterea in Presentiarum in Publicum justitiæ forum ad respondendum Articulis Heretica pravitate concernen' coram eodem Reverendo Patre Auctoritate sua Ordinarie sedente evocatus fuit. Offerens preterea Publice tunc & ibidem quod si adhuc se reconsiliare vellet, libenter in gremium Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ

 reciperetur

reciperetur. Et ipse Johannes Hooper non solum facere renuit, verum etiam in nonnullas Blasphemias impudenter perrupit. Et deinde Dominus Episcopus, &c. inter cæteros complures Articulos, & Capita, hos sequentes eidem Johanni Hooper specialiter objecit.

In Primis, Quod Tu Johannes Hooper, existens Presbyter & Religiosus, Regula à Jure approbata expressè professus, quandam Mulierem de facto, cum de jure non debuisti, in Uxorem, sive Conjugem accepisti; & cum illa, tanquam Uxore & Conjuge tua, cohabitâsti in Nephariis & illicitis cum ea amplexibus cohabitando, Matrimoniaq; pretensa hujusmodi licita, & de jure divino valida fuisse, & esse, tam infra Dioc' Winton', quam alias quamplures Dioc' hujus Regni Angliæ, asseruisti, prædicâsti, docuisti, Librisq; editis publicâsti & defendisti, & sic asseris & credis in præsenti. Et ministramus conjunctim, & de quolibet.

Ad quem quidem Articulum respondet & fatetur, Se Presbiterum & Religiosum professum, quandam Mulierem in Uxorem legitimè accepisse, & cum eadem tanquam cum Uxore legitima cohabitâsse: Et quod hujusmodi Matrimonia, in locis prædictis, licita, & de Jure divino valida fuisse, & esse, asseruit, prædicavit, docuit, & Libris editis publicavit & defendit; sicq; asserit, credit, & defendere paratus est in præsenti, ut dicit.

Secundo, Quod Tu Joannes Hooper, in locis prædictis, asseruisti, prædicâsti, docuisti, & Libris editis publicâsti & defendisti; sicq; credis, tenes, asseris & defendis, Quod propter Culpam Fornicationis, sive Adulterij commissam, Personæ legitimè conjungatæ, possunt ex Verbo Dei, ejusq; Authoritate ac Ministerio ab invicem pro Adulterio à Vinculo Matrimonij seperari & divorciari: Sicq; licebit Viro aliam accipere in Uxorem; & Mulieri similiter, alium accipere in Maritum.

Ad quem quidem Articulum respondit affirmativè, Quodque paratus est defendere contenta in eodem, contra omnes Adversarios, esse vera, de Jure divino & humano.

Tertio, Quod Tu, locis prædictis, asseruisti, tenuisti, publicâsti, libris edictis docuisti & defendisti; sicque credis, asseris, tenes, & defendis in præsenti, Quod in Eucharistia, sive Sacramento Altaris, verum & naturale Christi Corpus, & verus & naturalis Christi Sanguis, sub speciebus Panis & Vini verè non est: Et quod ibi est materialis Panis, & materiale Vinum tantum, absque veritate & præsentia Corporis & Sanguinis Christi.

Ad quem quidem Articulum, sub hoc contemptu verborum, respondit; viz. *That the very Natural Body of Christ, is not Really and Substantially in the Sacrament of the Altar: Saying also, That*

2 *the*

the Mass is the Iniquity of the Devil; and that the Mass is an Idol.

Præmissis expeditis, Dominus assignavit eidem Johanni Hooper, ad comperendum in hoc loco crastina die, inter Horas 8m & 9m ante Meridiem, ad vidend' ulteriorem Processum, &c. Quibus Die & Loco, inter Horas assignatas, coram dicto Reverendo Patre, Winton' Episcopo, &c. assistentibus sibi Reverendis Patribus, &c. in nostra Notariorum prædictorum Præsentia, rursus comperuit dictus Johannes Hooper, quem Dominus Episcopus Wintoniensis, multis rationibus, ad sese reconciliandum, suasit & exhortavit: Dictus tamen Johannes Hooper, in Pertinacia & Malicia sua perseverans, perrupit in Blasphemias, dicendo etiam publicè, *That Matrimony is none of the Seven Sacraments: And that if it be a Sacrament, he can prove Sevenscore Sacraments.* Deinde Dominus Episcopus, perspecta ejus pertinaci duritia, tandem tulit contra eum Sententiam definitivam, in Scriptis condempnando eum pro Hæretico & Excommunicato: Et consequenter eum tunc ibidem tradidit Curiæ Seculari, atq; in manus Davidis Woodroff, & Willielmi Chester, Vicecomit' Civitatis Londini; qui eundem Johannem Hooper tunc secum abduxerunt. Super cujus Sententiæ Prolatione & Lectura, idem Reverendus Pater requisivit nos Notarios, &c. ad conficiendum Instrumentum, Testesq; subscript' ad perhibendum Testimonium, &c. Præsentibus tunc ibidem Nobilibus & Egregiis Viris, &c. & aliis quampluribus, in Multitudine copiosa tunc ibidem congregatis, &c.

Faithfully Transcribed from a *Folio* Book of Proceedings in Ecclesiastical Courts, Collected in Queen *Mary*'s, or the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time, by *Anthony Style*, Notary Publick; now in the Hands of

Thom. Tanner.

Number 36.

The Queen's Letter, ordering the Manner of Hooper's *Execution.*

Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.

RIght Trusty and Well-beloved, *&c.* Whereas *John Hooper*, who of late was called Busshop of *Worcester* and *Gloucester*, is, by due Order of the Lawes Ecclesiastique, condempned and judged for a moste obstinate, false, detestable Heretique, and committed to our Secular Power, to be burned according to the holsome and good

Lawes of our Realme in that Case provided. Forasmuche as in those Cityes, and the Diocesse therof, he hath in Tymes paste preached and taught most pestilent Heresyes and Doctryne to our Subjects there: We have therefore geven Order, that the said *Hooper*, who yet persisteth obstinate, and hath refused Mercy when it was gracyously offred, shall be put to Execution in the sayd Cytie of *Gloucester*, for the Example and Terror of suche as he hath there seduced and mistaught, and bycause he hath doone moste Harme there. And woll that you, calling unto you some of Reputation dwelling in the Shire, such as ye thinke best, shall repayre unto our said Cytye, and be at the said Execution, assisting our Mayor and Shriefs of the same Cytie, in this Behalf. And forasmuche also as the said *Hooper* is, as Heretiques be, a vain-glorious Person, and delyteth in his Tongue, and having Liberty, may use his sayd Tongue to perswade such as he hath seduced, to persist in the myserable Opinion that he hath sowen among them: Our Pleasure is therefore, and we require you to take Order, that the said *Hooper* be neither, at the Tyme of his Execution, nor in goyng to the Place therof, suffred to speak at large; but thither to be ledde quietly, and in Sylence, for eschuyng of further Infection, and such Inconvenyence, as may otherwise ensue in this Parte. Whereof fayle not, as ye tender our Pleasure.

A True Copy of an Old Paper in my Custody, which seems to be the first Draught of a Letter from the Queen to the Lord *Chandois*, &c. who went to see Execution done on Bishop *Hooper*.

Thom. Tanner.

Number 37.

A Letter of Bishop Hooper's *to* Bullinger, *written out of Prison.*

Hoperus Bullingero.

GRatiam & Pacem à Domino. Literas tuas, Compater Charissime, datas Tigur' 10 Octobris, 11 Decembris accepi. Fuere mihi perjucundæ, quia plenæ Consolationis. Ex quibus, Animum, Amorem, & Pietatem tuam erga me pristinam, facilè intellexi. Habeo tibi Gratias immortales, quod hisce Temporibus difficillimis, nostri non te capit oblivio: Semper te, ob eximias tuas Virtutes, & præclara Dei in te Dona, præ cæteris amavi. Et quod à me, uti scribis, hacte-

nus per annum integrum nullas acceperis Literas; hoc accedit, non quia non scripserim, sed quas scripseram parum candidis reddendas commisi. Nec omnes quas ad me miseras accepi, sed vel in Curia Tabellarij periere, vel invidia malorum fuerunt interceptæ. Idem accidit & Literis & Libello Domini Theodori. Nam de Concione Domini in monte, quam mihi destinavit, nihil intellexi, usque ad aliquot dies post mortem Sanctissimi Regis nostri Edwardi. Et id quidem in Confinibus Valliæ, in bibliotheca pij cujusdam Viri, quem Ecclesiis quibusdam Decanum constitui. Sed quas nunc scripsisti omnibus Concaptivis meis Fratribus, legendas curabo mitti. Incolumitatem & Constantiam vestræ Ecclesiæ, vobis omnibus gratulor: Et Deum precor, propter Filium suum Jesum Christum, illam, contra Tyrannidem Antichristi semper muniat, ac defendat. Apud nos, in integrum, vulnus quod accepit, sanatum est; & pro Capite Ecclesiæ denuò habetur, qui Membrum Ecclesiæ Christi non est. Ab aliis, Res nostras, & Statum Reipublicæ intelliges. Versamur in maximis periculis, quemadmodum hactenus, jam per sesquiannium fermè. Indies hostes Evangelij magis ac magis negotium facessunt. In carcere seorsim servamur, & omni ignominiarum fastidio afficimur: Mortem quotidie minitantur; quam nihili facimus. Ferrum & flammas, in Christo Jesu, fortiter contemnimus. Scimus cui credimus; & certi sumus, quod animas nostras deposituri sumus bene faciendo. Interim adjuvate nos vestris Precibus, ut qui in nobis bonum opus incepit, perficiat usque in finem. Domini sumus; faciat quod videatur bonum in oculis suis. Rogo, ut subinde digneris Literis tuis Uxorem meam, modestissimam & piam mulierem consolari; & exhortari, ut studiosè Liberos nostros, Rachelem Filiolam tuam, optimæ indolis adolescentulam, ac Filium Danielem piè educat, in Cognitione & Timore Dei. Præterea, tuæ Pietati jam mitto duos Libellos legendos, judicandos, ac corrigendos, si quæ occurrant, Verbo Dei parum Convenientia: Cui Titulum feci, *Hyperaspismus de vera Doctrina & Usu Cœnæ Domini*; quem Senatui Angliæ dedicavi hoc nomine, ut publicè, in Curia Parliamenti, adversariis nostris respondeamus. Alteri Titulum feci, *Syntagma, de falsa Religione dignoscenda & fugienda.* Et rogo, ut quam citissimè fieri possit, imprimantur. Hic, apud omnes pios & doctos, uterque Liber est approbatus. Scripsi præterea multas Literas alias ad Episcopos, ut Libros in Parliamento promoverent, & illos imprimi etiam cupio, ut omnes intelligant, quam iniquè & injustè nobiscum agitur. Non opus est, ut multa hac de re scribas: Ex ipsis Libellis & Literis, facilè intelliges quid volo. Et si Froscoverus vester aliis gravioribus Libris impediatur imprimendis; rogo, ut Basileam mittat, ad D. Operinum, qui valdè castè imprimit, & omnia nitidè in lucem emittit. Hoc faciet, scio, modò Libelli tuis Literis ad se veniunt commendati: Quod ut facias, vehementer oro. Nihil est quod mihi metuatis, quasi pr[illegible]r Libellos atrocius & severius hostes Evangelij sævient: Habeo [illegible]alutis meæ fidelissimum Custodem, & Propugnatorem, Patrem nostrum Cælestem, per Christum Jesum, cui meipsum totum commendavi: Illius Fidei ac Tutelæ meipsum commendo; si dies meos elongaverit, faxit, ut sint ad Gloriam Nominis sui; sin huic brevi & flagitiosæ Vitæ finem voluit, æque duco, Fiat Voluntas

luntas illius. Quia furtim ſcribo, breviores & perturbatiores Literas tuæ præſtantiæ facio, quas boni conſule quæſo. Raptim ex Carcere XI. Decembris 1554. Saluta officiosè caſtam tuam Conjugem, cum tota tua Familia, domi & foris, ac alios omnes ut noſti

Tuæ præſtantiæ ut debeo Studioſiſſimus

J. Hooperus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Præſtantiſſimo Viro, Domino Henrico Bullingero, Compatri ſuo longè Chariſſimo Tiguri.

Number 38.

A Letter of Maſon's *concerning a Treaty began with* France, *and of the Affairs of the Empire.*

AFter my hearty Commendations. Your laſt was of the XXIIId of the laſt Month, and my laſt to you wer of the VIIth of this preſent. By theſe you ſhall underſtand that the Emperor hath appointed Monſieur *De L' Allain*, Governor of *Hennalt*; Monſieur *De Boningcourt*, Governor of *Arthoys*; the Biſhop of *Arras*; the Preſident of the Counſel here, named *Viglius*; and the Preſident of the Counſel of *Mallynes*; to reſort to *Gravelynghe*, for the Tretynge of a Peaxe with ſoch others as may lyke the *Frenche* Kynge to ſend to *Ardres*; wherof the Conneſtable, and the Cardinal of *Lorrayne*, he hath alredye appointed. But by reaſon of the Death of the Pope, I thinke the Cardinal of *Lorrayne* goeth an other way. In whoſe Place ys to be thought ſome other ſhall be appointed, with the others, to anſwer to the Numbre aſſigned by the Emperor. The Cardynal, and my Lord Chawncelor came out of Hand to *Callais* to be Mediator on the Queen's Behalf, to bring theſe Princes, yf their Will be, to ſome Compoſition. O Lorde aſſiſt them ſo with his Grace, as *Chriſtendome* may have a Treattyng Tyme. The IVth of this Month the King and Queen went to *Hampton-Court* to keep their *Eaſter*; wheather *Eaſter* done they retorne to *London*, or goo to *Wyndeſor*, the certentye ys not yet knowen. *Bolls* of *Cambridgeſhire*, and Sir *Peter Mewtas*, remayne ſtill in Priſon. The firſt in the *Tower*, and thother in the *Flete*, and lytle Words made of them; ſo yt is thoght

the Suspition was more vehement then founde to be of any grete Ground. The Dean and Prebendaries of *Westminster* have laid sore Lawe to defend th' alteration of the Church into an Abbay ; in which Matter, Dr. *Cole* sheweth hymself very stowte, alleging that Monks have no Institution of Christ, wherein Prestis have the Advantage of them, *&c.* What thende will be, yt is not known ; but yt is feared they shall be put to chose, whether they will depart with their Wills, or against their Wills.

The Emperor hath by reason of his long unseasonable Cold, ben very ill handled of his Gowte, whereof he is now indifferently well amended.

The Princes of *Almayne* do moche myslyke the Arryving of Cardinal *Moron* at *Augusta* ; for the Satisfaction of whom, the Emperor hath given full Auctoryte to the Kynge his Brother, as so ys the Cardinal lyke to retayne, *con la picca in sacco.* The Duke of *Alva* ys not yet departed owt of *England* ; neither yet in the Way, so far as I can yet here, albeit his Baggage, and a good Number of his Company are arrived at *Callais.* On *Tuesday* last, the Ambassadors, or Agents, Name them as you will, of *Cremona*, *Novaria*, and *Lodi*, passing between *Dover* and *Callais* hitherward, wer taken by a *French* Shallop ; but it is thought, they shall shortly be set at Libertye, as well for that they were publycke Persons, and not Subjects to the Emperor, as for that they were taken out of an *English* Vessel. Their Money and Baggage is saved, whatsoever is become of their Persons. Thus for lack of other Matter, I bid you most hartely well to fare. From *Bruxells* the XIVth Day of *April*, 1555.

Your own most assuredly

John Masone.

Endorsed

To the Honourable Mr *Petre Vannes*,
the Queen's Majesties Ambassador
at *Vennis.*

This Letter is Faithfully transcribed
from the Original in the Hands
of

Thom. Tanner.

Nunber

Number 39.

A Translation of Charles *the Vth's Letters, Resigning the Crown of* Spain *to King* Philip.

Paper-Office.

TO our Counselours, Justyces, the Nobilyte, Curats, Knights, and Squiers; all kinde of Ministers, and Offycers; and all other our learn'd Men within that our Town of *Tolledo*, greeting. By such Letters as I have from Time to Tyme taken Order to be wrytten unto you, since my Departing out of the Kingdome of *Spain*, you have fully bene advertised of the Successes of myne Affayres; and namely how that for Religion's sake, I enterprised the Warre of *Almayne*, uppon the great Desire I had, as Reasone was; and according to my bounden Dewty to reduce, and to returne agayne those Countreys into the Unitye of the Church, procuring and seeking by all the Means I could, to sett Peas and Quietnes in all the Estates of *Christendome*, and do what might be done for the Assembling, and Assisting of a General Counsale, bothe for the necessarye Reformation of many Things; and so draw home also therby, with lesse Difficultye, such as had separated themselves, and were swerved from the Catholike Faith of Christ. Which my great Desyre having brought, by God's Goodnes, to a very good Pointe; the *French* Kinge suddenely, without all Reasone, or any good Foundation, alluring to his Ayde the *Allmaynes*, and making a League with them, agaynst theire Othes and Fydelityes, brake with me, and openned the Warre agaynst me, bothe by Sea and the Land. And not satisfyed herewith, he procured the coming of the *Turcques* Armye, to the Notable Domage of *Christendome*; and namely of our Estates, and Seigneueryes; wherby I was forced, and dryven to bring an Armye to my no little Trouble, aswell by my great Payns taken in myne own Persone in the Felde, as by my Traveil otherwise; which thereuppon I was constrayned to endure, in the treating and maynayng of sundry urgent and great Matters daylie and contynually falling out upon the same; which were the greate, and in Effect, the only Occasions of the greate and paunefull Infirmity, and Indisposition of my Body; which I have since had these Yeres passed, and yet have, wherby I find my self so encumbred, and so destitute of Healthe, that not onely have I been, or ame able by myne own Persone to discharge such a Traveil, and to use such a Diligence in Resolutions, as was requisyte; but have also, which I do confesse, been a Lett, and an Hindrance to sundry Things wherof I have had, and now have a greate Conscyence. And I wold to God I had sooner taken therin such an Order as I now am determyned to take: Which nevertheles for many Considerations, I could not well doe, in the Absence of the High and Mighty Prince, the King of *England* and *Naples*, and my Right Dear and Right Well-beloved Sonne: For that it was necessary many Things to be First communicated unto him, and to be treated

treated with him. And for this Purpose, after the Marriage put in dew Execution with the High and Excellent Princesse, the Queen of *England*, I lastly took Order for his coming hither: And within a short Tyme after, I took Order to resigne, and to renounce unto him, lyke as I have done all those my Estates, Kingdomes, and Seigneueryes, of the Crown of *Castella* and *Leon*, with all their Membres and Appertennes, in such sorte as more fully and more amplye is conteyned in such Instruments as I have signed and agreed unto of the Date of these Presents; trusting that with his greate Wysedome and Experience, wherof I have hitherto had a right greate Proofe in all such Things as have been passed and handled by him for me, and in my Name, he will now for himself, and in his own Name, Govern, Order, Defend, and Mainteyne the same with Peas and Justice. And not doubting but that according unto your Olde and Comendable Loyaltye, Fayth, Love, and Obedyence, which you have borne, and do beare, both to him and to me; wherof for my Parte, I have had always large Experyence by your Deeds, you will serve him and obey him as apperteyneth to my Trust and your Duties; for the Good-Will borne to you so many Yeres. Commanding you nevertheles, and straightly charging you that displaying and setting upp Banners, and doing all other Ceremonies, and Solemnities requisyte, and which have been accustomed to have been done in like Cases, for the dew Execution of the Purpose above sayed, in the same Manner and Sorte as yf God had taken me unto his Mercy, you doe Obey, Serve, and Honour, from henceforth the saide King, accomplishing his Will and Pleasure in all such Things as he shall by Word and Writing Command you, as you ought to doe to your true and natural Lord and King: Even as you have, and ought to have, during my Reigne passed to you from me: Wherin besydes that you shall doe your Duetyes, and doe that as you are bound to doe, you shall doe unto me acceptable Pleasure. Given at *Brussells* the 17th of *Januarie*, 1556.

Copye of the Lettre sent by the Emperor to sundry Estates in *Spaine*, upon the resigning of the same unto the King's Majestie; turned out of *Spanish* into *English*.

Number

Number 40.

A Remembrance of those Things that your Highnes's Pleasure was I shold put in Writing, as most Convenient in my Pore Judgment, to be commoned and spoken of by your Majestie, with your Counsell, called to your Presence thys Afternoone.

Written in the Hand of Cardinal Pole.

FUrst of al, that your Majestie shold put them yn Remembrance of the Charge the Kyng's Highnes gave them at his Departure; which beyng reduced to certen Articles, and put in Writing, it seemeth wel if some of the Lords for ther sudden Departure after ther Charge had not the same in Writing, that it were rehersed and given unto them with Exhortation to employ al ther Diligence for the due Execution therof.

Titus B. 2. P. 177.

And whereas amongst other Charges, thys was one, that those that be named in the first parte Counsellours, were al to be present in the Courte, thys first your Highnes may require them that they do observe: Specially beside, for the Weight of the Matters that be now in Hand; the Tyme besyde being so shorte, after the Parliament to examyn them. And that the Kyng's Plesure ys, as the Matters be proposed in the Counsell, afore the further Execution of them, to be ynformed therof, to knoe his Pleasure theryn. And amongst other, hys Majestie beyng in Expectation to know the uttre Resolution of the Councell, twichyng those Matters that be to be intreatyd in thys Parliament. Thys ys that your Majestie looketh of them thys Day, to send with all spede to the Kyng's Highnes.

And wheras for the Dylation of the Kyng's comyng, your Majestie thought it well to put in Consulte, whether it were better therfor to make a Dilation and Prorogation of the Parliament to *Candelmas*, beyng thought bey ther Opinion, that for Necessite of Money that is to be demanded in the Parliament, and otherwyse can not be provided, the Prorogation of that should be much dispendiose. Your Majestie not disalowing ther Deliberation; but consydering wyth all the great Need of Money for to be had, for the Discharge of the present Necessite, which requyreth present Provision of Money, as is for the settyng forth of the Ships, as wel for the Emperor's Passage to *Spain*, as for the King's Return.——And besyde thys, for the Payment of that is dew at *Calise*, as for your Credyte wyth the Merchants approchyng the Day of Payment; and for the Dett of *Ireland* also, of al these it may please your Majestie to know thys Day of your Counsell what is don.

And

And bycause the most ordynarie and just way, touching the Provision of Money to pay your Highnes Detts, is to call in your own Detts; which Charge hath been specially committed afore, and is principally considered and renewed in the Writing the Kyng's Highnes left tuchyng such Affayres, that his Counsell shold presently attend into, wher be ther Names also that same: The Charges speciall therfore, your Majestie shall do wel this day to charge them with the same; that with all Diligence they attend to the Proffecution therof; givyng them all Autoryte that shal be necessary for them, to make the most spedy Expedition theryn. Wylling them withall, that they never let pass one Week, but in the end of the same, at the least, your Majestie may know specially of that is coming yn, and that Order is taken for the rest.

Also yf it pleasyd your Majestie in generall, for all Matters whych be intreated in the Counsell, which requyre Commission and Execution, to give thys Order, that those that have had Commission to execute any Matter, let never passe the Weke, but they ynforme the Counsell what Execution is made of ther Commyssions: And that the Counsell themselfs should never begyn Entretance of new Matters the Second Week; but that they have Information first, what is done in those which wer commytted to be executyd the Week afore; I think it should help much to the spedy Expedition of all Causes. Thys ys my poore Advyse, remitted al to the godly and prudent Judgment of your Majestie.

Number 41.

Some Directions for the Queen's Council; left by King Philip.

Cotton Libr. Titus, B I.

IMprimis, pro meliori & magis expedita Deliberatione, in iis quæ in Consilio nostro agenda sunt ex reliquis Consiliariis nostris; eos, quorum Nomina sequuntur, seligendos putavimus; quibus specialem Curam omnium Causarum Status, Finantiarum, & aliarum Causarum Graviorum Regni, committendam duximus & committimus.

Legatus Cardinalis POLUS, in Causis magnis, ubi voluerit, & commodè poterit.

D. Cancellarius. D. Thesaurarius. Comes de Arundell.
Comes de Pembroke. Episcopus Eliensis. D. Paget.
Mr. Rochester Comptroller. Mr. Petre Secretarius.

Consiliarii

Consiliarij prædicti omnes & singuli erunt præsentes in Aula, & intelligent, & considerabunt omnes Causas Status, omnes Causas Financiarum, Statum Possessionum, Debitorum, & quomodo Debita cum honore solvi possint; & generaliter, omnes alias Causas majoris momenti, tangentes Honorem, Dignitatem, & Statum Coronæ.

Et quo melius Consilium Nobis dare possint, hortamur eos in Domino, quod omnem discordiam, si quæ inter eos sit, mutuo remittentes, concorditer, amicè, & in timore Dei, ea in Consiliis proponant & dicant, quæ Dei Gloriam, Nostrum & Regni nostri Honorem & Utilitatem, promovere possint.

Volumus, quod quoties aliqua erit Occasio, Nos adeant, vel aliquos ex se mittant, per quos intelligere possimus Deliberationes suas, in omnibus Causis quæ coram eis proponentur, & ad minus ter qualibet Septimana, referant Nobis quæ fuerint per eos acta & deliberata.

Dicti Consiliarij deliberabunt de Parliamento, quo tempore habendum sit, & quæ in eodem agi & proponi debeant: Et quæ agenda & proponenda videbuntur in Parliamento, in Scriptis redigi volumus, ante Parliamenti initium.

Quod singulis diebus Dominicis, communicent reliquis Consiliariis præsentibus, ea quæ videbuntur eis communicanda.

Quod habeant specialem Curam pro Debitorum solutione, diminutione Sumptuum, & provida gubernatione & collectione RedditUUm, Terrarum, Possessionum & Vectigalium, & pro Administratione Justitiæ.

Number 42.

A Letter to the Ambassadors, concerning the Restitution of Calais.

Paper-Office.

AFter our right harty Commendations to your good Lordships, by our last Letters of the 4th of this Mounth, we signifyed unto you our well Lyking of your Opinions, to have the Matter touching *Calleys* moved in the Parliament: And that we being also of the same Mynde our selfs, ment to propose the Case there with all the Expedition we might, and to make you Answer of that sholde be farther resolved therein, as shortly as we could. Sence which Tyme, uppon Consultation had amongst our selfs, how the Matter shold best be opened and used there: And being of Opinion, as we have byn from the Begyning, that it were not convenient to have the same broken to the hole House, but only to the Nobilite, and some other of the best and gravest Sort; We thought it allso necessarie, before we proceeded any farther, both to declare our Opinions unto the Queen's Majestie, and to understande her Highnesses good Pleasure and Resolution therein. Whose Majestie, up-

 pon

pon the opening thereof unto her, thought mete for good Respects, we sholde fyrst write unto the King's Highnes to such effect, as by the Coppie of our Letters presently addressed to his Majestie, for that Purpose, (which you shall receyve herewith) you may at better length perceyve; and then understanding his Highnes Answer, sholde either goe forwarde with our former Deliberacion, or otherwyse use the Matter, as we sholde see Cause. Wherefore, lyke as we have thought good to give your Lordships Knowledge by these; so when we shall have receyved the King's Majesties Answer herein, we will not fayle to signify unto you with Diligence, what shall be farther resolved touching this Matter. And in the mean tyme, we byd your good Lordships right hartely well to fare.

The Queen's Majestie remayneth yet still both sicke and very weake; and although we hope of her Highnesses Amendment, for the which we daylye praye; yet are we dryven both to feare and mistrust the worst; which we beseche Almighty God to remedye, when it shall lyke hym.

After that we had written the Letters inclosed to the King's Majestie, we receyved yours of the 4th of this Instant; by the which we do understande, that the *French* Commissioners contynue still of the same Mind that they were at your Meeting with them, not to leave the Possession of *Callais*. By your sayd Letters appereth allso, that the King's Majestie tolde you, that his Commissioners were agreed with the *French* well nere upon all Matters; and that his Highnes neverthelesse wolde not agree to any Conclusion, but that the Queen's Majestie sholde be fyrst satisfied for the Matters of this Realme.

After that we had considered the Effect of these your Letters, considering of what Importance the Leaving of *Callice* is for this Realm; howe much it wolde touche the Honour of their Majesties, and of this Crowne, that so many Restitutions being made on bothe Sydes, this sholde be suffred to passe unrestored; and fynally, howe yll the Subjects of this Realme will digest this Matter, if there sholde any suche Thing be agreed unto; we neither can of our selfs well consyder what to answer, nor think mete to propose it to the Parliament, untill we may yet once agayne heare from you. And where Policy fayleth, we are compelled to use Playnes. You knowe these Warres, wherein *Calice* is lost, began at the King's Majesties Request, and for his Sake. We doe consider, that other his Majesties Freends and Confederats, be restored to Things taken many Yeres past. And what may be judged in this Realme, if this Peas be concluded, and *Calice* left in the *French* King's Hands, so many other Restitutions being made, it may be easely considered. On the other Syde, His Majesties Commissioners being so nere an Agreement for all other Matters, muche were to be indured for the Welthe of *Christendome*.

And it hath byn consideryd here, howe much this Realme is travayled and spent allready with these Warres.

These Things being amongst us consideryd; knowing his Majesties gracious Disposition and Favour towards this Realme, we think good your Lordships doe plainly open these Considerations to hym, in

such good sorte as you may think good. And fyrst to desyre to understande his Majesties Dispofition playnely, if you may for *Calice*: the remayning whereof in the *French* King's Hands, doth as much importe for his *Lowe Countries*, as for this Realme.

And Secondly, that it may please his Majesty to gyve us his good Advise for our further Doings, and manner of Proceeding in this Matter; wherein albeit our Meaning is to use the Advise of the Rest of our Nobilitie and Parliament, yet do we stay that to do, untill we have Answer again from you, and understande his Majesties playne and determinate Answer therein. And we doe hartely pray your Lordships to use your accustomed good Wisdomes in the good opening of the Premisses, and to send us Answer as soon as you may.

November the 8th, 1558.

Minute from the Counsell unto the Earle of *Arrundell*, and the Rest of the Commissioners beyonde the Sees.

Number 43.

A Letter of the Ambassador's concerning Calais.

An Original.

Paper-Office.

AFter our Right Heartie Commendacions to your good Lordships, by *Francisco Thomas* the Post, we have receyvid Two Letters from your Lordshippes. The First of the 29th of the last Month: And the Later, of the First of this present. With other Letters directed to the King's Majestie; upon the Receipt wherof, we having mette together, and consulted upon the Contentes of the same, datermyned to open to the Kinge's Majestie by our Letters, the Matters wherof your Lordships wrote unto us; for his Majestie is not in these Parties heere, but is at *Bruxelles*, or beyond. The Copy of our Letter to his Majestie in that Behalfe, we send your Lordships heerwith. And where your Lordshipes wryte unto his Majestie, that by our Letters doth appeare that the *French* King by no means will leave the Possession of *Callais*: And that he would rather hazard his Crown, then to consente to the Restitution of it: True it is, that we wrote to your Lordshipes, that the *French* Commissioners yn their Conference with us, and with the King's Commissioners, have ever refused to consent to the Restitution of *Callais*. And that the *French* have

 declared

declared to one of the King's Commiſſioners, that the *French* King for to hazard his Crowne, will not forgo *Callais*. And albeit that for becauſe of the good Face ſett upon that Matter by the *French* Commiſſioners, we ſomewhat miſtruſted, that that which they ſpoke, was the King their Maiſters Determynacion : Yet indeed, did we not affirm it to be ſo. No, nor did not then utterlye deſpayre, but that the *French*, yf they wer kept ſomwhat ſhorte, would at the length relente ; for elles to what Purpoſe had it been agreed and appointed, that both the King's, and the *French* King's Commiſſioners, ſhuld retourne to their Maiſters, to declare what hat been done allready, and to know what their Maiſters further Pleaſure was theruppon. And foraſmuch as we have ever been of Opynion, that yf the King's Majeſtie refuſe to conclude any Thing with them, without the Reſtitution of *Callais* ; that may the ſooner induce the *French* to agree to it. And likewiſe yf they perceyve the King's Majeſtie, or his Myniſters, not ſo earneſt therin, but that by a Bragge of the *French* ; they will the ſooner gyve over, and ſtande the more fayntely for the Reſtitution of it ; that will make the *French* the bolder, and to ſtand the more earneſtlye in their Refuſal. Therefore we have not thought it meet to uſe anye kynde of Wordes to the King, wherby his Majeſtie might by anye Meanes thinke that the Queen's Highneſſe, and the Realme of *England*, coude be contente to conclude a Peace without the Reſtitution of *Callais*. Aſwell for becauſe our Inſtructions importe that, as allſo truſtinge that that wold move his Majeſtie, and his Commiſſioners to be the more Careful for the Reſtitution of it. And ſeeinge that his Majeſtie, and his Commiſſioners, have ever ſayde, that they will conclude nothing without the Queen's Highnes be firſt ſatisfyed : Yt ſeemed to us, that if her Highneſs, and your Lordſhipes, did ſtande earneſtlye in the Repetition of *Callais* : That the *French* at this Time muſt either forſake *Callais*, or elles the Peace. And in Caſe this Occaſion to redemaunde *Callais* be now forſloune, God knoweth when ever *England* ſhall have the lyke again. And where your Lordſhipes wryte, that the King's Commiſſioners beeinge ſo neere to agree with the *French* upon the hole, much wer to be endured for the Wealth of *Chriſtendom* : It is even ſo indeede as your Lordſhipes wryte. Mary that all other ſhuld have Reſtitution of their owne, and poor *England* that beganne not the Fraye, bear the Burthen and the Loſſe for the Reſt ; and ſpecially of ſuch a Jewel as *Callais* is, we feare will ſeeme verye harde and ſtrange to all the Realme. And yet yf the Loſſe of *Callais* might Purchaſe a ſure Peace to *Chriſtendom*, that wer yet ſome colour why ſomwhat the rather to agree to it. But yf we may be ſo bold to ſaye playnely our Myndes unto your Lordſhipes ; we not onely thinke not that, that the leaveing *Callais* to the *French*, ſhall purchaſe *Chriſtendom* a ſure Peace ; but rather ar perſuaded that nothing can more evidentlye ſhew, that the *French* entend no Peace to contynue, ſpeciallye with *England*, then the retention of *Callais*, yf they earneſtlye and finallye perſiſt theron. Your Lordſhips do right well underſtande what Advantage the *French* have to annoy us by *Scotland*, which now is much ruled by *France*. And in Caſe any Peace be made, then ſhall the *French* have good Tyme and Leaſure to eſtabliſh and order their

3 Matters

Matters so yn *Scotland*, specially considdering the Mariage of the *Dolfyn*, and the Queen of *Scotts*, is now done; that *Scotland* shall be every whitte as much at their Commandment, as any Part of *France* is. And what the *French* pretend unto by that Mariage, is not unknowne to your Lordshipes.

If now *Callais* shall remayn yn their Hands too, wherby neither *England* shall have the Commoditie to offende their Enemyes, nor to succour their Friends, nor lykewyse to receyve succour from their Friends at their Need, but by very uneasy Means: Yea, and wherby *England* shall in a manner be excluded from knowledge of all Things, done both by their Enemys, and by their Freends; or at the least, the Knowledge therof shall not come, but so late, that it will searve to little Purpose. And that *Callays* lyeth so commodyouselye to be a Scourge for *England*, as it was before King *Edward* the Third took it,: Which caused him to adventure himself, and his Son the Prince, to come but with a meane Armye from *Normandye* into *France*, and thence through all *Picardye*, to go to beseege *Callais*: He beinge contynuallye poursewed by his Ennemyes with greate Armyes, with the which he was enclosed and compassed about, and fynallye constrained more then once to Fight it out, and specially at *Crecy*, where his Enemy's Armye was thryse as greate as his, and to lye so longe at the Seege before *Callais*, as he did. This Scourge of *England*, so well knowne by Experyence then, and therefore so dearly bought by King *Edward* the IIId, and now not yet known for lacke of Experyence; yf the *French* shall retayne yn their Hands, they having likewyse *Scotland* on the other side, how dangerous this shall be to *England*, is easy to be consydered. These, and other Consyderations, make us to be of Opynion, that leaving *Callais* to the *French*, they will be content to delyver you a Peece of Parchemyn sealed with a little Wax; but that they meane anye contynuance of Peax, we cannot be perswaded, no more then King *Francis* did by a Nombre of Peeces of Parchment sealed, which he sent to King *Henry* the VIIIth: Nor the *French* King that now is, did, by the Parchemyne sealed, which he sent to King *Edward* the VIth. And whereas now the King's Majesties Contreys ar in Warre with *France*, as well as *England*: If the Peace be ones made, the *French* will soon seek Occasion to fall out with *England* againe; and then may it perhaps chaunce so, that *Spaine* will not think it necessarye for them to venture yn Warre againe with *France*. Whereas now the Kings Majestie cannot Honorablye, nor entendith not (as he himself hath declared and said) to make any Peace without us. So that the Premisses consydered, we cannot for our Parts thinke, that *Christendom* shall be restored to a good Peace, though we forsake *Callais*, but that then we shall be more oppressed with War than before. And in Case we must needs have War, as good it seemeth to contynue in it yet for a while, being conjoyned to the King's Majestie, who beareth the Chief Burthen and Charges of it; then shortelye after to begynne a new, and to stand in Danger to have all the Burthen lye on our Neckes. And then should we know what a Jewell we had forsaken, when we did agree to forgo *Callais*; and that by the Retencion of *Callais*, the *French* meant nothing less, then the quietnes of *Christendom*.

We

We have thought it our Dutie to declare to your Lordſhipes what our Opynion is heerin. Which neverthelesse we pray your Lordſhipes to accepte yn good Parte.

I the Biſhop of *Ely* retourned to *Cercamp*, according to the King's Majeſties Appointment; where I have contynued till now that I came hither to conſult upon theſe Matters with my Colleagues. And all this while hath there nothing ben done yn our Matters for *England*; but the other Commiſſioners have ben buſye contynuallye. And as far as I can learn, they are not yett all agreed uppon the Matters of *Piedmount*, nor of *Corſica*, nor *Siena*. Yea, and as I heere, the *French* begyne now to call the Matters of *Navarre* in queſtion; and to aſk Reſtitution thereof; yn ſo much, that ſome begyne to thinke contrary to that hath ben commonlye thought hitherto; that the Ende of this Matter will be, that all ſhall departe, *re infecta*.

After we had written thus farre, I the Earle of *Arundall*, receyved a Letter from the Biſhope of *Arras*, of the 17th of this Preſent; wherin amonge other Things he writeth thus. *Monſieur Leveſque de Ely vous aura dit en qu'els termes nous eſtious a ſon Partement en ce Purgatoire. Et hier les Francois nous declarerent qu'en toutes choſes condeſcendrout ils pluſtot que de venir a ce de Calais: Ne qu'il leur eſhappe: Et nous leur declaraſmes derechef au contraire que ſans ſatisfaire a Royaume d' Angleterre nous ne traiterous en facon quelconque avec eux & fut noſtre depart ſur ce til qu'il y a plus d' appareuce de rompre que de concluſion.*

So that by this lykewiſe it may ſeme, that they agree not beſt: But whether that be for *Callais* onelye, we doubt much. And thus we bid your good Lordſhipes moſt hartely well to fare. From *Arras* the 18th of *November*, 1558.

Your good Lordſhipes moſt aſſuredly.

Arundell.

Thomas Elye.

N. Wotton.

Nunber

Number 44.

A Letter of Jewel's *to* Peter Martyr, *from* Strasburg, *of the State of Affairs in* England.

Scripta (ut videtur) 1558.

Juellus ad Martyrem.
S. P.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

DE prima illa noſtra Profectione, & de novis omnibus, quæ tum ferebantur Baſileæ, ſcripſi ad te per D. Simlerum noſtrum. Quinto poſtridie vix pervenimus Argentinam; tantoper miſeri coacti ſumus hærere in luto. Hic omnes noſtros invenimus incolumes, & cupidiſſimos tui. Quid Sandus, Hornus, aliique noſtri fecerint in Anglia, nihil adhuc audivimus. Neque id ſanè mirum. Profecti enim Argentina ad Viceſimum primum Decembris, vix Viceſimo poſt die potuerunt pervenire Antuerpiam, quod Rhenus conſtrictus glacie, illorum Navigationem impediret. Hoc tantum audimus, Reditum illorum Reginæ eſſe gratiſſimum; idque illam non obſcurè præ ſe ferre. Si Epiſcopi pergant porro ut cæperunt, erit brevi magna Vilitas Epiſcopatuum. Certum enim eſt, Chriſtopherſonum, Rabulam illum Ciceſtrenſem, eſſe mortuum; quod idem de Vatſono quoq; Lincolnienſi nunciatur: Quod ſi ita eſt, vacant hoc tempore Epiſcopatus quatuordecim. Whitus tuus, in funere Mariæ, quemadmodum ad te ſcripſi cum eſſem Baſileæ, habuit ad Populum inſanam, & turbulentiſſimam Concionem; Omnia potius tentanda eſſe, quàm ut quicquam de Religione immutaretur. Bonum factum, ſi quis exules reduces interfecerit. Accuſatus eſt Seditionis à Marchione Vintonienſi Theſaurario, & Hetho Archiepiſcopo Eboracenſi. Londinenſis juſſus eſt, reddere Hæredibus D. Ridlæi, quæcunque illis per vim & injuriam eripuerat. Vocabitur brevi ad Cauſæ dictionem; interim jubetur, ſe domi continere, tanquam in carcere. Regina edixit, ne quis habeat Concionem ad Populum, neve Papiſta, neve Miniſter Evangelij. Id alij factum putant, quòd cum unus tantum eſſet Miniſter Verbi tum temporis Londini, Benthamus, tantus eſſet numerus Papiſtarum. Alij, quòd audita una tantum Benthami publica Concione, Populus inter ſe cæperit litigare de Ceremoniis: Et alij Genevenſes eſſe vellent, alij Francofordiani. Quicquid eſt, utinam ne noſtri Homines nimium prudenter & politicè verſari velint in Cauſa Dei. Multi putant D. Coquum fore Magnum Cancellarium; Hominem bonum quidem, & pium, uti noſti; ſed illi muneri, meo judicio, non aptiſſimum. Elienſis hæret adhuc apud Philippum, dum aliquid de iſta præclara Pace, ſi Deo placet, transfigatur; quæ qualis, aut quam firma, & diuturna futura ſit, Θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται. D. Iſabella, ſpero, vocabitur in Angliam.

Videa

Video enim alios quoque nostros Homines, de ea re seriò cogitare. D. Zanchius etiam scribet ad Reginam: Erat scripturus ad totum Parliamentum, nisi ego dissuasissem; id enim mihi videbatur alienum. Cranmerus Puer relictus est Argentinæ apud Abelum, ut meæ Fidei committeretur: Ego ab Abelo mutuo sumpsi Coronatos pueri nomine. Oro Julium, ut Sarcinam & Pecuniam, quam reliquimus numeratam apud te, ad illum mittat Argentinam. Ille tibi curabit cautionem, eamq; vel deponet apud D. Zanchium, vel, si mavis, ad te mittet. Bene vale, mi dulcissime Pater, & plus quam Animi dimidium mei. Nolo ad te omnia; oportuit enim me etiam ad D. Bullingerum aliquæ scribere: Cui ego Viro, pro summa ejus erga me Humanitate, debeo omnia. Sed ea, quæcunque sunt, non dubito, tibi cum illo fore communia.

D. Hetonus, D. Abelus, D. Springhamus, D. Parkhurstus, te plurimùm salutant, & cùm tibi cupiant omnia, nihil tamen magis cupiunt hoc tempore quàm Angliam. Saluta D. Muraltum, Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, & omnes tuos meosque, meo nomine.

D. Fr. Beti, & D. Acontius, sunt nunc Argentinæ. Uterque te plurimùm salutant. Ego D. Beti reddidi Literas D. Isabellæ: Id obsecro, ut illi significes.

Argentinæ, 26. *Januar.*

JOHANNES JUELLUS

Ex Animo, & semper, Tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, in Ecclesiâ Tigurinâ Professori S. Theologiæ, Domino suo Colendissimo.

Number 45.

A Letter of Gualter's *to Dr.* Masters, *advising a Thorough Reformation.*

Domino Richardo Mastero, Medico Regio, Amico veteri, & Fratri suo dilecto.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

GRatulabar mihi non parùm, Annis superioribus, quando regnante Edvardo Sexto Sanctæ Memoriæ, tu prior scribendi Officium, quod multis annis intermissum fuerat, repetere cæpisti. At nunc

multò

multò magis & tibi & mihi gratulor, Vir doctissime, & Frater in Christo observande, quòd ea Tempora Angliæ vestræ, per Dei Clementiam, reducta esse audimus; quando sub Reginæ piissimæ Tutela, piis Hominibus, Deum verè colendi Libertas restituetur, & Amicorum Literæ tutò hinc inde ferri & referri poterunt. Agnoscimus in his admirabilem Dei Sapientiam & Bonitatem, qui Ecclesiæ suæ Ærumnas lætis vicibus temperare solet, ne tentationum fluctibus toti obruantur. Faxit idem ille, ut Spei fidelium, quam de Angliæ Regno jam omnes conceperunt, satisfiat. Quod eò magis futurum puto, si quicunque illic in aliquo Dignitatis gradu collocati estis, Ecclesiæ & Religionis Curam ad vos cum primis pertinere memineritis, nec illorum admiseritis Consilia, qui cum Papatum nec honestè defendi, nec totum retineri posse vident, ad artes convertuntur, quibus Religionis Formam mixtam; incertam & dubiam fingunt, & eandem, sub Evangelicæ Reformationis prætextu, Ecclesiæ obtrudunt; ex quâ deinde facillimus est ad Papisticam Superstitionem & Idolomaniam transitus. Quod non eò scribo, quòd tales apud vos esse sciam, sed quod ne tales sint metuo. Jam enim annis aliquot in Germania, magno Ecclesiarum malo experti sumus, quantum ejusmodi Homines valeant. Eò quod illorum Consilia, carnis judicio, Modestiæ plena, & ad alendam Concordiam, cumprimis idonea esse videantur, & credibile est, publicum illum humanæ Salutis hostem, apud vos quoque sua flabella inventurum, quorum operâ Papatûs semina retinere studeat. Quibus Scripturæ sanctæ, & Verbi divini armis, constanter resistendum fuerit, ne dum circa prima initia, aliquam mediocrem animorum offensionem declinare studemus; multa ad tempus duntaxat duratura admittantur, quæ postea vix ullo studio, & non absque gravissimis tentationibus omnino tolli possint. Exempla hujus mali Germanicæ Ecclesiæ multa viderunt, quorum consideratione edocti, suspecta habemus quæcunque cum syncera Verbi Doctrina, aliqua ex parte pugnant. Nec me alia ratione, ut hæc moneam, adduci credas, quam quod Angliæ vestræ, ob veterem Consuetudinem, cujus vel sera Recordatio mihi etiam hodie jucundissima est, mirificè faveo. De Rebus nostris certiorem te reddet Parkhurstus, noster Frater, & Hospes meus dilectissimus, quem tibi commendatissimum esse velim. Sustinuit ille jam toto quinquennio, graves exilij molestias; inter quas tamen, admirabilem Fidei Constantiam, & Patientiam incredibilem conjunxit. Nunc spe læta plenus, in Patriam contendit, ut Ecclesiæ renascentis Causam pro suo talento adjuvet. Nec dubito, quin bonam operam præstiturus sit, cum Scripturarum Cognitionem habeat præclaram, & Veritatis studiosissimus sit, & à Contentionibus abhorreat, quarum studiosi vix aliquem in Ecclesia fructum faciunt. Optimè ergo feceris, si tua Authoritate illum juves, & pro virili provehas. Mihi verò nihil jucundius fuerit, quàm si ex tuis Literis intelligam, nostræ Amicitiæ memoriam penes te adhuc salvam esse, quæ certè in animo meo nunquam intermori poterit. Vale, Vir præstantissime. Tiguri, 16. Januarij 1559.

Number 46.

A Letter of the Earl of Bedford's *to* Bullinger, *from* Venice.

T I T.

Doctissimo Viro Domino Bullingero, Sacræ Theologiæ Professori eximio Tiguri.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

CUM meus in Te Amor singularis, & perpetua Observantia, quâ te semper Religionis Causâ sum prosecutus, tum tua erga me incredibilis Humanitas, multis modis à me perspecta, cùm Tiguri fuerim, (Bullingere Doctissime) fecerunt, ut hasce Literas animi erga Te, mei pignus certissimum, & veluti Tabulas obsignatas mei in Te perpetui amoris quas extare volui, huic adolescenti ad Te darem. In quibus ita tibi gratias ago, propter tuam Humanitatem, ut etiam me tibi relaturum pollicear, si quâ in re tibi unquam gratificari queam. Atque hæc ita à me dicta velim accipias, non sicut Homines qui hodie verborum quandam speciem inducunt, & officiosam formam, magis id adeo ut videantur, quàm quod esse velint id quod præ se ferant: Sed potius, ut ab animo sincero, & prorsus tibi devinctissimo profecta, certissimum tibi persuadeas. Itaque, si quid tuâ Causâ unquam facere possim, (quod quàm exiguum sit non ignoro) illud tamen, quantulumcunque erit tuum erit totum. Sed de hoc satis, & fortasse superque, præsertim etiam cùm adhuc mihi statutum sit, (si alia non intervenerint, quæ inceptum iter aliò evalere possint) ut vos obiter invisam in Angliam reversuro. Ubi id vivâ voce confirmare, quod hic nudis verbis solummodò declarare possum. Juvenis, qui has Literas perfert mihi, nunciavit de obitu Conradi Pellicani, (quem Honoris Causâ nomino) quod ut audivi, sanè quam pro eo ac debui, graviter molestèque tuli, non tam suâ, quam Ecclesiæ universæ Causâ. Is enim hujus vitæ Curriculum, in curis, vigiliis, assiduis studiis, literatis Hominibus promovendis, gloriosissimè confecit, ac denique moriendo quemadmodum vivebat ad meliorem vitam in Cœlum translatus est. At illa multum desiderabit plurimis nominibus, virum absolutissimum: Itaque, ut illius Causa lætor, ita hujus vicem non possum non magnopere dolere. At hujus mæstitiæ causam tui (ut spero & opto) præsentia facilè mitigabit, quem Ecclesiæ, bonisque omnibus, diù incolumem Deus Opt. Max. per suam Misericordiam esse velit. Venet. 6. Calend. Maias.

Tui Nominis Studiosissimus,

F. BEDFORD.

Domino Gesnero, & Domino Gualthero, meis amicissimis diligenter à me, quæso, Salutem dicito.

Number

Number 47.

A Letter of Jewel's *to* Peter Martyr, *of the State he found Matters in when he came to* England

S. P.

TAndem tamen aliquando, Quinquegesimo, videlicet, Septimo post Die, quam solvissemus Tiguro, parvenimusque in Angliam. Quid enim necesse est multa ἀφοσιμάζειν, apud te præsertim, qui rem potius ipsam quæras, & longos istos logos non magni facias? Interea verò, Deum immortalem, quæ illa Vita fuit, cùm & Aqua, & Terra, & Cælum ipsum nobis indignaretur, & omnibusque modis reditum nostrum impediret? Quid quæris? Omnia nobis toto illo tempore odiosissima, & adversissima acciderunt. Verùm hæc antea ad te, & ad D. Bullingerum fusius, cùm adhuc hærerem Antwerpiæ. Nunc accipe cætera. Quanquam hic, ut verè dicam, arte opus est & myrothecüs: Non tam quidem, quod mihi nunc ornanda, & polienda sint nova, quæ nescio an ulla sint hoc tempore. Scio tamen à te plurima expectari, quàm quòd recantanda sint vetera. Illa enim ferè omnia, quæ ego ad te jam antea scripsi ex itinere, multò tùm erant alia, & longè auditu jucundiora, quàm quæ postea re ipsa inveni domi. Nondum enim ejectus erat Romanus Pontifex: Nondum pars ulla religionis restituta: Eadem erat ubique missarum proluvies: Eadem pompa, atq; insolentia Episcoporum. Ista tamen omnia nunc tandem mutare incipiunt, & pene ruere. Magno nobis impedimento sunt Episcopi: Qui, cum sint, ut scis, in superiori Conclavi inter primores, & proceres, & nemo ibi sit nostrorum Hominum, qui illorum fucos, & mendacia possit, coram dicendo refutare, inter Homines Literarum, & rerum imperitos soli regnant, & paterculos nostros facile vel Numero, vel Opinione Doctrinæ circumscribunt. Regina interea, etsi apertè faveat nostræ Causæ, tamen partim à suis, quorum Consilio omnia geruntur, partim à Legato Philippi Comite *Terio* Homine Hispano, ne quid patiatur innovari mirificè deterretur. Illa tamen quamvis lentiùs aliquantò, quàm nos velimus, tamen & prudenter, & fortiter, & piè persequitur institutum. Et quamvis hactenus Principia, paulo visa sunt duriora, tamen spes, est aliquando rectè fore. Interea, ne Episcopi nostri queri possint se potentia tantum, & lege esse victos, res revocata est ad Disputationem, ut novem ex nostris, Scoræus, Coxus, Withedus, Sandus, Grindallus, Hornus, Elmer, Ghestus quidam Cantabrigiensis, ex ego, cum quinque Episcopis, Abbate Westmonasteriensi, Colo, Cheadsæo, Harpes feldo, de his rebus coram Senatu colloquamur. Prima nostra assertio est: In publicis precibusq; & Administratione Sacramentorum alia uti Lingua, quàm quæ à Populo intelligatur, alienum esse à verbo Dei, & à consuetudine Primitiva Ecclesiæ. Altera est; Quamvis Ecclesiam Provincialem,

Ex MSS. Tigur.

etiam injussu Generalis Concilii, posse vel instituere, vel mutare, vel abrogare Ceremonias, & Ritus Ecclesiasticos, sic ubi id videatur facere ad Ædificationem. Tertia sacrificium illud propitiatorium, quod Papista fingunt esse in Missa, non posse probari ex Sacris Literis. Pridie Calendarum Aprilis instituitur Prima conflictatio. Episcopi interim, quasi partâ Victoriâ, jamdudum Magnificè Triumphant. Ubi Froschoverus ad nos venit, scribam de his rebus omnia disertius. Regina te cugerit in oculis. Literas tuas tanti fecit, ut eas iterum, tertiosq; cupidissimè relegerit. Librum tuum, ubi advenerit, non dubito, fore multò gratiorem. Oxonii à tuo discessu duæ præclaræ virtutes incredibiliter auctæ sunt, inscitia, & contumacia: Religio, & spes omnis Literarum, atq; ingeniorum funditùs periit. Brochas Episcopus Glocestriensis bestia impurissimæ Vitæ, ex multò impurioris Conscientiæ, paulò antequam Moreretur, miserabilem in modum exclamavit, sese jam se ipso judice esse damnatum. Faber tuus præclarus, scilicet, Patronus castitatis deprehensis est in adulterio: Ex ea Causa, quod alioqui vix solet fieri, cùm Maria adhuc viveret, novô more, nullo exemplo jussus est cedere Lectione Theologica. Bruernus simili, sed longè flagitiosiori de scelere coactus est relinquere Professionem Lingnæ Hebraicæ. De Martiali nihil Scribo, ne Chartas contamirem. De Westono audisti antea. Sed quid istos, inquies, Commemores? Ut intelligas, quibus judicibus oportuerit B. Crannerum, P. Ridlæum, P. Latimerum condemnari. De Scotis, de Pace, de Bello nihil. Ternas ad te dedi Litaras ex itinere: Quæ utrumq; ad te pervenerint, nescio. Sed quoniam longè absumus, longiùs, ô Deum Immortalem, & diutius multò, quàm vellem, Literæ nostræ interdum ventis & fortunæ committendæ sunt. Vale, mi Pater, & Domine in Christo Colendissime, Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Lavaterum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum, D. Hermannum, & convictores tuos Trevicenses. Omnes nostri te salutant. Londini 20 Martii, 1559

Jo. Juellus

Istæ sunt Primæ, quas ad te scribo, ex quo redii in Angliam. Ita posthac subscribam omnes, ut scire possis, si quæ forte interciderint.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo Viro D. Petro Martyri Vermilio. Professori Sacræ Theologiæ in Ecclesia Tigurina Domino suo Colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 48.

A Letter of Juell's *to* Bullinger, *concerning the State of Things in the Beginning of this Reign.*

S. P.

GRatiſſimæ erant mihi Parkurſtoque meo literæ tuæ, ornatiſſimè vir, vel quòd à te ſint, cni quantum debeamus, nunquam poſſumus oblviſci, vel quo ſuavitatis, & humanitatis erga nos tuæ, quam toto nos tempore exilii noſtri experti ſumus maximam, altiſſima veſtigia retinerent. Atque utinam poſſimus aliquando pietatis tuæ partem aliquam compenſare. Quicquid erit, animus certe nobis nunquam deerit; Quod nos hortaris, ut ſtrenuè ac fortiter nos geramus, erat ille aculeus non tantùm non ingratus nobis ſed etiam penè neceſſarius. Nobis enim in hoc tempore non tantum cum adverſariis, ſed etiam cum amicis noſtris, qui proximis iſtis annis à nobis defecerunt & cum hoſtibus conjurarunt, jamque acrius multò, & contumacius reſiſtunt, quàm ulli hoſtes, quodque moleſtiſſimum eſt, cum reliquiis Hiſpanorum, hoc eſt cum teterrimis vitiis, ſuperbia, luxu, libidine luctandum eſt. Facimus quidem nos, fecimuſque quod potuimus. Deus bene fortunet, & det Incrementum. Sed ita hactenus vivimus, ut vix videamur reſtituti ab exilio. Ne dicam aliud : ne ſuum quidem adhuc reſtitutum eſt cuiquam noſtrum. Quanquam, & ſi moleſta nobis eſt iſta tam diuuturna expectatio, tamen non dubitamus, brevi rectè fore. Habemus enim Reginam & prudentem, & piam, & nobis faventem & propitiam. Religio reſtituta eſt in eum locum, quo ſub Edwardo rege fuerat, ad eam rem non dubito, tuas, reipublicæque veſtræ literas & exhortationes multum ponderis attuliſſe. Regina non vult appellari aut ſcribi. Caput Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ: graviter enim reſpondit, illam dignitatem ſoli eſſe attributam Chriſto : nemini autem mortalium convenire. Deinde illos titulos tàm fœdè contaminatos eſſe ab Anti-chriſto ut jam non poſſint amplius ſatis piè à quoquam uſurpari. Academiæ noſtræ ita afflictæ ſunt, & perditæ, ut Oxonii vix duo ſint, qui nobiſcem ſentiant, & illi ipſi ita abjecti & fracti, ut nihil poſſint. Ita Soto fraterculus, & alius, neſcio quis, Hiſpanus Monachus, omnia ea, quæ D. Petrus Martyr pulcherrimè plantaverat, everterunt à radicibus, & vineam Domini redegerunt in Solitudinem. Vix credas tantam vaſtitatem afferri potuiſſe tam parvo tempore. Quare & ſi magnam alioqui voluptatem capturus ſim, ſi vel canem Tigurinum videre poſſem in Anglia, tamen non poſſum eſſe Author hoc tempore, ut juvenes veſtros aut literarum aut religionis cauſa ad nos mittatis, niſi eoſdem remitti velitis ad vos, impios & barbaros. Rogavit me nuper D. Ruſſelius qua maximè re tibi, aliiſque tuis fratribus, & Symmiſtis gratum facere. Hoc videlicet, ſenſit, vellé ſe Humanitatis veſtræ, quam ſemper prædicat & hoſpitii cauſa aliquid ad vos dono mittere. Ego verò nihil tibi tuiſqne fore gratius, quàm ſi religionem Chriſti ſtudioſe ac fortiter propagaret & papiſtarum inſolentiam imminueret. Quod ille & recepit ſe facturum, &

Ex MSS. Tigur.

3 certè

certè facit, quantum potest. Venerunt hodie Londinum Legati Regis Galliæ, qui gratulantur de pace; Princeps legationis est juvenis Momorancius. De nuptiis Reginæ adhuc nihil. Ambit quidem filius Johannis Frederici, & frater secundus natu Maximiliani. Vulgi tamen suspicio inclinat in Pikerimum hominem Anglum, virum & prudentem & pium, & regia corporis dignitate præditum. Deus bene vertat, quicquid erit. Istæ primæ sunt, quas ad te seorsim scripsi, ex quo redii in Angliam: Sed quoniam, quæ scripsi ad D. Martyrem, scio illum propter summam inter vos conjunctionem tecum habuisse communia non dubito, quæcunque ad illum scripsi, eadem ad te quoque scripta dicere. Bene vale mi pater, & Domine in Christo colendissime. Saluta optimam illam mulierem uxorem tuam: D. Gualterum D. Simlerum D. Zuinglium, D. Lavaterum. Si quid unquam erit, in quo possim, aut tibi aut tuis esse voluptati, aut usui, polliceor tibi non tantùm operam, studium, diligentiam, sed etiam animum & corpus meum. 22. Maij Londini, 1559.

Tui Studiosis

Jo. Juelluo.

INSCRIPTIO,

Viro longè Doctissimo D. Henricho Bullingero Pastori Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ Dignissimo & Domino suo Colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 49.

A Letter of Jewell's *to* Peter Martyr, *concerning the Disputation with the Papists at* Westminster.

Idem ad P. Martyrem.

S. P.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

DE illis Disputationibus inter nos, & Episcopos, quas proximis Literis Scripsi indictas fuisse in ante Calendas Aprilis quid factum sit, paucis accipe. Sic enim visum est continuare Orationem sine proœmis. Primum ergo, ut omnis causa jurgiorum & otiosæ contentionis tolleretur, Senatus decrevit, ut omnia utrinque de scripto legerentur, & ita describerentur tempora, ut primo die assertiones tantum utrinque nudæ proponerentur: Proximô autem conventu, ut

nos

nos illis responderemus, & illi vicissim nobis. Pridie ergò Kal. April, cum magna expectatione, majori credo frequentia convenissimus Westmonasterii, Episcopi, pro sua fide, nec scripti, nec picti quicquam attulerunt, quod dicerent, se non satis temporis habuisse ad res tantas cogitandas: Cum tamen habuissent plùs minùs decem dies, & interea copias auxiliares Oxoniô & Cantabrigiâ, & undiq; ex omnibus angulis contraxissent. Tamen ne tot Viri viderentur frustra convenisse, D. Colus subornatus ab aliis venit in medium, qui de prima quæstione, hoc est, de peregrina Lingua, unus omnium nomine peroraret. Ille verò cum omnibus nos contumeliis & convitiis indignissimè excepisset, & omnium seditionum authores & faces appellâsset, & supplosione pedum, projectione brachiorum, inflexione laterum, crepitu digitorum, modò dejectione modò sublatione superciliorum, (nôsti enim hominis vultum & modestiam) sese omnes in partes & formas convertisset, huc postremò evasit, ut diceret, Angliam ante mille trecentos Annos recepisse Evangelium. Et quibus, inquit, Literis, quibus annalibus, quibus monumentis constare potest, Preces tum publicas in Anglia habitas, fuisse Anglicè. Postea cùm in illo Circulo sese satis jamdiu jactavisset, adjecit seriò, & vero vultu, atq; etiam admonuit, ut omnes hoc tanquam quiddam de dictis melioribus diligenter attenderent, atque annotarent, Apostolos ab initio ita inter sese distribuisse operas, ut alij Orientis Ecclesias instituerent, alij Occidentis. Itaque Petrum & Paulum, in Romana Ecclesia, quæ totam propè Europam contineret, omnia Romano sermone, hoc est, latinè docuisse. Reliquos Apostolos in Oriente, nullo unquam alio Sermone usus fuisse, nisi Græco. Tu fortasse ista rides: Atqui ego neminem audivi unquam, qui solenniùs & magistratiùs insaniret. Si adfuisset Julius noster, centies exclamâsset, *Poh! Horson Knave.* Verùm ille, inter alia, nihil veritus est, mysteria ipsa & penetralia, atq; adyta prodere Religionis suæ. Non enim dubitavit graviter & seriò monere, etiamsi alia omnia maximè conveniunt, tamen non expedire, ut Populus, quid in sacris ageretur, intelligat. Ignorantia enim, inquit, Mater est veræ Pietatis, quam ille appellavit Devotionem. O Mystica sacra, atque Opertanea Bonæ Deæ! Quid tu me putas interim de Cotta Pontifice cogitâsse? Hoc videlicet illud est, In Spiritu & Veritate adorare. Mitto alia. Cum ille jam calumniando, convitiando, mentiendo magnam partem illius temporis, quod nobis ad disputandum datum erat, exemisset; nos postremò nostra pronunciavimus de scripto, ita modestè, ut rem tantum ipsam diceremus, nihil autem læderemus adversarium, postremò ita dimissa est Disputatio, ut vix quisquam esset in toto illo Conventu, ne Comes quidem Salopiensis, quin Victoriam illius diei adjudicaret nobis. Postea inita est Ratio, ut proximo die Lunæ, de secunda Quæstione eodem modo diceremus; utque die Mercurij, nos illorum primi Diei Argumentis responderemus, & illi vicissim nostris.

Die Lunæ, cum frequens Multitudo, ex omni Nobilitate cupidissima, audiendi convenisset, Episcopi, nescio pudoreve superioris diei, an desperatione victoriæ, primùm tergiversari, habere se quod dicerent de prima Quæstione, nec oportere rem sic abire. Responsum est à Senatu, Si quid haberent, id tertio post die, prout ab initio convenerat, audiri posse: Nunc hoc potius agerent, neve turbarent Ordinem.

nem. Dejecti de hoc gradu tamen huc evaserunt, si dicendum omnino sit, nolle se priores dicere; se enim in Possessione constitisse: Nos, si quid vellemus, priori loco experiremur. Magnam enim se facturos injuriam causæ suæ, si paterentur, nos posteriores discedere cum applausu Populi, & aculeos Orationis nostræ recentes in auditorum animis relinquere. Senatus contrà, Hanc ab initio institutam fuisse Rationem, ut illi, quòd dignitate priores essent, priori etiam loco dicerent; nec eam nunc mutari posse. Mirari verò se, quid hoc sit Mysterij, cùm omnino necesse sit, alterutros priores dicere; alioqui enim nihil posse dici: Et præsertim, cum Colus in primis Disputationibus etiam injussus, ultrò prior ad dicendum prosiluerit. Postremò, Cum altercationibus magna pars temporis extracta esset, nec Episcopi ullo pacto concedere vellent se secundo loco, ad extremum sine Disputatione discessum est. Ea verò res incredibile dictu est, quantum imminuerit Opinionem Populi de Episcopis: Omnes enim cœperunt jam suspicari, quod nihil dicere voluissent; ne potuisse quidem illos quicquam dicere. Postero die, Vitus Vintoniensis, amicus tuus, & Vatsonus Lincolniensis, de tam aperto contemptu & contumacia, damnati sunt ad Turrim: Ibi nunc castrametantur, & ex infirmis præmissis concludunt fortiter. Reliqui jubentur quotidiè, præstò esse in Aula, & expectare quid de illis Senatus velit decernere. Habes ἔντυξιν ἁπλῆ, & penè ἀνέντυκτον; quam tamen, quô meliùs rem omnem intelligeres, descripsi pluribus, fortasse, quam oportuit. Benè vale, mi Pater, Decus meum, atque etiam Animi dimidium mei. Si quid est apud vos novarum rerum, hoc tempore, id malo esse proximarum Literarum Argumentum. Saluta plurimùm, meo nomine, venerandum illum Virum, & mihi in Christo Dominum colendissimum, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lavaterum, D. Wolphium, D. Gesnerum, D. Hallerum, D. Frisium, D. Hermannum, & Julium tuum meumque. Nostri omnes te salutant, & tibi omnia cupiunt. Londini, 6. April. 1559.

Jo. Juellus tuus.

Post-script

Istæ sunt secundæ, quas ad te scribo, ex quo redij in Angliam.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Petro Martyri, Professori Sacræ Theologiæ in Ecclesia Tigurina, Viro Doctissimo, & Domino suo in Christo Colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 50.

A Letter of Jewell's *to* Peter Martyr, *of the Debates in the House of Lords; and of the State of the Universities; and concerning the Inclinations to the* Smalcaldick *League.*

S. P.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

ACcepi ternas à te Literas, omnes eodem fermè tempore: Quæ cum multis de causis mihi essent, ut certe debebant, jucundissimæ, vel quòd essent à te, vel quòd Rerum tuarum Statum significarent, & amorem erga me tuum: Tamen nullâ aliâ causâ mihi visæ sunt jucundiores, quàm quòd officium meum requirerent, meq; vel oblivionis vel tarditatis, blandè ac tacitè accusarent; quorum alterum magnitudo tuorum erga me meritorum, alterum negotia mea non sinunt. Scripsi quidem ego ad te ternas Literas, ex quo redij in Angliam; quas tamen video, cùm tu illas tuas scriberes, nondum ad te pervenisse. Et fieri potest, ut sæpe fit, ut aut hæreant uspiam, & ignavæ atq; otiosæ imitentur Religionem nostram, aut etiam perierint in itineri. Sed quicquid est, nulla potest in ea re magna jactura fieri. Erant enim penè inanes, quòd non multum adhuc esset, quod aut tu audire libenter velles, aut ego scribere. Nunc agitur Causa Pontificis, & agitur utrinque fortiter. Episcopi enim sudant, ne quid errâsse videantur: Atq; ea Causa moratur, & impedit Religionem. Difficile est enim Cursum incitare. Fecnamus, Abbas Westmonasteriensis, opinor, ut authoritatem addent Professioni suæ, cùm peroraret in Senatû, Nazaræos, Prophetas, Christum ipsum, & Apostolos conjecit in Numerum Monachorum. Nemo Causam nostram acriùs oppugnat, quam Eliensis. Is & locum suum in Senatu, & ingenium retinet. Episcoporum prædia redacta sunt in fiscum: Illis ex permutatione dabuntur Sacerdotia, quæ antea attributa erant Monasteriis. Interim de Scholis, & cura Literarum magnum ubique Silentium. Regina de te honorificè & loquitur, & sentit. Dixit nuper D. Russelio, se velle te accersere in Angliam; id enim ille, aliique urgent, quantum possunt. Sed nisi & seriò, & cupidè, & honorificè petaris, nunquam ero author, ut venias. Nihil equidem magis, aut miserius cupio, quam te videre, & dulcissimis illis Sermonibus tuis frui, sive (quod ô utinam aliquando contingat) in Anglia, sive etiam Tiguri. Verùm quantum video obstabit desiderio nostro, inauspicata illa ex Saxis ac Saxonibus damnata παρεσβία. Nostra enim nunc cogitat Fœdus Smalcaldicum. Scribit autem ad illam quidam è Germania, illud Fœdus non posse ullo pacto coire, si tu ad nos venias. Illum autem quendam, si addo aliquando fuisse Episcopum, si nunc esse exulem, si hominem statum, si veteratorem, si aulicum, si Petrum, si Paulum, magis eum fortasse nôris, quam ego. Sed quicquid est, nos Articulos omnes Religionis, & Doctrinæ no-

ſtræ exhibuimus Reginæ, & ne minimo quidem apice diſceſſimus à Confeſſione Tigurinâ. Quanquam Amicus tuus Inventum illud, neſcio quod, ſuum tuetur mordicus, & nobis omnibus mirificè ſuccenſet. Adhuc nemini noſtrûm ne de obulo quidem proſpectum eſt. Itaque ego nondum abjicio inſignia illa, quæ mihi finxi Tiguri, Librum & crucem. Goodmannum audio eſſe apud nos; ſed ita, ut non auſit venire in publicum. Sed quanto ſatius fuiſſet ſapuiſſe in tempore? Si velit agnoſcere errorem, nihil erit periculi. Verùm, ut homo eſt ſatis acer, & in eo, quod ſemel ſuſcepit, nimium pertinax, non nihil vereor, ne nolit cedere. Libri tui nondum venerunt: Id ego tanto magis miror, quòd tot Angli jam pridem redierint Francofordiâ. Munus tuum ubi advenerit, non dubito Reginæ fore gratiſſimum. Illud ego, quoniam tu ita jubes, quamvis alioquin ſit per ſe ornatiſſimum, tamen ſi dabitur facultas, verbis ornabo meis. De illo autem Libro, quem tu ſeorſim ad me miſiſti, equidem non invenio, quibus verbis tibi agam gratias. Itaque malo, & huic humanitati tuæ, & ſuperiorum tuorum erga me meritorum magnitudini ultrò ſuccumbere. Certè etſi te nunquam ex animo eram dimiſſurus, tamen hâc commonefactione, & mnemoſyno excitatus, tanto acriùs & reverentiùs colam, quoad vixero, Nomen tuum. Alij tui Libri jampridem allati ſunt à Bibliopolis, & emuntur cupidiſſimè. Omnes enim libenter videre cupiunt, quibus Venabulis illa Beſtia confoſſa ſit.

Benè vale mi Pater, & Domine in Chriſto Colendiſſime. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum: Dicerem & Frenchamum, niſi illum putarem jamdudum aut in Balneo eſſe, aut in via. Hoc enim Anni tempore, cum auditur Cuculus, vix ſolet eſſe apud ſe. *Londini*, 28. *Apr.* 1559.

Tui Cupidiſſimus,

Tuoq; Nomini Deditiſſimus,

Iſtæ ſunt Quartæ. JOHANNES JUELLUS.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctiſſimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, in Eccleſiâ Tigurinâ Profeſſori S. Theologiæ, Domino ſuo Colendiſſimo. Tiguri.

Number

Number 51.

A Letter of Jewel's *to* Peter Martyr *of the State of Affairs both in* England *and* Scotland.

Ejusdem ad Eundem.

HActenus minus frequenter ad te scripsi, mi Pater, quod multa me negotia publica, privataq; impedirent. Nunc scribo, non quod plus nunc otii sit, quam antea, sed quod minus posthac futurum sit multò, quam nunc est. Alterum enim jam pedem in terra habeo, alterum penè sublatum in equum. Mox enim ingredior longinquam & difficilem legationem constituendæ religionis ergò per Redingum, Abindonam, Glocestriam, Bristollium, Thermas, Wellíam, Exonium, Cornubiam, Dorcestriam, Sarisburiam. Ambitus itineris nostri erit plus minus septingentorum milliarium : Vix ut quartò demùm mense putem nos esse redituros. Quare ne me interea putares esse mortuum, etsi ante duodecim dies, nescio quid, ad te scripserim de rebus communibus, tamen non alienum fore duxi, si nunc quoque paucis te quasi in degressu salutarem. Res nostræ satis nunc sunt in proclivi : Regina optimè animata : Populus ubique sitiens religionis. Episcopi, potiùs, quàm ut relinquant Papam, quem toties jam antea abjurarunt, malunt cedere rebus omnibus. Nec tamen id religionis causa faciunt, quam nullam habent, sed constantiæ, quam miseri nebulones vocari jam volunt conscientiam. Sacrifici jam tandem mutata religione passim abstinent à cætu sacro, quasi piaculum summum sit, cum populo Dei quicquam habere commune. Est autem tanta illorum nebulonum rabies, ut nihil suprà. Omnino sperant, & prædicant, est enim, ut scis, genus hominum prædictiosiosum, & valdè deditum futuritionibus ista non fore diuturna. Sed, quicquid futurum est, nos agimus Deo Optimo Maximo gratias, quòd res nostræ eò jam tandem loco sint, quo sunt. In Scotia fervent omnia. Knoxus cinctus mille satellibus agit conventus per totum regnum. Regina vetula coacta est sese includere in præsidium. Nobilitas conjunctis animis, & viribus restituit ubique religionem invitis omnibus. Monasteria passim omnia æquantur solo, vestes scenicæ, calices sacrilegi, idola, altaria comburuntur : Ne vestigia quidem priscæ superstitionis & idololatriæ relinquuntur. Quid quæris ? Audisti sæpè, σκοθιὰ πιεῖν : Hoc verò est σκοθισὴ ἐκκλησιάζειν. Rex Galliæ, qui nunc est, scribit se Regem Scotiæ, & hæredem Angliæ, si quid Reginæ nostræ, quod Deus avertat, contingat humanitùs. Sed mirari non debes, si nostri homines molestè ferant : Et quo res eruptura tandem sit, Θεῶ ἐν γένασι κεῖται. Fortasè, ut sit, communis hostis conciliabit nobis vicinum Scotum. Quod si fit, etsi accedant etiam nuptiæ, sed desino divinare. D. Hetonus te salutat, idque non minùs amice, quàm si illi pater esses. Aliquot nostrum designamur Episcopi. Coxus Eliensis,

Ex MSS. Tigur.

Scoræus Erfordienſis, Alanus Roffenſis, Grindalus Londinenſis, Barlovus Chicheſtrenſis, & ego minimus Apoſtolorum Sariſburienſis. Quod ego onus prorſus decrevi excutere. Interea in Academiis mera est ubique ſolitudo. Juvenes diffugiunt potiùs, quàm ut velint in religionem conſentire. Sed comites jamdudum exſpectant, & clamant, ut veniam. Vale ergo, vale, mi Pater, & dulciſſimum decus meum; ſaluta venerandum virum, & mihi mille nominibus in Chriſto Colendiſſimum. D. Bullingerum, ad quem etiam ſeorſim ſcriberim, ſi eſſet otium. Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D Lavaterum, D Hallerum, D. Geſnerum, D. Triſium, D. Hermannum. Habeo quinque piſtolettos aureos à D. Barth. Compagno ad venerandum ſenem D. Bernardinum, & ab eodem ad eum literas. Scriberem ad eum de rebus omnibus, niſi excluderer auguſtiâ temporis. Quanquam hoc, quæſo te, ut illi ſignifices, præter iſtos aureos, nihil adhuc confectum eſſe. Res aulicæ, quantùm video, ita ſunt difficiles, ut neſciam, an quicquam poſſit exprimi. Regina jam abeſt procul gentium in Cantio, ut agi nihil poſſit. Vale, mi Pater, vale. Quantùm ego tibi optare poſſum, tantum vale. Et Julium tuum, Annamque & Martyrillum meo nomine Londini Calendis Auguſti, 1559.

Jo. Juellus tuus,
Tibi omnibus modis deditiſſimus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Viro longè Doctiſſimo D. Petro Martyri Vermilio Profitenti Sacram Theologiam in Eccleſia Tigurina.

Tiguri.

Number 52.

A Letter of Jewell'*s to* Peter Martyr, *before he went his Progreſs into the Weſtern Parts of* England.

Ejuſdem ad Eundem.

S. P.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

ET quid tandem ego ad te Scribam? Nos enim adhuc omnes peregrini ſumus domi noſtræ. Redi ergo, inquies, Tigurum. Utinam, utinam, mi Pater, id mihi aliquando liceat. Te enim, quantum

 video,

video, nulla spes est venturum unquam in Angliam. ô Tigurum, Tigurum, quantò ego nunc sæpius de te cogito, quàm unquam de Anglia, cum essem Tiguri. Quamvis autem, ut dixi, in Patria nostra simus hospites, excipimus tamen interdum quædam ἄγαλα ϰ̀ ἀδήγαλα. Vèrum πολλάκι τὸ κακὸν κατακείμενον ἔνδον ἄμεινον. De religione transactum est, utinam bonis auspiciis, ut esset eo loco, quo fuit ultimis tuis temporibus sub Edouardo. Sed, quantum quidem ego adhuc videre possum, non est ea alacritas in nostris hominibus, quæ nuper in Papistis fuit. Ita miserè comparatum est, ut mendacium armatum sit, veritas autem non tantum inermis, verùm etiam sæpe odiosa. Agitur nunc de sacro & scenico apparatu, quæque ego tecum aliquando ridens, ea nunc, à nescio, quibus, nos enim non advocamur in consilium, seriò, & graviter cogitantur, quasi religio Christiana constare non possit sine pannis. Nos quidem non ita otiosi sumus ab animo, ut tanti possimus facere istas ineptias. Alii sectantur auream quandam, quæ mihi plumbea potius videtur, mediocritatem: Et clamant, dimidium plus toto. Quidam ex nostris designati sunt Episcopi, Parkerus Cantuariensis, Coxus Norvicensis, Barlovus Cicestrensis, Scoræus Herfordensis, Grindallus Londinensis. Nam Bonerus jussus est cedere: qui quando adituri sint possessionem, nescio. Ego ex isto flore, quod tu de vino soles, facile divino, quæ sit futura vindemia. Adversarii interim nostri καραδοκοῦσι, & pollicentur sibi, ista non fore perpetua. In Scotia, nescio quid, audimus tumultuatum de religione: Nobiles ejectis Monachis occupasse Monasteria: Et aliquot milites præsidiarios Gallos in tumultu occidisse: Reginam iratam edixisse, ut Knoxus concionator inflato cornu, est enim ille in Scotia mos solennis, si quem volint extorrem facere, ex omnibus finibus ejiceretur. Quid de illo factum sit, nescio. Nunc instituitur legatio in totam Angliam de formanda religione. Sandus ibit in Lancastriam: ego in Devoniam: Alii aliò. Regina non vult appellari caput Ecclesiæ, quod mihi certè non displicet. Interim, quid il cavetso de la Chiesa cogitet, aut murmuret, aut quas turbas daturus sit, tu quoniam propius abes, facilius audire potes. Papistæ nostri odiosissimè pugnant, neque alii ulli contumacius, quam qui à nobis discesserunt. Tanti est semel gustasse de Missa. Qui bibit inde, furit: Procul hinc discedite, queis est Mentis cura bonæ: Qui bibit inde, furit: Vident exceptô illô palladio omnia ventura in periculum. Pax inter nos & Gallum ita convenit, ut Caletum, octo post annos redeat in potestatem Anglorum. Quod ut Julius noster credat, opus est incredibili, & robusta fide. Quicquid erit tamen nos eo nomine exspectamus pignora è Gallia. De nuptiis Reginæ adhuc nihil. Tamen ambit hac tempore Suecus, Saxo, Carolus Ferdinandi, Mitto Pikerinum Hominem Anglum. Tamen, quid malim, scio. Et ista sunt ut scio μυστικώτερα: Et apud nos proverbii loco dici solet matrimonia esse fatalia. Bene vale, mi Pater, & Domine in Christo Colendissime. Saluta quæso optimum senem D. Bernardinum, D Muraltum, D Wolphium meo nomine. Liber tuus, quem Reginæ misisti dono, redditus est à D. Cæcilio: Ad meas manus, nescio quò casu, non pervenit. Ego tamen, quoties sum in aula, diligenter exquiro, numquid illa velit;

lit: Et adhuc nihil audio. Sed quicquid erit, faciam ut intelligas. Londini.

Istæ sunt quintæ, tu vide an aliquæ perierint.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo, Viro D. Petro Martyri, Professori Sacræ Theologiæ in Ecclesia Tigurina, Domino suo Colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 53.

A Declaration made by the Confederate Lords of Scotland, *to the Queen of* England; *of their taking Arms against the Queen Dowager of* Scotland, *and the* French.

Cott. Libr. *Calig.* B. 10. Fol 24.

IT may be, that on the *French* Parte it wyll be saide, that it behoveth them to subdue the Rebellion in *Scotland*; and to that End only bringe all this Power thither: First it may be, and that truly saide, the Begynning and Ground, yea, and the Proceding hitherto being truly considered, is no Rebellion. For true it is, that when the *French* Kyng had long sought to compasse the Yonge Queene of *Scotland*, and to have her caryed owt of *Scotland* into *Fraunce*, there was great Difficultie made yn it by the *Scots*, and att length brought to passe only by the continuall Travayle of the Mother, being Dowager Queene; partly by Corruption with Money, partly by Authoritie, partly by fayre Promises; and yet was the Matter thus ended, that before her Person coulde be transported thence, Assurance was made by Treaty, by Othe, by Parlement, by the Great Seal of *Fraunce*, by the Seal of the *Dolphyn*, that *Scotland* should not be otherwyse governed, but by the Lawes, by the Nobilitie, by the People of the Land; that the Offices of the Land shuld remayne in the Nation of *Scotland*; that no Garrisons shuld be kepte by the *French*. After that Tyme much Labour and Practise was made by the Queene Dowager to procure the Favour of the Nobilitie of *Scotland*, to accorde to the Mariadge of the Queene with the Dolphyn; and fynally that obtaygned in a Parlement in *Scotland*, and was the Crowne assigned to the Queen, and the Heirs of her Body; and for default therof, to the Duke of *Chastellerault*, and his Hires, and so he declared

declared the Seconde Person. Then allso was on the Parte of *Fraunce*, Othes taken, Chartres delyvered under the Greate Seale of *Fraunce*, and confirmed by the Yong Queene under her Seal, and by the Dolphin under his Seale, that *Scotland* shuld be governed by the Counsayle of the Land; that no Liberties shuld be violated; that *Edinburg* Castell shuld be delyvered to the Lord *Arskin* to be kept, for the Preservation of the Rights of the Realme; and *Dunbritton* Castell shuld be delyvered to the Duke for his Interest as Heyre Apparent. These Things were done, and Duplicats made of the Grants of *Fraunce*. One Parte delyvered to be kept in *Edenburg* Castell in the Treasury; the other delyvered to the Duke: Hereupon an Ambassade was sent in Anno 1558, of 8 Persons, 2 Bishops, 2 Earles, 4 Lords of *Scotland*, and the Mariadge then concluded in *Fraunce*; which done thur, was attempted that the Ambassade shuld return home, and in Parlement obtayne, at the Yong Queenes Request, that the Crown of *Scotland* might be given to the Dolphin her Husband; which Matter, the Ambassade so much misliked, and utterly refused; alledging that it could never be obtayned; that in the End they were thus abused, yt was devised they should retourne, and procure that a Matrimoniall Crowne shuld be granted to the Kyng: By which Words they weare made believe there was a great difference; and yet they could not lyke the Matter, but required leave to retourne Home, and they would doo that they might. In their Departure at *Deepe*, theyr Nombre was made in one Night sodenly lesse by one Bishop, 2 Erles, and 2 Barons, and so departed Home the other Three, much amased att the Matter. At theyr return, the Dowager Queene practised all the Ways she could in Parlement, to obtayne this Purpose; which she sought by Two Ways, one by rewarding those who had not received Favour of the Duke in the Time of his Governaunce, partly for the Favour they bare at that Time to *England*, parte for other Respects; and so sett an Enmitie betwixt the Duke and them. One other way, she offered to certayne of the Lords a Permission to lyve freely accordyng to their Conscience in Religion; and at length she became very stronge, and in Parliament obtained this Matrimoniall Crowne, with these Conditions, that the Duke's Right shuld not be empayred therby. Thus proceded she towards her Purpose, and daily usurped against the Liberties and Promises made. She spared not to begin with the greatest. She committed to Prison the Chancellor of the Realme, the Erle *Huntley*; being one of the Principal Frends to the Duke. She took a great Fyne of him, and took the Seale from hym; committed that to one *Rubay*, a *Frenchman*, an Advocate of *Paris*. Not content therwith, She committed the sayd Erle to Prison, untill She had put hym to a great Raunsome; which She took of hym: And to flatter hym, gave hym the Name of Chancelor, and put the Office in *Rubaye*'s Handes. Nexte to this, She hath taken the Office of the Comptroller of the hole Realme, to whom belonged the Charge of the whole Revenues of the Crowne; and hath allso committed it to another *Frenchman*, a Servant of her owne, named *Vulemore*. She hath also sequestred all Matters of Counsaill of the Governaunce of the Land, from the *Scottish* Men borne, and retayned all the Secreties to *French* Men. But these weare

but

but ſmall Thynges, yff greater had not followed. Having Peace with *England*, She kepte all the Garriſons of *French* Men ſtill in the Countrey, who lyved upon Diſcretion; which was a new Offenſe to *Scotland*. Wages they had none out of *France* at all: The Revenue of the Crowne, which was not greate, was ſent into *Fraunce*; and to paye the *French* Band, a new Deviſe was made. She procured out of *Fraunce* a certayne Nombre of *Franks*, being altogether in a certayne Coyne of *Sowces*, which had bene, for theyr Emtineſs, decried and barred in *Fraunce* Two Yeres before, and were but Bullion: Theſe She made currant in *Scotland*, to paye the Soldiors. She allſo erected a Mynte, and therin abaſſed a grete Quantite of the *Scottiſh* Money, and therwith allſo payed her Soldiors. In that Mynte allſo, She permitted certayne of the Principalls of the *French* to Coyne theyr owne Plate, to theyr owne moſt Advantage: Which Matter both did notable great Hurt in all *Scotland*, and much offended the Realme.

Now follows the Practiſes of the Queene with diverſe Noblemen, to becom Parties agaynſt the Duke: Meanes was made, fyrſt to have wonne the Lord *Arſkin*, to deliver the Caſtell of *Edenburgh*; next, to have ſtolen it: But this prevailed not. In this Seaſon, and before allſo, which had much exaſperated the People of the Land, the Queene gave away Abbeys, that fell voyd, to *French* Men: Som to her Brother, the Cardinal *Guyſe*, ſom to other. And generally, She hath kept in her Hands theſe Three hole Yeres, allmoſt all the Eccleſiaſtical Dignities that have fallen voyde; ſaving ſuch as wer of any Value, which She gave to *French* Men. Generally She governed all Things ſo, as She never would in any Matter followe the Counſell of the Lordes and Nobilite, which, at her firſt Coming to the Regiment, were appoynted to be of Counſell. Agaynſt theſe her Doynges, many Interceſſions were made by the Nobilitie, both joyntly together in good Companyes, and Advices allſo gyven aparte, by ſuch as were ſory to ſee that this Governance wold be ſo dangerous, as it could not be borne: But nothing avayled. And then followed a Practiſe, of all other moſt dangerous and ſtrange, and, for a Perſonage of Honor, a great Indignity. The Principall Matter that was coveted by the Queene, was to have cutt away the Duke, and his Houſe, and to make a Party agaynſt hym: By Perſuaſion, this was deviſed. The Lord *James*, being a Baſtard, Son of the laſt Kynge, a Man of greate Courage and Wyſdom; and certayne Erles and Barons of the Realme; in whom were conſidered theſe Two Thynges, No great Love towards the Duke, nor certayne Ceremonies of the Churche; and yet being Men of Courage, were borne in Hand by the Queene, that She her ſelfe wold beare with theyr Devotion in Religion, and upon Condition that they would joyne with her Governaunce agaynſt the Duke, for the Favour of *Fraunce*, they ſhuld lyve freely according to theyr Conſcience in Religion, without any Impedyment. Herupon they were ſomwhat boldned, and therby incurred the Cenſures of the Churche, and were alſo, by a private Lawe of the Land, ignorantly in danger of Treaſon: Wherupon Proceſſe was made, they endangered. And then was it Tyme for the Queene to tempt them to forget theyr Country, and become

French. But when no Inticement could prevayle, then began She to threaten them with the Lawe, and would neds declare them Traytors. This Matter the Queene pursued ; taking it for a great Advantage. But, for their Defence, the Nobilitie of the Realme made much Labour. Nothyng would staye the Queene ; but forthwith She produced her Garrisons to the Feld, proclaymed them Traytors, gave away their Lands, entred with Men of War into a principal Towne, called *St. John's Towne*, changing the Provost of the Towne, agaynst the Wyll of the Burgesses ; and left there Four Bands of Men of Warre, to fortefie her New Provost. And She fynding the whole Realme much offended herwith, and charging her dayly with Misgovernance, and Violating the Liberties of the Realm, and her Power there not sufficient to procede, as She ment, to Conquer the Land ; She sent for the Duke, and the Erle *Huntley*, and pretended in this Necessitie a new Good Will to them ; who travayled for her, and stayed all the adverse Part in Quietness : And then She promised all Matters to be stayed and redressed at Parlement the next Spring : And promised also diverse other Thyngs, for the Benefite of the Land. And then the Duke, and the Erle *Huntley*, tooke upon them to make a Quiet with the adverse Part. And whiles this was in doyng, the Duke's Sonne and Heyre was sought and sent for, to the Courte in *Fraunce* : From whence he was certainly advertised by diverse of most secret Knowledge, that his Ruine shuld follow, and that he should be accused, and executed for Matters of Religion. At the length he abode, untill certayne of good Authoritie were depeched from the Court, to bryng hym eyther quick or dead. Before their comming, he escaped, without daunger : And they toke his yonger Brother, a Child, abowt Fifteen Yeres of Age, and commytted him to Prison. In this Tyme, Thyngs being well appeased in *Scotland*, and every Noble Man returned to theyre Countrees, by the Duke's Meanes principally, who shewed most Favour to the Quene, and had gaged his Fayth to the Nobilitie of *Scotland*, for keping of all Thynges in quiet, untill the Parlement ; there arrived certayne Bands of Souldiours out of *Fraunce* into *Leethe* ; whose comming made such a Chaunge in the Queene, as She newly caused the Towne of *Leeth* to be fortified, being the principall Porte of the Realme, and placed Twenty two Enseignes of Souldiors, with One Band of Horsemen, therin. Herupon the Nobilitie challenged the Duke : Who had nothing to saye ; but entreated the Queen, by his most humble Letters, to forbeare these mannor of Doinges ; wherin he could not prevayle. The Force of the *French* was then encreased, *Leeth* fortified, all Ammunition carried into the Towne, nothyng left to the *Scotts*, whereby either well to defend themselfes, or to annoye the Towne. Beside this, out of *Fraunce* there came dayly *French* Powre by Sea ; yea ther went allso, not denyed by the Queen's Majestie of *England*, Captayns by Land through *England*. Well, at the Length, the Duke, and all the Nobilitie, made new Intercession by theyr Letters, that She would forbeare this Fortificacion : For otherwyse her Purpose of Conquest would appeare to the whole Realm ; wher-

upon would grow great Disquiet. But her Comforth grew so greate owt of *France*, that She despised all Requestes. And thus came the Matter to the Termes which the *French* courted: For now thought they it would be but 3 or 4 Dayes Work to subdue *Scotland*: Wherunto neverthelesse besydes theyre owne Powre, She entretayned Two or Three meane Lords, such as lay betwyxt *Leeth* and *Barwick*, which was the Erle *Bothwell*, and Lord *Setan*, who be the only Two, of all the Nobilitie of *Scotland*, that keepeth Company with the Queen; and yet, as they do notify themselfes by their Doyngs, have their Harts with their Countreymen. And nowe the Duke, and the rest of the Nobilitie, with the Barons and Burgeses of the Realme, fynding no Hope of Remedy at her Hands, but perceyving an eminent Danger to the Realme, which could not be avoyded by any Entreaty, assembled themselves, as regrating the afflicted Realme. They began depely to consyder, on the one Part, the Right of their Soveraign Lady, being married to a Strange Prince, and out of her Realme, in the Hands of *Frenchmen* only, without Counsell of her own Natural People; and therwith the Mortalitie of her Husband, or of her self, before She cold have Issue: And on the other Side, what the Dowager, being a *French* Woman, Systar to the House which ruleth all in *France*, had done, attemped, and dayly persisted in ruinating unnaturally the Liberties of her Daughter, the Queen's Subjects, for Ambition, to knitte that Realme perpetually to *France*, whatsoever becam of her Daughter; and so to execute ther old Malace upon *England*, the Stile and Title wherof they had alredy usurped; were in the end constrayned to constitute a Counsayle, for the Governaunce of the Realme, to the Use of theyr Soverayn Lady: And therwith humbly to signifie to her the reasonable Suspension of the Dowager's Authoritie; which to mayntayn, they have of themselves, as Naturall Subjects, convenient Strenght, being sore oppressed with the *French* Powre; which untill this presant Day they do, as theyr Powers can endure; being very mean and unable that to do, compared to the meanest Force of *France*: So as although they have been of long Tyme occasioned thus to doe; and now for Safety, as well of theyr Soveraign's Right, as of the Ancient Right of the Crown, have been forced to spend all ther Snbstance, to hazard theyr Lifes, theyr Wifes and Children, and Country: Yet can they not longer preserve themselves and the Realm from Conquest, by this Power that is now arrived in *Scotland*, and is in Readinesss to be sent thither before next Spring. And therfore thay have communicated their hole Cause to certayn of the Queen's Majesties Ministers upon the Borders, and seek all the Ways they can, how they might, without Offence of hir Majesty, committ theyr Just and Honorable Cause to the Protection of hir Majesty, onely, requiring this, That theyr Realme may be saved from the Conquest by *France*, and the Right of theyr Soveraign Lady preserved, with all other Rights of their Nation of *Scotland* depending thereupon.

August

August, 1559.

The Petition of the Lords of Scotland *signed with there own Hands.*

WE desire yat he hall nommeris of *Frenchmen* of weir being presentlie within yis Realme, may be removed with speed; that we may in Tymes-coming leif quyetlie without feir of thair troubill.

Item, That we may haif Place to sute of the King and Queen our Soveraignis sik Articlis as ar necessarie for us, for Pacification and Perfect Government of the Realm without Alteration of our Anteant Liberties.

* *James Hamilton.*

Ard. Argyll.

Glencarn.

* *James Stewart.*

† *Alex. Gordon.*

* *John*

R. Boyd.

Uchiltre.

John Maxwell.

Ruthuen.

* *James Stewart.*

* The Earl of *Aran* always signs thus, for the Title of *Aran* was in his Father at that Time.

* This seems to be the Lord *James*, afterwards made Earl of *Murray*.

† The Earl of *Huntley*'s Son.

* Cannot be read.

* Probably the Earl of *Atholl*'s Son.

Number 54.

A short Discussion of the Weighty Matters of Scotland, Aug. 1559.

In Sir W. Cecyll's *Hand.*

QUestion, Whether it be mete that *England* should helpe the Nobilitie, and Protestants of *Scotland*, to expell the *French*: or, no?

Cott. Libr. Calig. B. 10.

That

That No.

I. It is againſt God's Law to ayd any Subjects againſt their Naturall Prince, or their Miniſters.

II. It is dangerouſe to doo it; for if the Ayd ſhal be no other than maye be kept in Secretie, it cannot be great; and ſo conſequently it ſhall not ſuffice. If it ſhall be open, it will procure Warres, and the End therof is uncertain.

III. It maye be dowted that when Money ſpent is, and Aide ſhall be given, the *French* maye Compownd with the *Scottes*, and Pardon that Error, to joyne both in Force ageynſt *England*; which is more eaſy to be beleved, becauſe they had rather make a ſhamefull Compoſition with *Scotland*, than ſuffer it to be rejoyned, and united to the Crown of *England*.

IV. It may be dowbted, that to ſtaye the Progreſs of Religion, ageynſt the See of *Rome*, the Emperor, the King Catholicke, the Pope, and the Potentates in *Italy*, the Duke of *Savoye*, will rather conſpyre with the *French* King, than to ſuffer theis Two Monarchies to be joyned in one Manner of Religion. And in this Part may be doubted that many, aſwell *Scottes*, as *Engliſh*, that can lyke very well to have theſe Two Kingdomes perfectly knitt in Amytye, will not allowe them to be knitt in a lyke Religion.

That Yea.

I. Firſt, It is agreeable, both to the Law of God, and Nature, that every Prynce, and Publyck State, ſhuld defend it ſelf; not only from Perrills preſently ſene, but from Dangers that be probably ſene to come ſhortly after.

II. Secondly, Nature and Reaſon teacheth every Perſon, Politick, or other, to uſe the ſame Manner of Defence, that the Adverſary uſeth in Offence.

Uppon theis Two Prynciplees agreed will evidently follow, that *England* both maye, and ought to Ayde *Scotland* to kepe owt the *Frenche*.

1. Firſt, The Crowne of *England* hath a good Title to the Superiorety of *Scotland*; and owght to defend the Libertyes thereof, as Themperor is bound to defend the State of *Millane*, or of *Boheme*, being held of the Empyre. And to prove this Superiorety, remayne undowted Prooffes under Seale, of ſondry Homagees done to this Crowne by the Kings of *Scotland* ſucceſſyvely. Of their Acceſſes to the Parlements of *England*, Of the Epiſcopall Juriſdiction of the See of

of York over *Scotland* : In Consideration wherof, if it may appere that the *French* meane to subdue *Scotland*, and so to exempt that Realme from the Amytye of *England*, it semeth that *England* is of Duety, and in Honour bound to preserve the Realme of *Scotland* from such an Absolute Dominion of the *French*.

2. *Item*, Beside this Interest that *England* hath in the Crowne of *Scotland*, for the quiet Possession, wheras *France* hath onely by there Warres kept the Realme of *England* *. It is most manifest that *France* cannot any wise so redely, so puissantly, so easely, offend, yea, invade, and put the Crown of *England* in Daunger, as if they may recover an absolute Authorite over *Scotland* : And before that be proved, it semeth not out of Order, though not very nedefull to make manifest that the *French* ar to be taken as Enemyes in Will, though not in manifest Words.

* A Word seems wanting; probably, *in Danger*.

How long Time they have bene Enemyes to *England*, how brickle, how false, how double ther Pacts of Peace have bene, the Storyes be Witnesses, theis Seven Hondred Yeres. Was there ever King of *England*, with whom they have not made Warres? And now of late, uppon what Occasion they made Peace with *England*, is too manifest. It was by reason of Wearyness and Povertye, which was such, as the late *French* King forboare not to expresse in his Letters to the Queen of *England*, mentioning the Invasions made in *Bryttaine* by Sea. And indede this is to be received as a Principle, that *France* cannot be poor above One or Two Yeres, nether can so long be out of Wars. The Revenues of the *French* Crown, are Thyngs unknown : The Insolency of the *French* Nation, being in Hope of Victory, is not unknown. The long old Hatred of the House of *Guise*, which now occupyeth the Kyng's Authorite, agaynst *England* hath been often well understood.

And to come nerer to the Matter ; it is manifest many wayes what manner a Platt that House hath made, to bereave the Queen's Majesty of hir Crowne. In Queen *Mary*'s Tyme, the *French* did not let to divulge ther Opinions agaynst this Lawful Title of the Queen's Majesty ; and as it was well knowen, had not Almighty God favored the Queen's Majesty to come to the Crowne with such universall Joy of hir People, the *French* had proclaimed ther Title both in *France* and *Scotland*.

And likewise in the Treaty of the Peace at *Chasteau* in *Cambresis*, it appeared what they would have compassed, when they pressed the *Burgundians* to conclude with them, and over-pass the Treaty with *England* ; alledging, that they could not tell how to Treat with *England*, but to the Prejudice of ther Right ; the Dauphiness, his Daughter, then having Right to the Crown of *England*. How bold they wold have been, if at that tyme She had been Queen of *France*, and her Husband King, as he now is? For then the Wisdom of the Constable governed the Rashness of the *Guisians*.

Sence the Peace concluded, whilest the *French* King lived, what Means they made at *Rome* to have made the Queen's Majesty to be declared Illegitimate, is manifest ; and so as it is known that the same Sentence is brought into *France*, under the Pope's Bulls. Likewise, at the Confirmation of the Peace betwixt *Spain* and *France*, at

the Solemnities even when the *French* King was slayne, it appereth, what manifest Injurye and Dishonour they did to the Queen's Majesty, to assign the Arms of *England* and *Ireland* to the *French* Queen, and that in all their Pageants: And being admonished thereof by the Ambassador, wold nether make Collorable Excuse, nor leave it; but both continued therin, and also to despise the Queen's Majesty's Ambassador, and Ratification of the Peace with the Stile. M. *Meulas* serv'd them with Silver Vessell stamped with the same usurped Armes, How lightly they have esteemed the Queen's Majesty, in all this Tyme appereth: For here they be bound by Treaty to deliver 4 Hostages, notwithstanding that they have been pressed therto, they have sent but Three; wherof One or Two be such, as if they had not been here; but whether the Queens Majestie had not suffered the Dishonour, to have one of her Subjects murdered, and no Redress therof, but as it appered when they had committed the Murder, they disdained, and quarrelled against such as did but seke to understand the Offenders.

Now the very Cause why they stay the Prosecution hereof is this, their Interruption and Parboylls unlooked for in *Scotland*, which doth so occupy them as they nether can ne dare to utter ther former Maliciose Purpose untill that be ended.

But surely besid there old Cankered Malyce to this Realm, this Matter so inflameth the House of *Guise*, that they will not forbear one Day longer than of mere necessity they shall be constreyned, to bord this Realm with that fayned Tytle, and to avance the same. It is knowen that they have sent a great Seale into *Scotland* with the Armes, and very Stile and Title of *England* and *Ireland*, and what more manefest Arguments can be to shew what they mean and intend then these. In Princes Practices it is mere Childeshness to tarry until the Practices be set abrode, for then were it as good to tarry till the Trumpet sound Wars. All Things have there Causes precedeing before, but nothing hath his Causes precedeing more secretly than the Practices of Princess; and of all other none is so conning as the *French*.

It followeth to be considered, that now the *French* have no convenient way to Invade *England* but by *Scotland*; by *Carlisle* they were accustomed, by Sea is not so convenient for them, the same being too chargeable for them to assayle: Wherefore if it be sene that they will persue their Purpose and that by *Scotland*, then Reason must force *England*, to confess that to avoyde this Danger so apparant, can no way be devised, but to help that the *French* have not such Rule and Overhand in *Scotland* as that they may by that Realm invade *England*.

Lastly, It is to be considered how dangerouse it is for *England* to be invaded by the way of *Scotland*.

First, If the *French* shall present to *England* a Battle, either they will do it with Strangers, or *French* and Strangers: If they win, which God forbid, they put in hazard this Crown. And though they Lese, yet do they not put there own Kingdom of *France* in Danger. And therefore it is double the Danger for *England*, to venter Battle upon the Frontiers of *England*, to a Battle upon the Marches of *Calais*, or *Bulloyness*.

The

A Conclusion.

It seemeth the weightiest Matter to be considered, that either hath, or can chance to *England*, What is presently to be done for the Aid of *Scotland* : For if it shuld be nedefull the Delay will adventure the Whole : And if Loss come, it is unrecoverable. Wherefore it were good that the Cause were well and secretly weighted : First, by Discreet and Wise Men, that have Experience, affected to the *English* Nation, special Love to the Queens Majesties Person ; and that done, to send by some Colour for the Nobilitie, and to consult with them, or ells to send some trusty Persons with Credit to understand their Minds.

Number 55.

The Bond of Association, with this Title, Ane Contract of the Lords and Barons, to defend the Liberty of the Evangell of Christ.

Copied from the Original at Hamilton.

AT *Edinburgh*, the Twintie seventh of *Apryll*, the Year of God Ane thousand Fyve hundred Threescore Years : We whaes Names are underwritten, haif promittit and obliedged our selves faithfully, in the Presence of our God, and be thir Presents promitts, that we altogether in General, and every one of us in Special, be himself, with our Bodies, Goods, Friends, and all that we may do, sall set forwart the Reformation of Religion, according to Goddes Worde ; and procure, be all Means possible, that the true Preaching of Goddes Word, may haif free Passage within this Realme, with dew Administration of the Sacraments, and all Thinges depending upon the said Worde. And sicklyke deiply weighing with our selves the Misbehaviour of the *Franche* Ministers heir, the intolerable Oppressions committed be the *Franchmen* of Weir, upon the puir Subjects of this Realme, be Meyntenance of the Queen Dowriare, under Collour and Pretence of Authority ; the Tyranny of their Captains and Leaders, and manifest Danger of Conqueist, in whilk this Countrie presently stands ; be Reason of diverse Fortifications on the Sea-Coast, and other Novelties of late attemptat be them ; promitts that we sall als weell every one with others, as altogether with the Queen of *England*'s Armie, presently come in for our Deliverance, effectually concurr and joyn together, taking one fold and plain Part of the Expulsion of the said Strayngars, Oppressors of our Liberty, furth of this Realme, and Recovery of our Ancient Freedomes and Liberties ; to the end in Tyme coming, we may, under the Obedience

of

of our King and Queen our Soverains, be only Reulyt be the Laws and Customes of the Countrie, and by the Men of the Land: And that never any of us all haiff pryvy Intelligence, be Writing, or Message, or Communication, with any of our said Enemys or Adversars in this Cause, bot be the Advyce of the rest, at leist of Fyve of our Numbers: Attour, that we sall tender this present Cause, as if it were the Cause of every one of us in particular; and that the Cause of every one of us now joyned together, being leiful and honest, shall be all our Causes in General. And he that is Enemy to the Cause forsaid, sall be Enemy to us all: In so far, that whatsomever Person will plainly resist thir our Godly Interprysis, and will not concurr as ane guid Member of this Common Weill; we sall fortify the Authority of the Counsell, to reduce them to their Deuty: Lyke as we sall fortify the said Authority of the Counsale, in all Things tending to the Furtherance of the said Cause. And giff any particular Debate, Quarrell or Contraversee sall aryse, for whatsomever Cause, bygain, present or to come, betwixt any of us; (as God forbid) in that Case, we sall submit our selves, and our said Questions, to the Decision of the Counsale, or to Arbitrators, to be named be them. Provyding allwayes, that this be not prejudicial to the ordinar Jurisdiction of Judges: But that Men may persue their Actions by Ordour of Law,* Civilly or Criminally, befor the Judges Ordinars, gif they please.

Number 56.

A Letter of Jewell's *to* Peter Martyr, *setting forth the Progress that Superstition had made in Queen* Mary's *Reign.*

Juellus ad Martyrem. S. P.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

TAndem tamen aliquando Londinum redij, confecto molestissimo itinere, confecto corpore. Tu fortasse me, quòd nihil scriberem, putabas esse mortuum. Ego verò interea tres totos menses longinqua, & perdifficili Legatione distinebar. Cum essem Bristolij, redditæ mihi sunt Literæ tuæ, quas secum Randolphus noster adduxerat; ita amicè scriptæ, itaq; suaves, ut mihi omnem illam molestiam itinerum, atque occupationum prorsus exciperent ex Animo. Tanquam enim si præsens adfuisses, ita tum mihi videbar tecum colloqui. Randolphus, antequam ego redirem, abierat in Gallias: Itaque ego miser, privatus sum bona parte suavitatis tuæ, quam tu illi præsens præsenti verbis commendaveras. Literas meas in itinere intercidisse, video: Quas enim ego octavas dederam, eas video ad te vix quintas

perveniſſe. Sed de Legatione, inquies, illa veſtra quid tandem factum eſt? Accipe ergo uno verbo, quod mihi exploratu perlongum fuit. Invenimus ubique animos Multitudinis ſatis propenſos ad Religionem; ibi etiam, ubi omnia putabantur fore difficillima. Incredibile tamen dictu eſt, in illis tenebris Mariani temporis, quanta ubique proruperit Seges, & Sylva Superſtitionum. Invenimus paſſim votivas Reliquias ſuperſtitioſas Divorum, clavos, quibus fatui Chriſtum confixum fuiſſe ſomniabant; &, neſcio quas, Portiunculas Sacræ Crucis. Magarum & veneficarum numerus ubique in immenſum excreverat. Eccleſiæ Cathedrales nihil aliud erant, quam ſpeluncæ latronum, aut ſi quid nequius, aut fædius dici poteſt. Si quid erat obſtinatæ malitiæ, id totum erat in Preſbyteris, illis præſertim, qui aliquando ſtetiſſent à noſtra Sententia. Illi nunc, credo, ne parum conſideratè videantur mutâſſe voluntatem, turbant omnia: Sed turbent, quantum velint. Nos tamen interim, illos de gradu, & de Sacerdotiis exturbavimus. Hardingus, Homo conſtans, locum mutare maluit, quàm ſententiam. Sidallus ſubſripſit quidem, ſed conſtanter; hoc eſt, per invitus. Smithæus autem tuus; quid ille? inquies. An poteſt à Nazareth quicquam proficiſci boni? Mihi crede, ut veterem illam ſuam Conſtantiam retineret, nunc tandem etiam quinto recantavit. Fatuus, cum videret Religionem eſſe immutatam, mutata veſte, ſtatim fugam ornaverat in Scotiam. Sed cùm hæreret in finibus, captus eſt, & retractus ex itinere. Ibi ſtatim Homo gravis, & Columen atque Antiſtes Religionis, acceſſit ad nos, reliquit omnes ſuos, & repentè factus eſt Adverſarius infeſtiſſimus Papiſtarum. I nunc, & nega Tranſubſtantiationem. Papiſtarum acies penè ſua ſponte ceciderunt. O, niſi nobis deeſſet operæ, non malè de Religione ſperari poſſet. Difficile enim eſt currum agere ſine jumento, præſertim adverſo monte. Heri, ubi primùm Londinum redij, audivi ex Epiſcopo Cantuarienſi, te invitari ad nos, & tibi Lectionem illam tuam veterem aſſervari. Quid ſit, neſcio: Hoc tantum poſſum affirmare, neminem adhuc delectum eſſe, qui Oxonij doceat ſacras Literas. Equidem te, mi Pater, videre percupio, & præſertim in Anglia. Quid enim ni cupiam, quem toties cupio etiam nunc videre Tiguri? Sed novi tuam Prudentiam: Nôſti Genium, & Ingenium Inſularum. Ea, quæ nunc videmus, eſſe inchoata, utinam ſint boni Principia. Nihil eſt hodie illâ Scholâ deſperatius. Putabis te, cum ibi eſſes, penè luſiſſe operam: Ita in lætiſſima aliquando Segite, nunc infælix Lollium, & ſteriles dominantur avenæ. Liber tuus de Votis, ut alia tua omnia, avidiſſimè diſtrahitur. Omnes nunc expectamus, quàm mox editurus ſis alias Commentationes in Librum Judicum, & in duos Libros Samuelis. Omnes enim nunc noſtri ſciunt, te illos Libros habere præ manibus, & velle edere. Suecus, & Carolus Ferdinandi F. mirificiſſimè ambiunt. Sed Suecus impenſè: Ille enim, modo impetret, montes argenteos pollicetur. Sed illa fortaſſe Thalamos propiores cogitat. Alanus noſter obiit diem ſuum, poſtquam deſignatus eſſet Epiſcopus Roffenſis. Ex Scotiâ hoc tempore nihil audimus, quod tibi poſſit videre novum. Docetur Evangelium, Eccleſiæ aſſiduè colliguntur, & omnia priſcæ Superſtitionis Monumenta convelluntur. Galli tamenſperant, ſepoſſe & Regnum, & Religionem retinere.

tinere. Quicquid futurum est, scribam ad te aliàs pluribus. Instat nunc Annus sexagesimus, de quô mihi tu solebas aliquando ex Torquato quodam Stato, nescio quæ, mirifica prædicare. Faxit Deus, ut verum & solidum Gaudium gaudeamus, ut aliquando Orbi terrarum patefiat ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀπωλείας, & in omnium oculos incurrat Evangelij Jesu Christi Veritas. Vale, mi Pater, & Uxorem tuam meis verbis resaluta, Mulierem mihi quidem ignotam, sed nunc ex tuis Literis, & Abeli nostri Prædicatione, notissimam. Gratulor & te illi, & illam tibi.

Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Bernardinum, D. Hermannum, Julium, Juliam, Martyrillum. Frenshamum meum longum valere jubeo. Puto enim illum jam solvisse à vobis, & esse cum Christo. Omnes nostri te salutant, tibique omnia precantur. Londini, 2 Novembr. 1559.

Tuus ex Animo,

Jo. Juellus.

D. Etonus instantissimè rogavit, ut te suo Nomine salutarem. Si posset ipse Latinè scribere, non uteretur manu mea. Crede mihi, Nemo de te aut sæpius, aut honorificentius loquitur. Uxor etiam ejus Salutem, & tibi dicit, & Uxori tuæ.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo atque Ornatissimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti Sacras Scripturas in Ecclesia Tigurina.

Number 57.

A Letter of Jewell's *to* Peter Martyr, *concerning the Earnestness of some about Vestments and Rituals.*

Idem ad Eundem.

Ex MSS. *Tigur.*

BIduo, postquam ex longo & perdifficili itinere rediissem, & lassus de via, atq; anhelans, nescio quid, ad te scripsissem, redditæ mihi sunt à te literæ ternæ eodem tempore: Quarum suavissimâ lectione ita sum exhilaratus, ut omnem illam superiorum dierum molestiam prorsus abjecerim ex animo. Etsi enim quoties de te cogito, quod certò assiduè, & in singulas Horas facio, & nisi facerem,

rem, ingratus essem, ipsa cogitatione, & memoriâ tui nominis perfundor gaudio, tamen cum literas tuas ad me scriptas lego videor mihi esse Tiguri, & te videre coram, & tecum amænissimè colloqui: Quod equidem, mihi crede, pluris æstimo, quam omnes opes Episcoporum. De Religione quod scribis, & veste scenica, ô utinam id impetrari potuisset. Nos quidem tam bonæ causæ non defuimus. Sed illi, quibus ista tantoperè placuerunt, credo, sequuti sunt inscitiam presbyterorum: Quos, quoniam nihil aliud videbant esse, quam stipites, sine ingenio, sine doctrina, sine moribus, veste saltem comica volabant populo commendari. Nam ut alantur bonæ literæ, & surrogetur seges aliqua doctorum hominum, nulla, ô Deus bone, nulla hoc tempore cura suscipitur. Itaque quoniam vera via non possunt, istis ludicris ineptiis teneri volunt oculos multitudinis. Sunt quidem istæ, ut tu optimè scribis reliquiæ Amorehæorum. Quis enim id neget? Atque utinam aliquando ab imis radicibus auferri, & extirpari possint, nostræ quidam nec vices ad eam rem, nec voces deerunt. Quod scribis esse quosdam, qui nullam adhuc significationem dederint suæ erga te voluntatis, subolfacio equidem quos dicas. Sed, mihi crede, non sunt eo numero, aut loco, quô tu fortasse putas, quoque omnis Israel illos sperabat fore. Nam si essent. Non scripserunt hactenus ad te, non quòd noluerint, aut tui obliti fuerint, sed quòd puduerit scribere, nunc uterque laborat gravissimè, è quartana, sed 'Αρχιμάγειρος, quoniam est naturâ tristiori, multò graviùs. Ingemuisti, pro tua erga communem causam pietate, cùm audires nihil prospectum esse cuiquam nostrum. Nunc ergo rursus ingeme. Nam ne adhuc quidem quicquam. Tantum circumferimus inanes titulos Episcoporum, & à Scoto, & Thoma defecimus ad Occamistas & Nominales. Sed, ut scis, magna sunt momenta regnorum. Regina ipsa & causæ favet, & nobis cupit. Quamobrem, etsi satis dura sunt ista initia, tamen non abjicimus animos, nec desinimus sperare lætiora. Facilè intereunt, quæ facilè maturitatem assequuntur. De Libro tuo, memini me, antequam discederem Londino, ad te scripsisse pluribus. Sed illæ literæ fortasse, ut fit, perierein itinere. Hoc etiam adscripsi, Reginam ultrò & cupidè legisse, Epistolam, & apud ipsam, atq; in universum doctrinam, atque ingenium tuum mirificè prædicasse: Librumque illum tuum ab omnibus bonis tanti fieri, quanti haud scio an aliud quicquam in hoc genere. Nihil autem tibi hactenus donatum esse, hei mihi, quod ego dicam? Pudet me, nec scio, quid respondeam. Tamen Regina sedulò sciscitata est nuntium, quid ageres, ubi viveres, quâ valetudine, quâ conditione esses, an posses per ætatem iter facerè. Omninò velle se omnibus modis te invitari in Angliam, ut, qui tua voce coluisses Academiam, eandem nunc dissipatam, & miserè habitam eadem voce irrigares. Postea tamen, nescio quo pacto, Deliberationes Saxonicæ, & Legationes Segulianæ ista Consilia peremerunt. Tamen quiquid est, nihil est hoc tempore celebrius, quam Petrum Martyrem invitari, & propediem venturum esse in Anglam. ô Utinam res nostræ aliquando stabilitatem aliquam, & robur assequantur. Cupio enim, mi Pater, te videre, & suavissimis Sermonibus, & amicissimis Consiliis tuis frui. Quem ego diem si videro, vel potius, uti spero, ubi videro quas Samarabrinas, aut Sarisburias non contemnam? Vale dulce decus meum, atque animi plusquam dimidium mei. Saluta

ta uxorem tuam optimam mulierem meo nomine. Deus faxit, ut fæliciter pariat, & pulchra faciat te prole Parentem. Saluta D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, Julium, Juliam, & Martyrillum, D. Hermanum tuum, meumque. Nostri omnes te salutant. Londini 5 Novemb. 1559.

Tuus ex animo quantus quantus,

Jo. Juellus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctissimo atque Ornatissimo Viro, D. Petro Martyri, profitenti sacras literas in Schola Tigurinâ Domino suo Colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 58.

A Letter of Jewell's *to* Peter Martyr, *full of Apprehensions.*

Ejusdem ad Eundem.

S. P.

ETSI ante non ita multos dies ad te scripserim, & hoc tempore nihil hic sit, quod tu magnopere scire velis, tamen, quoniam te ita velle non dubito, illud ipsum, nihil malo scribere, quam istum nuntium, quem fortè audieram velle Coloniam proficisci, inanem à me dimittere. Religio apud nos eo loco est, quo jam antea ad te scripsi sæpius. Omnia docentur ubique purissimè. In ceremoniis & larvis passim plusculum ineptitur. Crucula illa argenteola malè nata, malè auspicata, adhuc stat in larario Principis. Me miserum : Res ea facile trahetur in exemplum. Spes erat aliquando tandem ereptum iri. Idque ut fieret, nos omnes dedimus diligentur, & adhuc damus operam. Sed jam quantum video conclamatum est. Ita prorsus obfirmati sunt animi. Nimis prudenter ista mihi videntur geri, nimisq; mysticè. Et quo tandem res nostræ casuræ sint, Deus viderit. ἵπποι βραδύποδες morantur currum. Cæcilius causæ nostræ impensè favit. Episcopi adhuc designati tantùm sunt : Interim prædia pulchrè augent

fiscum. Academia utraque, & ea præsertim, quam tu non ita pridem doctissimè atq; optime coluisti, miserrimè nunc disjecta jacet, sine Pietate, sine Religione, sine Doctore, sine spe ulla Literarum. Multi de te cogitant primarii, & tibi non ignoti viri, & te primo quoque tempore, vel invitis omnibus Seguleiis, accersitum cupiunt. Ego vero, qui tibi, si quis alius mortalium, & animo, atq; unicè cupio, author sum, ut si voceris, quod tamen inter ista arma futurum vix puto, tamen ne quid præcipites. Novi ego Prudentiam tuam: Et tu vicissim, spero, Observantiam erga te meum. Equidem hoc possum verè affirmare, neminem esse Hominem, cui conspectus tuus jucundior futurus sit; quam mihi. Tamen; ut sunt res nostræ fluxæ, incertæ, instabiles, utque uno verbo dicam, insulares, magis te salvum audire absentem cupio, quàm præsentem videre cum periculo. Sed ista parùm opportunè. Literas enim silere æquum est inter arma. Nos terra mariq; juvamus vicinum Scotum. Nôsti enim, Tùm tua res agitur paries cùm proximus ardet. Gallum adventurum aiunt cum omnibus copiis. Et fortaßè non minoribus excipietur. Londini 16 Novemb. 1559.

Jo. Juellus,
Totus tuus.

Istæ sunt Nonæ.

INSCRIPTIO,

Ornatissimo & longé Doctissimo Viro,
D. Petro Martyri, profitenti Sacras
Scripturas in Schola Tigurina, Domino suo Colendissimo.
Tiguri.

Number 59.

The Queen's Letter to the Emperor, concerning her Aversion to Marriage.

An Original.

NOS, in ipsius animi nostri sensus diligentur inquirendo, non Invenimus in nobis Voluntatem ullam deferendi hanc Solitariam Vitam, sed potiùs, juvante Deo, libentem animi Inductionem in eadem diùtius porro vita perseverandi: nos certè necessario ab eam ipsam causam eo in his literis utemur sermone, qui cum corde nostro omnino consentiat, quem ut amanter accipiet, & benevale interpreretur vestra

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vestra Majestas, admodum rogamus. In quo nostro sermone, si novum aliquid inesse videatur, quod facile pot est accidere, si ætas nostra cum reliquis conditionis nostræ rationibus consideretur. Nullum tamen nos novum hoc tempore, aut subitum Consilium suscipere, sed vetus potius retinere videri jure d bemus; cum tempus quidem fuit, quo tempore consensisse ad præclara sane & honorata Connubia eripere nos potuisset, è certis quibusdam magnis mæroribus & periculis: De quibus rebus non amplius dicemus; nos tamen nec discriminis mala, nec libertatis cupiditate moveri potuimus, ut animi nostri Voluntatem ullo modo ad eam rem adduceremus. Itaque haud voluimus, vel aperte recusando videri, Vestram Majestatem offendere, vel contra, occasionem dando id verbis concedere, quod mente & voluntate non instituimus.

5 Januarii, 1559.

Vestræ Majestatis bona Soror

& Consanguinea,

ELISABETHA R.

R. Ascamus.

Number 60.

A Letter of Bishop Jewel's *to* Peter Martyr, *concerning the Cross in the Queen's Chapel.*

Ejusdem ad Eundem.

S. P.

O Mi Pater, quid ego ad scribam? Rei non multùm est, temporis verò multò minùs; sed quoniam te scio delectari brevitate, te authore scribam brevius. Nunc ardet Lis illa Crucularia. Vix credas in re fatua quantum homines, qui sapere aliquid videbantur, insaniunt. Ex illis, quos quidem tu noris, præter Coxum, nullus est. Crastino die instituetur de ea re Disputatio. Arbitri erunt è Senatu selecti quidam viri. Actores inde Cantuariensis, & Coxus; hinc Grindallus Londinensis Episcopus, & ego. Eventus ἐν κριτῶν γόνασι κεῖται. Rideo tamen, cum cogito, quibus illi, & quàm gravibus, ac solidis rationibus defensuri sint suam Cruculam. Sed quicquid erit, scribam posthac pluribus. Nunc enim sub judice lis est; tamen quantum auguror, non scribam posthac ad te Episcopus. Eò enim jam res pervenit,

pervenit, ut aut Cruces argenteæ & ſtanneæ, quas nos ubique confregimus, reſtituendæ ſint, aut Epiſcopatus relinquendi.

Sed quid ago? deſtituor tempore, & obruor negotiis, & invitus cogor finem facere. Tamen hoc ſcire debes, Vitum, amicum tuum ſummum, & popularem Epiſcopum Vintonienſem, & Oglethorpum Carliolenſem, & Bainum Litchfildenſem, & Tonſtallum Saturnum Dunelmenſem, ante aliquot dies eſſe mortuos. Samſonus ruri agit longè gentium; Parkurſtus in Regno ſuo. Itaque mirum videri non debet, ſi ad vos ſcribant infrequentius.

Saluta, quæſo, Reverendiſſimum Patrem D. Bullingerum, D. Bernardinum, D. Wolphium, D. Hermannum, & Julium: Ad quos ego omnes libenter ſcriberem hoc tempore, ſi eſſet otium. Saluta optimam illam Mulierem, Uxorem tuam, & Annam, & Martyrillum tuum. Etonus, Etona, Abelus, Abela, Grindallus, Sandus, Scoræus, Falconerus, Elmenus, te ſalutant, & cùm tibi omnia cupiunt, nihil magis cupiunt, quàm Angliam. Quanquam, ut adhuc ſunt Res noſtræ, crede mihi, pulchrum eſt eſſe Tiguri. Benè vale, mi Pater, benè vale. Londini, 4 Februarij 1560.

Tibi Deditiſſimus,

Jo. Juellus tuus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Doctiſſimo Viro D. Petro Martyri, Vermilio, profitenti Sacras Literas in Schola Tigurina, Domino ſuo Colendiſſimo.

Tiguri.

Number 61.

A Letter of Biſhop Sands, *expreſſing the Uneaſineſs he was in, by Reaſon of the Idol in the Queen's Chapel.*

Edwinus Wigornenſis ad Martyrem.

Salutem in Chriſto.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

Quod nullas tam diu, Vir Reverende, Literas ad te dederim, non officij quidem erga te mei oblitus, aut quid tua de me mereatur Humanitas leviter perpendens, id feci, ſed negotiorum multitudine obrutus, ſcribendi munus pro tempore invitus intermiſi, quod cum

Tabellarij jam sese offert opportunitas, diutius differendum non censeo. Sub Augusti initium, cum Literas ad te dedissem, in partes Angliæ boreales, ad abusus Ecclesiæ tollendas, & Ritus Pietati & veræ Religioni consonantes, eidem restituendos, tanquam Inspector & Visitator, ut vocant, cum Principis Mandato dimissus; & illic ad Novembris usque initium, assiduè in obeundo quod mihi creditum erat munere, non sine maximis cum Corporis tum Animi Laboribus versatus, Londinum tandem redij. Ubi novæ rursus Curæ advenientem acceperunt, majorque negotiorum moles humeros premebat: Opera enim mea in Episcopatu Wigorniensi administrando à Principe requirebatur, tandemque reluctanti, Episcopi munus imponitur. Volui quidem ut antea Carliolensem, ad quem nominatus eram, hunc etiam Episcopatum omnino recusare; at id non licuit, nisi & Principis Indignationem mihi procurare, & Christi Ecclesiam quodammodo deserere voluissem. Sub hac, Literas tuas, omni humanitate plenissimas, Burcherus mihi tradidit; quibus, per eundem, quum hinc discederet, respondere distuli; partim, quod Res Anglicæ tum temporis non ita mutatæ, sed in eodem quasi gradu consistentes, exiguam scribendi materiam suppeditabant; partim verò, quod novum illud Onus (sic enim veriùs quam Honos dici potest) novis Curis & Negotiis me mirum in modum distrahebat. En diuturni Silentij mei causam habes, Vir plurimùm observande. Eucharistiæ Doctrina hactenus Dei Beneficio non impugnata, nobis salva & incolumis manet, mansuramq; speramus. Pro viribus enim & ipse, & alij Fratres Co-episcopi, illam quoad vixerimus, Deo juvante tuebimur. De Imaginibus, jampridem nonnihil erat Controversiæ. R. Majestas, non alienum esse à Verbo Dei, immò in commodum Ecclesiæ fore putabat, si Imago Christi crucifixi, unà cum Maria & Joanne, ut tales, in celebriori Ecclesiæ loco poneretur, ubi ab omni Populo facillimè conspiceretur. Quidem ex nobis longè aliter judicabant; præsertim cum omnes omnis generis Imagines, in proxima nostra Visitatione, idque publica Authoritate, non solùm sublatæ, verumetiam combustæ erant: Cumque huic Idolo, præ cæteris, ab ignara & superstitiosa plebe Adoratio solet adhiberi. Ego, quia vehementior eram in ista re, nec ullo modo consentire poteram, ut lapsus Occasio Ecclesiæ Christi daretur; non multum aberat, quin & ab Officio amoverer, & Principis Indignationem incurrerem. At Deus, in cujus manu Corda sunt Regum, pro Tempestate Tranquillitatem dedit, & Ecclesiam Anglicanam ab hujusmodi offendiculis liberavit: tantum manent in Ecclesia nostra Vestimenta illa Papistica, Capas intellige, quas diu non duraturas speramus. Quantum, ex eo quod te tuaque præsentia jam destituitur, Anglia detrimenti capiat, hic Ecclesiæ & Religionis negotium, diligenter & sæpissimè apud eos, quibus Reipublicæ Cura imminet, commemorare soleo. Nescio tamen quomodo animis eorum, in alias res gravissimas intentis, nihil hactenus de te accersendo statutum video. Semel sat scio Reginæ in animo fuit, ut te vocaret. Quid verò impedivit, puto te facilè ex te colligere posse. Causa Christi multos semper habet adversarios; & qui optimi sunt, pessimè semper audiunt. Sacramentum illud Unitatis, magnas facit hodie divisiones. Novum tibi Conjugium gratulor: Precor ut fælix faustumque sit; quemadmodum & mihi

mihi ipsi opto, qui eam Conjugij Legem nuper subij. Mirus hic belli apparatus est, partim ad propulsandam Gallorum vim, si fortè dum Scotiam sibi subjugare conentur, nostras fines invaserint, partim ad auxilium Scotis contra Gallos ferendum, sicubi Pacis fœdus nobiscum initum violaverint Galli. Det Deus, ut omnia in Nominis sui Gloriam, & Evangelij Propagationem cedant. Hæc priusquam me Wigorniam recipiam, quo brevi profecturum me spero, Literis tibi significanda duxi. Fusius verò scripsissem, nisi quod sciam Fratrem nostrum Juellum, Episcopum Sarisburiensem, sæpe & diligenter de rebus nostris omnibus te certiorem facturum. Si qua in re tibi gratificari queam, crede mihi, mi Honorande Petre, me semper uteris quoad vixero; immò etiam post Vitam, si fieri potest, pro arbitratu tuo.

Saluta quæso plurimùm meo nomine, Clarissimum Virum D. Bullingerum. Debeo ipsi Literas, imò omnia ipsi debeo; & tantum solvam quantum possim, si quando offerat sese Occasio. Saluta Uxorem tuam, Julium cum Julia, D. Hermannum, Paulum & Martyrillum meum; quibus omnibus omnia fælicia precor. Vale, Humanissime, Doctissime, ac Colendissime D. Petre. Londini, festinanter, Aprilis primo 1560.

Tuus ex Animo,

Edwinus Wigornensis.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clarissimo ac Doctissimo Viro,
D. Doctore Petro Martyri,
Domino suo plurimùm Colendo.
Tiguri.

Number 62.

A Letter of Dr. Sampson's *to* Peter Martyr, *setting forth his Reasons of not Accepting a Bishoprick.*

Idem ad Eundem.

Argent. Dec. 17.

EGo te per Christum rogo, mi Pater optime, ne graveris mihi quàm citissimè respondere ad hæc pauca. Quomodo nobis agendum sit in Titulo illo, vel concedendo, vel denegando. Supremum

Ex MSS. Tigur.

Caput post Christum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, &c. Universa Scriptura videtur hoc soli Christo tribuere, ut Caput Ecclesiæ vocetur. Secundò, Si Regina me ad aliquod Munus Ecclesiasticum, dico, ad Ecclesiam aliquam regendam vocaret; an salva Conscientia recipere possum, quum hæc mihi videantur sufficere excusationis loco, ne in id consentirem. 1. Quod propter Disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ defectum, Episcopus, vel Pastor, non possit suo fungi Officio. 2. Quod tot sint civilia Gravamina, Episcopatui, vel Pastori imposita, ut puta, primorum (ut dicimus) Frugum, i. e. Redituum primi Anni, tum Decimarum, ad hæc in Episcopatibus tot & tanta, insumenda sunt in equis alendis, in armis, in aulicis, quæ semper præstò debent esse; & ut tu nôsti, ut quam minima pars Episcopatuum relinquitur, ad necessaria Episcopo munia obeunda, nempe ad Doctos alendos, ad Pauperes pascendos, aliaque facienda quæ illius Ministerium reddant gratum. 3. Ut hoc ad Episcopos præcipuè referatur, quod nunc scribo, tanta est in eorum electione degeneratio à primâ Institutione, neque Cleri enim, neque Populi consensus habetur, tanta superstitiosi ornatus Episcopalis vanitas, ne dicam indignitas, quanta vix puto benè ferri possit, si modo omnia nobis facienda ad id quod expedit. Quod ad me attinet, non hæc scribo quasi talia sperarem; immò Deum precor ex animo, ne unquam talia mihi contingant onera; sed à te fidissimo meo Parente consilium peto, quo possim Instructior esse, si talia mihi obtingant. Ego sic responderem, Me quidem paratum esse in aliquo quocunque velit illa, inservire Concionandi munere, cæterum Ecclesiam Regendam me non posse suscipere, nisi ipsa prius justa Reformatione Ecclesiasticorum munerum, facta, Ministris Jus concedat omnia secundùm Verbum Dei administrandi, & quantum ad Doctrinam, & quantum ad Disciplinam, & quantum ad bona Ecclesiastica. Si autem quæ sit illa Reformatio, quam peto, interrogetur; ex prioribus tribus Articulis, poteris tu conjicere, quæ ego petenda putem. Simpliciter, mi Pater, apud te solum depono Cordis mei secreta; teque per Christum rogo, ut mea secretò apud te solum teneas, & mihi quam citissime rescribas, quid mihi hic faciendum putes: Adde etiam quæ addenda putas, ut urgeatur illa Reformatio, & aliquid de ipsa Reformatione. Literas tuas ad Hetonum mitte: Ille curabit ad me transferri. Cæterùm, te per Christum rogo, ut quanta poteris festinantia scribas. Ego brevi iturus sum versus Angliam. Habemus Papistas, Anabaptistas, & plurimos Evangelicos Adversarios, & Doctrinæ & piæ Reformationi: Contra hos, ut tueatur, Gloriam Christi, promoveatque Vexillum Christi, quis idoneus? O mi Pater, pro me roga Deum incessanter.

Tuus totus,

Th. Sampson.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clarissimo Viro, D. D.
Petro Martyri.
Tiguri.

Number

Number 63.

A Second Letter of Sampson's, *expressing great Uneasiness that Matters were not carried on as he wished.*

Idem ad Eundem.

QUas scripsisti Literas quarto Novembris, accepi tertio Januarij. Jam unum Annum egi in Anglia, non ita quietum; vereor autem, ne sequens Annus plus molestiarum mihi pariat. Non tamen solus timeo mihi, sed omnes nobis timemus. Nec tamen audeo scriptis mandare, quæ imminere nobis videntur mala. Vos ergo Sanctissimi Patres, Teque imprimis, D. Petre, Pater & Præceptor Charissime, per Jesum Christum obtestor, ut strenuè Deum deprecari velitis: Hoc, hoc, inquam, contendite, ne Veritas Evangelij vel obfuscetur, vel evertatur apud Anglos. Gratias tibi ago, suavissime Pater, quod tam sis diligens in scribendo. Satisfecisti tu, satisfecit & D. Bullingerus mihi, in Quæstionibus; utrisque immortalis Deus noster rependat. Consecratio Episcoporum aliquorum jam habita est: D. Parkerus Cantuariensis, D. Cox Eliensis, D. Grindall Londinensis, D. Sands Vigorniensis, notos tibi nomino: Unus alius, Wallus, etiam est Episcopus, sed tibi ignotus. Sequentur brevi, D. Pylkyntonus Vintoniensis, D. Benthamus Coventrensis, & tuus Juellus Sarisburiensis, brevi, inquàm, ut audio, sunt isti consecrandi, (ut nostro utar vocabulo.) Ego in limine hæreo, neque enim vel egressus, vel ingressus datur. O quam vellem egredi. Deus ipse novit, quam hoc aveam. Episcopi sint alij; ego vellem aut Concionatoris solius, aut nullius munus subire: Domini fiat Voluntas. O mi Pater, quid ego sperem, cum exulet ex Aula Verbi Ministerium; admittatur autem Crucifixi Imago, cum accensis Luminaribus. Altaria quidem sunt diruta, & Imagines per totum Regnum. In sola Aula, Crucifixi Imago cum Candelis retinetur. Et miser Popellus id non solùm libenter audit, sed & sponte imitabitur. Quid ego sperem, ubi tres ex Novitiis nostris Episcopis, unus veluti sacer Minister, secundus loco Diaconi, tertius Subdiaconi loco, Mensæ Domini astabunt, coram Imagine Crucifixi, vel certè non procul sito Idolo, cum Candelis, ornati aureis Vestibus Papisticis, sicque sacram Domini Cænam porrigebant, sine ulla Concione? Quæ spes boni, cùm à multis istis Idololatriæ Reliquiis Religionem nostri petere volunt, & non à viva Dei Voce sonante? Quid sperem ego, cum concionaturis injungi debeat, ne Vitia asperè tangantur; cum Concionatores, si quid dicant quod displiceat, non ferendi putantur. Sed quo me capit æstus iste animi, silendum est: Vix capita nostræ imminentis Miseriæ tetigi. Deus æterne, nostri misere, per Christum Deum & Salvatorem nostrum. Unicam hanc à vobis Quæstionem proponam solvendam: Mi Pater, te volo uti Mediatore apud D. Bullingerum, & D. Bernardinum. Hæc est: Num Imago Crucifixi, cum accensis Candelis, in Mensa Domini posita, num, inquam, sit inter Adiaphora ponen-

Ex MSS. Tigur.

ponenda. Si non ſit, ſed pro re illicita & nefaria ducenda, tum hoc quæro, ſi Princeps ita injungat omnibus Epiſcopis & Paſtoribus, ut vel admittant in ſuas Eccleſias imaginem cum candelis, vel Miniſterio Verbi cedant, quid hic faciendum ſit? Annon potius deferendum Miniſterium Verbi & Sacramentorum ſit, quam ut hæ Reliquiæ Amoræorum admittantur? Certè vident nonnulli ex noſtris aliquo modo huc inclinare, ut hæc pro Adiaphoris accipi vellent. Ego omnino puto, potius abdicandum Miniſterium, ſi modo id injungatur. Jam te rogo, mi Pater, tuas hic partes unica vice age; hoc eſt, ut quàm diligentiſſimè & citiſſimè me certiorem facias, quid veſtra pietas hic cenſet, quæque ſit omnium veſtrum ſententia tui inquam D. Bullingerim, & D. Bernardin. Hujus Authoritas, ut audio, maxima eſt apud Reginam. Quod vellet aliquando ſcribere, hortatum illam, ut ſtrenuè agat in Chriſti negotio: Teſtor ex animo, quod certè ſciam (Fidenter dico) quod verè Filia Dei ſit. Opus tamen habet ejuſmodi Conſiliariis qualis ille eſt: nam quod Auguſtinus Bonifacio dixit, id ferè in omnibus Principibus verum eſt; nempe, quòd plures habeant qui Corpori, paucos qui Animæ conſulent. Quod autem ab illo contendo vellem, & à vobis petere ſi auderem. Ego tamen hac in re veſtræ me ſubjicio prudentiæ. Callet ut nôſti Linguam Italicam, Latinè & Græcè etiam benè docta eſt. In his linguis ſi aliud ſcribatur à vobis, vel à Domino Bernardino, omnino puto rem gratiſſimam vos facturos Regiæ Majeſtati, & operam navaturos Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ utiliſſimam. Deus vos ſpiritu ſuo ducat in perpetuum. Benè vale; Et reſcribe unica hac vice quàm poteris feſtinanter. Saluta meo nomine officioſiſſimè D. Bullingerum, tuamq; uxorem. Saluta Julium. Quæ jam ſcripſi, tantùm apud D. Bullingerum & D. Bernardinum promas. Nollem enim ego rumores ſpargi meo nomine. Imò nec hoc vobis ſcriberem, niſi ſperarem aliquid inde boni eventurum. Forſan vel ſcribetis (ut dixi) vel ſaltem bonum mihi dabitis conſilium in propoſita Quæſtione. Agite vos pro veſtra pia prudentia. Iterum vale. Raptim. 6. Januar.

Tuus ex Animo,

Tho. Sampſon.

Si quid ſcribatur Regi Majeſtati, vel à te vel à Domino Bernardino, vel D. Bullingero, non quaſi vos ab alio incitati fueritis ſcribendum, ut vos melius noſtis, &c. Salutat te ex animo noſter Chamberus. Mea Uxor quartana vexatur. Giana bene valet. Puto etiam Hetonum cum ſua bene valere. Rure ago inter Ruſticos, Chriſtum pro meo modulo tractans. Tu pro me Deum roga. Literas tuas Sprengiamus, vel Abelus ad me perferri curabit.

INSCRIPTIO.

Clariſſimo Theologo D. Petro Martyri, Sacrarum Literarum Profeſſori Fideliſſimo.

Tiguri.

Number

Number 64.

Archbishop Parker's *Letter to Secretary* Cecil, *pressing the filling the Sees of* York *and* Duresme *then vacant.*

An Original.

AFter Salutations in Christ to your Honore, This shal be instantly to desire you to make Request to the Queen's Majestie, that some Bishops myght be appoynted in the *North*: you wold not beleve me to tell howe often it is requyred at dyverse Men's Hands, an howe the Peple there is offended that thei be nothing caryd for: Alasse ther be Peple rude of ther owne Nature, and the more sad nede to be loked to, for reteyning those in quyet and cyvilitie. I feare that whatsoever is nowe to husbondly saved, wil be an occasion of furder Expence in keeping them down, yf (as God forfend) ther shuld be to much *Iryshe* and Savage. Paradventure, *Terence* councelleth not a mysse, *pecuniam in loco negligare summum interdum lucrum.* I know the Queen's Highnes Disposition to be graciously bent to have her Peple to know and fear God; why shuld other hynder her good Zeale for Mony sake as yt is most commonly judged. If such as have ben named to *Yorke* and *Duresme*, be not acceptable, or of themselfes not inclyned to be bestowed ther, I wold wishe that some such as be placed already, wer translated thither. And in myn Opynion, yf you wold have a Lausier at *Yorke*, the Bishop of St. *David*'s, Dr. *Yonge*, is both Wytty, Prudent, and Temperate, and Man like.

The Bishop of *Rochester* were well bestowed at *Durisme* nye to his own Contrye, wher tho ther ij Bishopryks might be more easily provided for, and lesse Inconvenience, though they for a Tyme stood voyde: And if to the Deanry of *Durisme*, to joyne with him wer Mr. *Skynner* apoynted, whom I esteem Learned, Wise, and Expert. I think you cowd not better place them; nowe yf eyther of them, or any of us all shall be feared to hurt the State of our Churches, by exercising any extraordinarye Practising, for Packing and Purchasing; this Feare myght sure be prevented. We have Olde Presidents in Lawe practised in Tymes past, for such Parties suspected to be bownd at their Entrye to leave ther Churches in no worse Case by ther defauts then thei fownd them, and then what wold you have more of us. I have a fortyme weryed you in this Sute, and yet I see these strange Delayes determyned. I shal not cease to trouble your therin: If ye here me not for Justyce sake, for the Zeale ye must beare to Christes Deare Soulys, Importunyte shall wynne one Day I dout not: For I see yt hath obtained even a *Judicibus iniquis quarto magis a misericordibus*: Thus concluding, I shall offer my

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my Prayer to God that ye may fynd Graoe in your Sollicitations to the Queen's Majestie for the Comfort of her Peple, and Discharge of her own Soule. At *Lambeth* this 16th of *October*.

Your to my uttermost Power,

Mathew Cantuar.

Number 65.

A Letter of Bishop Jewell's *to* Peter Martyr, *concerning the Council of* Trent, *the Lord* Darly's *going to* Scotland, *with an Account of his Mother.*

Idem ad Eundem.

Ex MSS. *Tigur.*

SAlutem plur. in Christo. Gratissimæ mihi fuerunt Literæ tuæ, mi Pater, non solum quod essent à te, cujus omnia mihi debent esse, ut sunt gratissima, verumetiam quod omnem statum renascentis in Gallia Religionis luculentissimè describerent: Quòdq; ego me, cùm eás legerem, & te ita propè abesse scirem, propius etiam aliquantò te audire, & propius tecum colloqui arbitrarer. Nam quamvis res Gallicæ ad nos rumoribus, ut fit, & nuntiis adferebantur, tamen & certiores, & multò etiam jucundiores visæ sunt, quod à te scriberentur, ab illo præsertim, quem ego scirem partem illarum fuisse maximam. Quòd scribis, illos, qui rerum potiuntur, omnino velle Mutationem in Religione aliquam fieri, non tam studiô & amore pietatis, quàm quòd Papistarum ineptias videant nimis esse ridiculas, quodq; non putent populum aliter posse in officio contineri; quicquid est, quacunq; causa ista fiant, modò prædicatur Christus, εἴτε προφάσει, εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ χαίρω, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαρήσομαι. Tamen fieri non potest, quin disputatio illa vestra multùm & Evangelium promoverit, & adversarios adflixerit. Quod autem scribis, Interim quoddam à quibusdam, & Farraginem Religionis quæri, Deus id avertat: Scio omnes in Republ. magnas mutationes odiosas & graves esse: Et multa sæpè à Principibus, temporis causâ, tollerari. Atq; illud fortasse ab initio non fuit incommodum. Nunc verò, postquam erupit Lux omnis Evangelii, quantum quidem fieri potest, vestigia ipsa erroris una cum ruderibus, utq; aiunt, cum pulvisculo auferenda sunt. Quod utinam nos in ista λιποσολία, obtinere potuissemus: Nam in dogmatis prorsus omnia ad vivum resecavimus, & ne unguem quidem latum absumus à doctrina vestra. De ubiquitate enim nihil est periculi. Ibi tantum audiri ista possunt, ubi saxa sapiunt.

Apud

Apud nos, de Religione omnia sunt pacata. Episcopi Mariani servant Turrim, & antiquum obtinent. Quod si Leges æquè nunc vigerent, atq; olim, sub Henrico, facilè succumberent. Est Genus Hominum contumax & indomitum: Ferro tamen & metu vincitur. Edidimus nuper Apologiam de mutata Religione, & Discessione ab Ecclesia Romana. Eum ego Librum, etsi dignus non est qui mittatur tam procul, tamen ad te mitto. Est multis in locis vitiosus, qualia sunt ista ferè omnia, quæ apud nos excuduntur; tanta est Typographorum nostrorum Negligentia. Regina nostra prorsus decrevit, nolle mittere ad Consilium: quod, an ullum, aut uspiam sit, nos nescimus. Certè si uspiam, aut ullum est, perarcanum, & valdè obscurum est. Nos nunc cogitamus publicare Causas, quibus inducti ad Concilium non veniamus. Ego quidem sic statuo & sentio, istis Congressionibus & Colloquiis, nihil posse promoveri hoc tempore, nec Deum velle uti istis mediis, ad propagandum Evangelium. Regina nostra, magno nostro cum dolore, innupta manet; neq; adhuc quid velit sciri potest. Tametsi, quò Suspiciones nostræ inclinent, satis te jamdudum scire arbitror. Suecus diuturnus procus, & valdè assiduus, nuper admodùm dimissus est. Ille, acceptâ repulsâ, minatur, quantum audio, in Scotiam: Ut, cùm apud nos hærere non possit, saltem possit in Vicinia. Est Mulier quædam Nobilis, Domina Margareta, Neptis Henrici Octavi, Mulier supra modum infensa Religioni, supra etiam Rabiem Marianam. Ad ejus filium, juvenem, plùs minùs octodecim annos natum, summa rerum judicatur spectare, si quid Elisabethæ, quod nolimus, quodque Deus avertat, accidat. Ejus Mulieris Maritus, Leonesius Scotus, proximis istis diebus conjectus est in Turrim. Filium, aiunt, vel ablegatum esse à Matre, vel profugisse in Scotiam. De eo, ut solet fieri, Sermo est multiplex. Regina Scotiæ, ut scis, innupta est: Potest inter illos convenire aliquid de Nuptiis. Quicquid est, credibile est, Papistas aliquid moliri: Sperant enim adhuc, nescio quid, non minùs quàm Judæi Messiam suum. Nuntius Pontificis hæret adhùc in Flandria: Nondùm enim impetrare potest fidem publicam, ut tutò veniat in Angliam. Episcopus Aquitanus, Legatus Philippi, astutus, & callidus Veterator, & factus ad Insidias, satagit quantum potest, ejus Causa; saltem, ut audiatur; ne tam procul frustrà venerit. Sperat enim uno Colloquio aliquid, nescio quid, posse fieri. Est Puella quædam Nobilis, Domina Catherina, Ducis Suffolchiensis Filia, ex Sanguine Regio, eoq; nominatim scripta ab Henrico Octavo in Testamento, ut si quid accidisset, quarto loco succederet. Ex eo, Comes Herfordiensis, Juvenis, Ducis Somersetensis Filius, suscepit Filium, & multi putant ex Stupro, sed ut ipsi dicunt, ex legitimis Nuptiis. Se enim clàm inter se contraxisse, & advocato Sacrificatore, & paucis quibusdam arbitris, junxisse Nuptias. Ea Res turbavit animos multorum. Nam si sunt veræ Nuptiæ, Puer, qui susceptus est, alitur ad Spem Regni. O nos miseros, qui non possumus scire, sub quo Domino victuri simus. Deus nobis Elizabetham, spero, diù vivam & incolumem conservabit. Id nobis erit satis. Tu, mi Pater, ora Deum, ut Rempublicam nostram, & Ecclesiam conservet. Vale, mi Pater, vale. Vale, dulce Decus meum.

Saluta

Saluta meo Nomine Uxorem tuam, D. Bullingerum, D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Zwinglium, D. Hallenum, D. Wikium, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Wolphium, Julium, Juliam, & Martyrillum.

Salisberiæ, 7. Febr. 1562.
Ex Anglia.

Tui Nominis Studiosissimus,

Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Viro longè Doctissimo, D. Petro Martyri, Vermilio, Professori Sacræ Theologiæ in Schola Tigurina, Domino suo Colendissimo.
Tiguri.

P. S. Regina Elisabetha, omnem nostram Monetam auream, argenteamque ad pristinam Probitatem restituit, & puram, putamq; reddidit: Opus planè Regium, quodq; tu mireris tam brevi Tempore potuisse fieri.

Number 66.

Two INSTRUMENTS.

The First is, *The Promise under the Great Seal of* Francis *the IId. to Maintain the Succession to the Crown of* Scotland *in the Family of* Hamilton, *in case Queen* Mary *should Die without Children.*

An Original.

FRancois fils ainé du Roy & Dauphin de Viennois, a tous ceux qui ces presentes Lettres verront, Salut. Nous ayant de la Part de notre tres cher & tres honnoré Seigneur & Pere le Roy de France, entendu que des le dixsepteme Jour de Juin, il fit expedier ses Lettres Patentes, a notre tres cher & tres amé Cousin, Jaques Duc de Chateleraut, Comte de Aran, & Seigneur D'ammilton, Chevalier de son Ordre cy Devant, Gouverneur du Royaume d'Ecosse; par les quelles Lettres lui auroit, accordé que en cas que notre tres chere & tres amée Cousine, Marie Reine d'Ecosse, decedat sans hoirs de son Corps, que Dieu ne veuille, il succede à la Couronne d'Ecosse, &

pour y parvenir lui aider & subvenir, desirant notre dit Seigneur & Pere, que nous Vueillons ratifier & approver, ladite promesse par luy faite a notre dit Cousin, scavoir faisons que nous voulans singulierement, entretenir & observer la Foy & Parole de nostre dit Seigneur & Pere, & lui Obeïr en tout ce que lui est affecté & recommande, & aussi pour l'amour particuliere, que avons porté & portons a icelui notre dit Cousin, & a sa maison pour l'Affection quil a toujours demontrée envers notre dit Seigneur & Peré, & la bien de la Couronne de France. Nous a ces Causes, & autres a ce nous mouvant, avons entant que besoin feroit tant pour nous, que pour nos Successeurs confirmé & ratifié, confirmons & ratifions par ces Presentes, le contenu es dites Lettres de notre dit Seigneur & Pere, du dix septieme Juin, Mille Cinq cent Quarante neuf: Promettant en bonne Foi, avenant que notre dite Cousine, la Reine d'Ecosse, decedat sans Hoirs de son Corps, le laisser Jouïr dudit Royaume, & pour cet effet le secourir & aider selon le contenu des dites Lettres. En temoin de ce nous avons signé les Presentes de notre propre Main, & a Icelles fait Mettre, & apposer notre Scel. Donné a Paris, le dixneuvieme Jouïr d'Avril, l'An de Grace, Mille Cinq cent Cinquante huit.

FRANCOIS.

Par Monseigneur le Dauphin,

CLAUSSE.

The Second is,

The Promise made to the same Effect, by Henry *the IId. King of* France, *before Queen* Mary *was sent out of* Scotland.

An Original.

HEnry, par la Grace de Dieu, Roy de France; a tous ceux qui ces presentes Lettres verront, Salut. Scavoir faisons, que ayant egard aux bons, grands, vertueux, agreable, & tres recommandables Services, fait par notre tres cher & tres amé Cousin, le Comte de Aran, Chevalier de nostro Ordre, Governeur du Royaume d'Ecosse, a feu notre tres honnoré Seigneur & Pere, que Dieu absolve; depuis le trepas du feu Roy d'Ecosse, dernier decedé, a nous & a la

Couronne de France Consecutivement, & Specialement pour avoir Moyenné, l'accord du Mariage de ma tres cher & tres amée Fille & Cousine la Reine d'Ecosse, avec notre tres cher & tres amé Fils le Dauphin de Viennois. Pour de nostre Part donner a Connoitre a Icelui notre dit Cousin, l'Affection que lui portons, & le grand desir que nous avons de le favoriser en toutes raisonnables Choses qui le pourront toucher: Lui avons par ces Presentes en Parole de Roy, promis & promettons, advenant qu'il plus a Dieu appeller a sa part la dite Reine d'Ecosse, sans Hoirs Issus de son Corps, & que par Voye de fait avenu que ses Ennemis voulussent entreprendre l'empecher, lui ou les Siens descendans, de lui par droite Ligne, qu'ils ne vinssent a la paisible Jouissance de la Couronne du Royaume d'Ecosse; Comme plus proche d'Icelle apres le Trepas de la dite Reine, que nous lui tendrons la Main a lui, & aux Siens a l'encontre de leurs Ennemis quelconque; & les aiderons & suporterons en toutes sortes, selon que requierent les anciennes Alliances & Confederations, qui ont de tout tems eté & sont encore entre nous, notre Royaume & Pais, & Celui d'Ecosse. Et quand a l'Article du Traité, que nous avons fait avecques le dit Gouverneur, par lequel sommes tenus de le faire, tenir quite & decharger del'Administration, qu'il a eue & aura dudit Royaume durant la Minorité d'Icelle notre dite Fille & Cousine, sans qu'il en soit autrement comptable, & du tout lui en faire bailler, & delivrer Lettres de decharges de la dite Dame, par le Consentement de notre dit Fils son Mary, quand elle sera d'age. Nous derechef ratifions & approuvons le dit Article par ces Presentes, & nous obligeons ainsi le faire ensemble de l'en decharger envers la dite Dame & son futur Mary. En temoin de ce nous avons segné ces Presentes, & a notre Main, Icelle fait mettre, & apposer notre Scel. Donné a Paris, le dixseptieme Jour de Juin, l'An de Grace, Mille Cinq cent Quarante neuf; & de nostre Regne le troisieme.

HENRY.

Par le Roy,

De L'Aubespine.

Number

Number 67.

Instructions to the Queen's Commissioners treating in Scotland.

An Original.

Paper-Office.

AFter our Right Harty Commendations, we have receyved your Letters of the 11th of this Mounth, and by the same do understande at good length your Proceedings with the *French* Commissioners hitherto, and in the Ende of the Death of the Dowager of *Scotland* : For your Advertisements whereof, we give unto you, on the Queen's Majesties Behalf, most harty Thanks : And like as her Highnes doth well allowe your Opinion for the signifying unto King *Phillippes* Ambassadors, that we be entred into Treaty with the *French*, and are in very good way towards Accorde, and finde not Things alltogether so harde to be brought to Composition as was supposed ; so hath her Majestie taken Order, that one shall be out of Hande sent to declare the same unto them, with signification allso what her Highnes hath harde of the Dowagers Death. As touching the other Points of your Letter wherin you require her Highnes Resolution ; we have considered the same, and uppon Reporte of our Opinions to the Queen's Majestie, her Highnes hath resolved as followeth ; Fyrst, In caise the *Frenche* Commissioners uppon the understanding of the Dowagers Death, will nedes presse to returne back againe without following their Commission ; her Highnes in that Case is pleased, that after you shall have provoked them by such good Meanes as you can best devise, to contynue ; if in the Ende, they will nedes breake of, and returne, you shall agree they may so do, and thereuppon consulting with our very good Lorde, the Duke of *Norffolke*, and imparting the State of the Case unto the Lords of *Scotland*, to take Order by their good Advice, howe the Purpose intendyd for expelling of the *French*, and assuring of that Realme, according to that hath byn heretofore determined, may best and most spedely be brought to passe, which in Case the *French* breake of from Treatte, her Majestie wolde sholde be gon thorough withall without any longer delay, or loss of Time ; the rather for that it appeareth by all Advertisements, that the *French* seeke nothing so much as to wyn Tyme, and draw forth Matters in length to serve theyr Purpose wythall ; which must not be endured : And where your desire to know what you shall doe, if the *French* Commissioners that be with you, will require the Presence of sume of theyr Colleages in the Town ; her Highnes thinketh, as you doe, that the same is in no wise to be grauntyd, nor the said Commissioners that be in *Lyth* to be suffered to issue, or treate of this Matter otherwise then is prescribed by your

 Instructions.

Instructions. As touching the last Point, where ye desire to know what shall be done, in case the said *French* Commissioners shall require Assistance of such *Scottyshemen* as were of the *French* Faction: Her Highnes thinks fyt, yf the same shall be demaunded, that the Lords of *Scotland* be made privie thereunto; and in case they and you shall not see sume reasonable cause of the contrary, her Majestie thinketh, and so do we allso, that it may without Daunger be grantyd, wherin neverthelefs you may use your good Discretions as you shall see may best stand with the Advancement of his Highnes Service. And forasmuche as one *Parrys*, an *Ireshemen*, who hath, (as we think you doe well enough remember) byn a Fugitive out of this Realme nowe a long Time together,) is as we understande come from the *French*, and hathe now yelded himself into the Lorde *Greye*'s Hands: We hartely pray you, in Case you may conveniently, to talk with the said *Parrys*, and understand of him what he can say touching the Practises that hath byn attemptyd in *Ireland*, or any other Thing concerning the State of the Queen's Majestie, or her Realme; and to lett us know what he is able to say therin, to the Intent if his Meaning and Doing shall appere unto you to deserve the same, we may be Sutors unto her Highnes for his Pardonne, and for suche farther Consideracion of hym, as his Doing shall deserve. And thus we wish you most hartely well to fare. From *Grenewich* the 15th of *June*, 1560.

Your assured Loving Friends,

Winchester. W. North, &c.

E. Clynton. Willm. Petre Se.

Tho. Parrys.

Number 68.

The Commission of the Estates to move Queen Elizabeth *to take the Earl of* Arran *to her Husband.*

Taken from the Original now at Hamilton.

THE Lords of Parliament, and others Under-written, havand Consideration how the Kingdome of *England* is joynt with this, Be an Dray March, how Puissent it is; what Incommodity we and our Forefathers have felt, be the continual Weirs betwixt the Tuo Nations;

Nations ; and be the contrar, how Profitable there Amytie may be to us, what Welth and Commodity we may obtain therthrow ; hes thought good divysed and ordained, that the Occasion presently opened up to us shal be followed, that is, sute made to the Queen of *England* in the best Manner, That it may pleise her Majesty, for Establishing of one perpetual Friendship, to joine in Marriage with the Earll of *Arran* ; being of the lawfull Blood of this Realme, and failzieing of Succession of the Queen, our Soverain Ladies Body, next his Father, the Dukes Grace of *Chastelierault* declared be Act of Parliament, Second Person of the Realme, Air Apparant to the Crown ; and for that Purpose that Honourable Persons be sent in Ambassate, fra them yn Behalf of the Estates. And to the Effect, the Sute may be made in the most Honourable Manner, and to her Majestys best Contentation, they have devised that presently in plane Parliament it shal be devised, that certain Ambassadours be sent to her Majesty, fre the Estates, to give her Hienesss Thanks for the guid Will she has ever born to this Realme, sen she came to her Crown, and desire she hes that it may continue an free Kingdom in thantiant Liberty, sufficiently of late declared, be her Support liberally granted for the Relief therof ; and for the guid Quietnes we presently enjoy, purchast to us be her Majestys Means and Labours ; and they are withall to desire of her Heenesss to give strait Commandments to her Wardains, and Officers upon the Borders, to continue with ours, for suppressing of broken Men, and stanching of Thift, with sic other Things as are necessar for the Common Weel of this Realme : And that the States give Power to the Lords of Articles, and others Underwritten, to devise sic Commision and Instructions as are necessar, for that Purpose, to be sealed, and subscribed be Six of the Principals of every Estate, whilk sal be as sufficient, as giff it were subscribed and sealed be the haill Estates ; and therafter the Lords of Articles, and ours under specified, to devise the Instructione and Commission tuching the Heid of the Marriage.

Number 69.

The Queenes Majesties Answere declared to Her Counsell concerninge the Requests of the Lords of Scotlande.

In Sir W. Cecil's *Hand.*

HER Majestie reduced the Answere into Three Points.

1. THE First was, That where the Three Estats had sent the Lords of *Scotland* to present their harty Thanks to her Majestie for the Benefits receaved this last Yere by her Majesties Ayde given to them. Her Majestie is very glad to perceave her Good Will, and

The 8th of Decemb. 1560. Fol. 133. *Caligula* B. 10.

and Chardgs so well bestowed as to see the same thankfullye accepted and acknowledged; and findeth the same to have been seasonablie planted that produceth so plentifull Fruct, with the which her Majestie doeth so satisfie herself, as if at any Time the like Cause shall happen wherin her Friendship, or Ayde, shall, or may Profit them for their just Defence, the same shall not be wantinge. And although in former Times it appeared that sondry Beneficts bestowed upon divers of the Nobilitye here by her Majesties most Noble Father, had not such Succes, nor was answered with like thankfullnes: Yet her Majestye doth nowe evidently se the Cause thereof to be for that the Meaneninge of her Father's Beneficts were Interpreted, and supposed to be to the Discomoditye of the Land, and these her Majesties be evidentlye sene to bend directlye to the Safetye of that Realme. And so the Diversitye of the bestowinge hath made the Diversitye in the Operacion and Acceptation of them.

2. The Second Point is, where the same Estates have by their Parlyament accorded, That suyte should be made for the Mariage with her Majesty of the Earl of *Arrayne*; her Majestye cannot interprete that Motion to come but both of a good Meaneinge of the same Estaits, pretendinge thereby to knit both theis Kingdomes presently in Amytye, and hereafter to remaine in a perpetuall Amytye; and of a great Good Will of the same Estates towards her Majestye, offeringe to her the best and choicest Person that they have, and that not without some Daunger of the Displeasure of the *French* Kinge in so doinge: For answere hereunto, her Majesty findeing herself not disposed presently to Marry, (although it may be that the Necessitie and Respect of her Realme shall hereto hereafter constrayne her) wished that the Earle of *Arrayne* should not forbeare to accept such Mariage as may be made to him for his own Weill and Surety; and that all other Means be used to the Continewance of Amytie firmly betwixt these Kingdomes; whereunto her Majesty thinketh many good Reasons ought to induce the People of both Realmes, and in a Manner to continewe as good Amytye therby, as by Mariage: For it appeareth, that if every Nobleman of *Scotlande* will well consider how necessarye the Friendship of this Realme is to that, for the preservation of their Liberties; they shall chiefly for Safegard of themselves joyne together in Concord with this Realeme, and so every one particularly minding his own Suretye, of Consequence the Love and Amyte shall be Universall; by which Means her Majesty thinketh the Amitye may be well assured, though no Marriage be obteyned. And as to the Person of the Earle of *Arrayn*, her Majesty surely hath heard a verie good Report of him, and thinketh him to be a Noble Gentleman of great Woordinesse, and so thinketh surely that he shall prove hereafter.

3. Thirdly and Lastly, Her Majestye thancketh the said Lords for their Paines and Travell; and although she doubteth nether of their Wisdome, nor of the Providence of the Estates at Home in *Scotland*, yet for demonstracion of her hearty Good Will, her Majesty cannot forbeare to require them not to forget the Practises that be past, by such as before Tyme sought the Subversion of them; and nowe much more will doe it, if there maye be left any Entry for

Corruption, be Reward, or other Scope of Practise. And therefore her Majesty wisheth, that they all do persist, first in a good Concorde, makinge their Causes come amongst themselves; and not to dissever themselves in any Factions, but to foresee well Thinges before they chaunce: For that her Majestie thinketh this prove verie true, That Darts foreseen, hurt verie little, or not at all. And for her Majesties Parte, there shall no reasonable Thinge be neglected, that may furder this comun Action of Defence of both the Realmes, against any common Enemye.

Number 70.

A Letter of the English *Ambassador, to Queen* Mary *of* Scotland, *for her Ratifying the Treaty of* Leith.

Paper-Office.

PLeaseth it your Majestie. The same may remember, that at my Lord of *Bedford*'s being in this Court, He and I demanded of you, on the Behalfe of the Queen's Majestie, our Mistress, your good Sister and Cousyne, your Ratification of thaccord latelye made at *Edingborough* in *Scotland*. Wherunto you made Answer, amonge other Things, that your Counsell being not about youe; namely your Uncle, my Lord Cardinall of *Lorraine*, by whom you are advised in your Affaires, and also for that your Majestie had not heard from your Counsell in *Scotland*, from whom you looked to hear then verie shortlye; you could make us no direct Answer therin. But that heering from them, and having consulted with your Counsell heere; you would satisfie her Majestie in the same. Sins whiche Tyme, her Majestie having Knowledge of the coming to you of the Lord *James*, your Brother, who passed lately through *England* hitherwards, by whom (her Majestie judgeth) you will be advised, bothe in Respect of his Ranke and Estimacion in your Realme of *Scotland*, and allso for that he hathe the Honour to be your Majesties Brother, and of good Credite with you: And nothing doubting of your Consultation with my said Lord Cardinall, and others of your Counsell heere sins that Tyme; her Majestie hathe presentlie commanded, and authorized me to put your Majestie in Remembrance therof againe; and to renew the Demande of your Confirmation of the said late Accord. Therefore I have presently depechid to you this Gentleman, Bearer heerof, her Majesties Servant: By whom, I beseeche you, to let me understand your resolute Answer in that behalfe. And uppon Knowledge of your Pleasure, to delyver me the said Ratification; and of the Tyme and Place, I will not faile (God willing) to resort, whither your Majestie will appoint me to come for that Pourpose.

By

By demanding of this Ratification, as the Queen's Majestie, my Mistress, your good Sister, dothe shew the great Desyre She hathe, to lyve from hence forth in all assured good Love, Peas and Amytie with you, and your Realme; so, in her Opynion, there is nothing that can argue your reciproke good Will, to answer to the lyke for your Parte agayne, so much as the Stablishing the same by this Knot of Frendship which God hath appointed, and hath been Cheif Worker therin, for both your Quyetnesses and Comforts; being now the onlie Refuge of you both. And so I pray Almighty God, long to preserve your Majestie in parfaict Healthe, Honour and Filicitie. From *Paris*, the 13th of *Aprill* 1561.

Number 71.

A Letter of Mary *Queen of* Scotland, *delaying to Ratify the Treaty of* Leith.

An Original.

Monsieur Ambassadeur,

Paper-Office. J'Ay len la Lettre, que vous máves escrité par le Gentilhomme present Porteur, & pour ce j'étant sur mon Partement de ce Lieu, Je ne puis vous faire reponce plustat qu à Reims, ou jespere d'estre au Sacrè de Roy : Je ne feray cette plus long que pour vous dire, quant a Lord James, qui est devers moy, Il y est venne pour son devoir, comme devers sa Souveraine Dame, que Je suis, sans Charge ou Commission, qui concerne autre Chose que son droit. Je prie Dieu, Monsieur Ambassadeur, vous avoir en sa Garde. Escrit a Nanci, ce 22. d'Avril 1562.

Vostre bien bon Amy,

MARIE.

Number

Number 72.

An Original Letter of the Ambassador's to the Queen, upon that Affair.

Paper Office.

IT maye pleaſe your Majeſtie to be advertiſed, that haveing written this other Lettre, and being ready to have depeched it to your Majeſtie; Mr. *Somer*, your Highneſſes Servant, arryved heere from *Nanci* in *Lorraine*, from the Queene of *Scotland*, with Anſwer to my Lettre, which (by your Majeſties Commandment) I wrote to her, in ſuch Sorte, as I have advertiſed by my former, and therwith ſent to your Majeſtie the Coppies of my Lettres to the ſaide Queen and Cardinall of *Lorraine*. Which her Anſwer being by Lettre, (having allſo ſaid as much by Mouth to Mr. *Somer*) together with the ſaid Cardinall's Anſwer; I ſend your Majeſtie herewith. And though your Majeſties ſaid Servant uſed the beſt Speech as he coude, to get ſome direct Anſwer of her, accordinge to her late Promeſſes, putting her in Remembrance of her Words to my Lord of *Bedford*, and to me at *Fontainebleau*: Yet other Anſwer nor Direction, then is conteined in her Letter, coude he not gette of her. And ſeinge She hath defferrid to make me further Anſwer, till my next Meetinge with her, which She reckenith ſhall be at *Reims*, at the *French* King's Sacre, as appearith by her ſaid Lettre; where, She and the Cardinal told Mr. *Somer*, She mynded to be the 8th of *Maye*; for that it is ſaid the Sacre ſhall be the 15th; and for that your Majeſtie hath commanded me, for ſome Reſpects, not to be at it; I know not when I ſhall have the Opertunitie and Meanes, to ſpeake with the ſaid Queen for her Anſwer. Therefore ſeing I cannot be at *Reims*, (as indeede, beſyeds your Majeſties Commandment, myne Indiſpoſition of my Bodye will not ſuffer me to come there) and allſo for that (as I heere) the ſaid Queen myndeth not to come into theſe Partes this good while; If it wold pleaſe your Majeſtie, to ſend hither your Lettres of Credit directed unto her, therby to authorize Mr. *Somer*, your Majeſties ſaid Servant, to demande and receyve her Anſwer therin, in myne Abſence, by reaſon of my Sickneſſe; I take it, your Majeſtie ſhall the ſooner have her direct Anſwer. If your Majeſtie finde this good, it may pleaſe the ſame, to ſend ſuch your Lettres hither, with good Speed, that the Anſwer may be had, before She departe agayne from *Reims*.

And though I thinke verily, that her Anſwer will be ſuch as I have allready advertiſed your Majeſtie She made to my Lord *James*, (which is Means to draw the Tyme ſtill into greater Length) yet the ſame, or anye other, being made to your Majeſtie by her ſelf; you ſhall the better know, how to proceede with her in the Matter afterwards.

The said Queen of *Scotland* was accompaigned at *Nancy* with the Dowager of *Lorraine*, (whom they call there *Son Altezze*) the Duke and Duchesse of *Lorraine*, Monsieur *de Vaudemont*, the Cardinalles of *Lorraine*, and *Guyse*, and the Duke *d' Aumalle*. One of the chiefest Cawses of her going thither, from *Joinville*, (being 18 *Lorraine* Leagues of) as I heere, was to Christen Monsieur *de Vaudemont*'s yong Sonne, borne lately at *Mallegrange*, a Quarter of a League from *Nancy*.

I wrote to your Majestie, by my Letters of the 23d of this Present, that the Queen of *Scotland* wold Authorize my said Lord *James*, (as She had told him her self) to have the Speciall Charge of the Government of the Affaires in *Scotland*, till her comminge thither; and would, for that Purpose, give him Commission under her Seale. For which Comission, and other Letters, he left a Gentleman of his with the said Queen, to bring it after him to this Towne. The Gentleman is retourned from the Queen, with her Letters, but hath brought no Commission: And I understande, that She hath now changed her Mynd in that Point; and will appoint none to have Authorite there, till She come her self. And as to such Sutes and Requestes, as are made to her for Benefices, and such other Thinges as are to be bestowed; She will not dispose of any of them, nor make other Answer therin, till her comminge thither. Which (it is thought) She dothe, to bestowe the same upon some such as She shall see worthy of her Favour and Preferrmente, and upon others, to winne them the sooner to her Devocion. The Speciall Cause why She hath changed her Opinion for my Lord *James*, (as I heere) is; For that She coude by no meanes dis-swade him from his Devocion and good Opinion towards your Majestie, and the Observation of the League between your Majestie and the Realme of *Scotland*. And allso for that She, nor the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, coude not winne nor divert him from his Religion; wherin they used verie great Meanes, and Perswasions. For which Respects, the said Lord *James* deservith to be the more estymid of your Majestie. And seeing he hath dealt so plainely with the Queen his Soveraine, on your Majesties Behalf, and shewed himself so constant in Religion, that neither the Feare of his Soveraine's Indignacion coude waver him, nor great Promesses winne him; your Majestie may (in myne Opinion) make good Accompt of his Constancy towardes you: And so deserveth to be well entertayned and made of, by your Majestie, as one that may stand you in no small Steade, for the Advancement of your Majesties Desire. Sins his being heere, he hath dealt so franckly and liberally with me, that I must beleeve he will so contynue after his Return home. And in case your Majestie wold now in Tyme, liberally and honorably consider him with some good Means, to make him to be the more beholding to your Majesty; it wold, in my simple Judgment, serve your Majestie to great Purpose. He departeth hence homeward about the 4th of *Maye*, by the way of *Diepe*, and myndith to Land at *Rye*: Wherof I thought good to advertise your Majestie, that it may please the same to give Order, for him and his Company, to be receyved and accommodated, as apertenith: Which will be well be-

ftowed upon him, for the good Reporte he made of his late Reception there, and of the great Favour your Majeftie fhewed him at his coming hitherwards.

I underftand that the Queen of *Scotland* maketh accompt to fynd a good Partie in her Realme, of fuch as are of her Religion. And amongs other, the Earle of *Huntley* hath promyfed, that having the Duke on his fide, he, with fuch other as he holdeth affured, will be able enough to make Head to the contrary Parte. And fo hath he promifed to bring greate Things to paffe there, for the Queen's Purpofe and Affection.

I underftand, (and fo gather partly by my faid Lord *James* own Words) that foone after his Retourne Home into *Scotland*, he fhall Marye the Earle Marfhall's Daughter.

As I have writtén heertofore to your Majeftie, that this Realm was in danger of great Unquietnes amonge themfelves for Religion; fo the 28th of *April*, the fame beganne to appeare in this Towne. Certain Gentlemen, and others, about a Hundred affembled together in a Private Houfe in the Suburbes, where they had a Sermon, and Pfalmes finging, as is ufed in all Affemblies. Wherewith the People offended, affembled to great Numbers, forced the Walles of a Garden joining to the Houfe; made a great Breach with fuch Tooles as they coude gett, and would have entred with Violence to have wrought their Cruaulty uppon the Gentlemen. The other feing none other Remedye, their Perfwafions ferving to litle effect with fuch an unruly Sorte: Defended themfelves with fuch Weapons and Harguebouzes, as they had provided againft all Events; and fo flew 7 or 8 of the Affailliants, and defended the Houfe till the Juftice, and Court of Parliament of this Town appeafed and retyred the People. And the Night following, the Deffendants fhifted themfelfes away thence, without farther Harme; hitherto nothing elles is done heerupon. What will enfue, it is to be feared. In the mean Time, the People murmure greatly at the Slaughter. And the other Parte are not a litle moved generally, to be fo affaulted and molefted, contrary to the King's Edicts, which permitte all Men to live according to their Confciences, fo they give none occafion of Slander, or Offence to the People, or Publique Preaching, and that command all Men not to Reproach or Injury the one, the other, for their Living in that forte. Between thefe Two Partyes, the Juftice is fo litle feared, and Pollycy hath now fo litle Place, that greater Things are to be feared, unleffe better and fpeedyer Order be provided to appeafe all, then I can fee towards.

I underftand that the Queen of *Scotland* hath hitherto no great Devotion to *Ledington*, *Grange*, and *Balnaves*, wherof I am nothing fory. But fhe mindeth to ufe all the beft Meanes fhe can to wynne them to her, which fhe trufteth well to compaffe.

And wheras I have advertifed your Majeftie that the Baron *de la Garde* fhulde cary this King's Order to the King of *Sweden*: I underftand now, that it is to the King of *Denmarke*, and not to the other.

Having written thus farre, I underftand, that wheras it was de-

termined that the King shuld have departed the 28th of *Aprill* from *Fontainbleau* towards *Reims* to his *Sacre*: The same is retarded, by reason that the Queen Mother is fallen Sicke of a Catarre: So that both his Departure from thence, and the Time of his *Sacre* is now uncertain, and dependith wholely upon the said Queen Mother's Recovery.

Though I take it that your Majestie hath received from your Ministers in *Germany* the Pope's Demand of the Princes Protestants of *Germany*, and their Answer therunto; yett having recouvered the same here, I thought in my Duety to send it to your Majestie as I do heerewith. And thus I pray God long to preserve your Majestie in Health, Honnour, and all Felicitie. From *Paris* the First of *Maye*, 1561.

Your Majesties Humble,

And most Obedient,

Subject and Servant,

N. Throkmorton.

Number 73.

A Letter of Bishop Jewell's *to* Bullinger, *chiefly concerning the Affairs of* France, *and the Queen espousing the Prince of* Conde's *Cause.*

Idem ad Bullingerum.

Salutem Plurimam in Christo.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

REdditæ mihi sunt non ita pridem Literæ tuæ, Scriptæ Tiguri ad quintum diem Martii: Quæ quamvis essent σπομεμψίμοιροι, & querulæ, tamen mihi perjucundæ videbantur; non tantum quod à te essent, cujus omnia scripta dictaque mihi semper visa sunt honorifica, sed etiam quod officium meum ita obnixè requirerent, & meam in scribendo negligentiam & socordiam excitarent. Ego verò, mi Pater, & Domine Colendissimè, etsi minùs fortasse ad te sæpè scribo quàm velim, tamen quoties occasio aliqua offertur, ne hoc quidem officium intermitto. Binas enim dedi nuper ad te Literas, alteras Francofordiam

diam ad nundinas Martias; alteras statim à Paschate. Quæ si adhuc, ut sit, subsistant fortè in itinere, tamen expedient se aliquando, & postremò uti spero, ad te pervenient. Ego interim de te cogitare, & honorificè ut debeo, de te loqui nunquam desino. De Gallicis rebus ad te scribere hoc tempore, esset fortasse putidum: Omnia enim ad vos etiam sine ventis & navibus afferuntur. Sanctissimus nihil relinquet intentatum. Flectere si nequeat superos, Acheronta movebit. Videt enim jam non agi de reduviis, sed de vita & sanguine. Utinam ne nostri sese patiantur circumveniri. Dux Guisanus, ut, nescio qua spe moderandæ Religionis, & recipiendæ Confessionis Augustanæ, moratus est Principes Germaniæ, ne se admiscerent huic bello; ita omnibus modis persuadere conatus est Reginæ nostræ, non agi nunc in Gallia negotium Religionis; esse manifestam conjurationem, causam esse Regis, cui illam, cùm Regium locum teneat, non oporteat adversari. Intereà id egit, ut Neptis sua, Regina Scotiæ, ambiret gratiam, atque amicitiam Reginæ nostræ, & munuscula mitteret, & nescio quas fides daret: Velle se, hac æstate, honoris causa venire in Angliam; & æternum amicitiæ Fœdus, quod nunquam postea convelli possit, velle sancire. Misit ea adamantem maximi pretii, gemmam pulcherrimam, undique vestitam auro, & commendatam pulchro & eleganti carmine. Quid quæris? Putabant festivis colloquiis, & venationibus, & blanditiis, animos nostros abduci facilè posse à strepitu bellico, & consopiri. Interea, Regina nostra, cum subedorata esset rem omnem, & quid ageretur intelligeret; neque enim id erat adeò difficile, mutare Consilium de profectione, à Guisanis paulatim alienari, & ad Principem Condensem non obscurè inclinare. Tulit id Guisanus indignè, Consilia sua non procedere; accepit contumeliosè Legatum nostrum, proposuit Edicta publicè, Reginam Angliæ insidias facere Regno Galliarum, & solam istos tumultus concitâsse. Ista, Regina nostra patienter ferre non potuit, nec sanè debuit. Statim apertè agere, Legatum, uti audio, revocare, militem scribere, navibus omnibus undecunque, atque ubicunque essent, & suis & alienis vela tollere, ne quis exire posset, & quid ageretur nuntiare. O si ea id antea facere voluisset, aut si nunc Principes Germaniæ hoc exemplum sequi vellent. Faciliùs, & minori jactura, Sanguinis Christiani tota res posset transigi. Et Regina quidem misit hoc tempore in Germaniam, ad Principes; & nunc in Aula Legatus à Guisano, cum novis, ut opinor, blanditiis, ut nos moretur & impediat. Sed non ita erit facile, spero, imponere videntibus. Res Scotiæ de Religione satis sunt pacatæ. Regina sola Missam suam retinet invitis omnibus. Incredibilis fuit hoc anno toto, apud nos, coeli atque aëris intemperies. Nec Sol, nec Luna, nec Hyems, nec Ver, nec Æstas, nec Autumnus, satisfecit officium suum. Ita affatim, & penè sine intermissione pluit, quasi facere jam aliud Cœlum non queat. Ex hac contagione nata sunt monstra: infantes fœdum in modum deformatis corporibus, alii prorsus sine capitibus, alii capitibus alienis; alii trunci sine brachiis, sine tibiis, sine cruribus; alii ossibus solis cohærentes, prorsus sine ullis carnibus, quales ferè imagines mortis pingi solent. Similia alia complura nata sunt è porcis, & equabus, è vaccis, è gallinis.

Messis,

Messis hoc tempore apud nos Angustius quidem provenit, ita tamen ut non possimus multum conqueri. Sarisberiæ 14 Augusti, 1562.

Tuus in Christo,

Jo. Juellus Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo Viro, Domino Henrico Bullingero summo Pastori Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ Domino suo Colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 74.

An Extract out of the Journal of the Lower-House of Convocation.

ACTA in Inferiori Domo Convocationis, Die Sabbati Decimo Tertio Die Februarii, Anno 1562

Ex MSS. *Gul. Petyt* in the *Inner-Temple.*

DICTO Die Sabbati Decimo Tertio Die Februarii, in Inferiori Domo Convocationis Cleri Provinciæ Cant' post meridiem hora constituta convenerunt frequentes Dominus Proloquutor cum cæt. infra nominatis ubi post Divini numinis implorationem Legebantur quidem Articuli approbandi vel reprobandi a cætu quorum Articulorum tenor talis est.

1. *That all the Sundays of the Year, and Principal Feast of Christ, be kept Holy-Days, and other Holy-Days to be abrogate.*

2. *That in all Parish Churches, the Minister in Common-Prayer, turn his Face towards the People, and there distinctly read the Divine Service appointed, where all the People assembled may hear and be edified.*

3. *That in Ministring the Sacrament of Baptisme, the Ceremonie of making of the Crosse in the Child's Forehead, may be omitted, as tending to Superstition.*

4. *That for as much as divers Communicants are not hable to Kneel during the Time of the Communion, for Age, Sicknes, and sundry other Infirmities; and some also Superstitiously both Kneel, and Knock,* *that*

that the Order of Kneeling may be left to the Discretion of the Ordinarie, within his Jurisdiction.

5. *That it be sufficient for the Minister, in time of Saying of Divine Service, and Ministring of the Sacraments, to use a Surplice: And that no Minister say Service, or minister the Sacraments, but in a comely Garment, or Habit.*

6. *That the Use of Organs be removed.*

'Unde orta fuit superiorum, proband' vel reproband' Disceptatio, multis affirmantibus eosdem à se probari, ac multis affirmantibus illos à se non probari; multisque aliis volentibus, ut eorum Probatio, vel Reprobatio, referatur ad Reverendissimos Dominos, Archiepiscopum & Prælatos, plurimis item protestantibus, se nolle ullo modo consentire, ut aliqua contenta in his Articulis approbentur; quatenus ulla ex parte dissentiant Libro Divini & Communis Servicij, jam Authoritate Senatusconsulti publice in hoc Regno suscepto; neque velle, ut aliqua Immutatio fiat contra Ordines, Regulas, Ritus, ac cæteras Dispositiones in eo Libro contentas.

Tandem inceptæ fuerunt publicæ Disputationes fieri à nonnullis doctis Viris ejusdem Domus, super Approbatione, vel Reprobatione dicti Quarti Articuli: Ac tandem placuit Discessionem, sive Divisionem fieri Votorum, sive Suffragiorum singulorum; quæ mox subsecuta fuit: Atque numeratis Personis pro parte Articulos approbante, fuerunt Personæ 43; pro parte verò illos non approbante, neque aliquam Immutationem contra dictum Librum Publici Servicij jam suscepti, fieri petente fuerunt Personæ 35.

Ac deinde, recitatis singulorum Votis, sive Suffragiis, prompta sunt quemadmodum in sequenti folio liquet & apparet.

DISPUTATORES.

Decanus Wygorn'	*Mr.* Laur. Neuell.
Mr. Byckley.	*Mr.* Talphill.
Archid' Covent'	*Mr.* Crowley.
Mr. Nebynson.	*Mr.* Tremain.
Mr. Pullen.	*Mr.* Hewet.
Mr. Cotterell.	Decanus Eliens'
Mr. Joh. Waker.	

Pro parte Articulos prædictos approbante, fuerunt omnes subscripti; Viz.

D. Proloquutor, Decanus S. Pauli ——	Decan' Heref. ——
Mr. Leaver ——	*Mr.* Soreby ——
	Mr. Bradbriger ——

Mr. Pe-

Mr. Peder ——————
Mr. Watte ——————3
Decan' Lychef. ——————
Mr. Spenſer ——————
Mr. Beyſley ——————
Mr. Nebinſon ——————
Mr. Bowier——————
Mr. Ebden ——————
Mr. Longlonde ——————
Mr. Tho. Lancaſter ——————
Mr. Ed. Weſton ——————2
Mr. Wyſdon ——————
Mr. Sall ——————2
Mr. Joh. Walker——————2
Mr. Becon ——————
Mr. Proctor ——————2
Mr. Cockerell——————
Mr. Todd, Archid' Bed.——2
Mr. Crouley ——————
Mr. Hyll ——————
Decan' Oxon. ——————
Mr. Savage——————
Mr. Pullan ——————
Mr. Wilſon ——————
Mr. Burton——————2
Mr. Heamond——————
Mr. Weyborn——————
Mr. Day——————
Mr. Rever ——————
Mr. Roberts ——————5
Mr. Calphill ——————3
Mr. Godwyn ——————2
Mr. Pratt ——————
Mr. Trenun ——————2
Mr. Leaton ——————
Mr. Kemper ——————
Mr. Ronayer ——————
Mr. Abis——————

Perſons 43. *Voices* 58.

Pro parte Articulos non approbante, ac proteſtante ut ſupra, ſunt ſubſcripti; Viz.

Decan' Weſt. ——————2
Mr. Coterell —————— 4
Mr. Latymer ——————3
Decan' Elien. ——————
Mr. Heuwette——————3
Mr. Ric. Walker——————2
Mr. Warner ——————
Mr. Tho. Whyte ——————
Mr. Knouall ——————2
Mr. Jo. Priſe ——————
Mr. Bolte ——————2
Mr. Hughes ——————3
Mr. Brigewater ——————2
Mr. Lougher ——————3
Mr. Pierſon——————
Mr. Merick——————
Mr. Luſon ——————
Mr. Greenſell ——————3
Mr. Cheſton ——————
Mr. Chanddelor ——————
Mr. Bonder ——————
Mr. Juſt. Lancaſter——————
Mr. Pondde——————
Mr. Conſtantyne——————
Mr. Calberley ——————
Mr. Nich. Smith——————
Mr. Watſon ——————
Mr. Walter Jones ——————3
Mr. Garth ——————3
Mr. Turnebull ——————
Mr. Robynſon——————
Mr. Bell ——————
Mr. Ithel——————
Mr. Byckley ——————
Mr. Hugh Morgan ——————3

Perſons 35. *Voices* 59.

Number

Number 75.

Bishop Horn's *Letter to* Gualter, *concerning the Controversy about the Habits of the Clergy.*

Robertus Hornus Gualtero.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

Literas tuas, mi Gualtere, primas, quàm amanter & jucundè acceperim, vel hinc existimare debes, quòd de Tigurinæ Reipublicæ Statu, in cujus Fide ac Liberalitate exul collocatus fueram, tum de tui reliquorumque amicissimorum, & de me optimè meritorum valetudine cognoscebam. Accedebat tua in Johannis Evangelium Lucubratio ; scribendi, ut tu ais, Occasio, quam ita probo, ut ad veram Scripturarum Scientiam & Pietatem conferre multùm judicem, & non solùm à Tyronibus, quibus tu potissimùm studes, sed ab ipsis Professoribus legendam existimem. In Fœdere Gallico & Helvetico, perspicatiam Tigurinam probo, quæ astutias Gallicas, Religionis prætextu adumbratas, olfecit & patefecit. Bernenses etiam Vicinos vestros spero, suasu vestro ab inhonesto fœdere assensum cohibituros. De Peste, quæ Regionem Tigurinam invasit, opinionem habeo, quod impiorum causa etiam ipsi pij affliguntur. Quà perculsus Pater Bullingerus, quòd periculum evasit, debemus putare eum qui duriora Tempora sustulit, fælicioribus esse à Domino reservatum. Tuam domum à contagione tutam, divinæ Clementiæ quæ laboribus tuis voluit otium, ascribo. Res nostræ ita se habent, quòd ut vos vicinas Gallicas, sic nos intestinas Papisticas timemus Insidias. Primates Papistici in publicis custodiis, reliqui exilium affectantes, scriptis quibusdam in vulgus disseminatis, sese in gratiam, nos in odium vocant. Ansam minutam sanè & ejusmodi nacti. Controversia nuper de quadratis Pileis & Superpelliciis, inter nos orta, exclamârunt Papistæ, non esse quam profitemur, unanimem in Religione Fidem ; sed variis nos opinionibus duci, nec in una sententia stare posse. Auxit hanc Calumniam publicum Senatus nostri Decretum, de profliganda Papistica impietate, ante nostram Restitutionem sancitum ; quo sublata reliqua fece, usus Pileorum quadratorum & Superpelliciorum Ministris remanebat. Ita tamen ut superstitionis opinione careret, quod disertis Decreti verbis cavetur. Tolli hoc Decretum non potest ; nisi omnium Regni Ordinum, quorum conspiratione atque consensu, nobis penes, quos tunc non fuit sanciendi vel abrogandi Authoritas, Pileis & Superpelliciis uti, vel aliis locum dare injunctum est. Usi his sumus, ne munera Christiana, per nos deserta, occuparent adversarij. Sed cum jam hæc Res in magnam Contentionem inter nostros devenerit, noster Grex pusillus etiam in duas abierit partes ; altera, ob illud Decretum deserendum Ministerium, altera non deserendum putet. Peto abs te, mi Gualtere, quod de hac Controversia, quæ nos unà vexat, senseris ut quam primo tempore scribas. Speramus certè proxi-

 mis

mis comitiis, illam Decreti partem abrogaturos. Sed si id obtineri non poterit, quoniam magna ope clàm nituntur Papistæ, Ministerio nihilominus divino adhærendum esse judico; ne deserto eo, ac à nobis ea conditione repudiato, sese insinuarent. Quâ de re, Sententiam, mi Gualtere, expecto tuam; An hæc, quæ sic facimus, salva Conscientia facere possimus. De vestra etiam Ecclesia ita sum sollicitus, ut quoniam multos fideles Ministros ex peste interiisse suspicor, per tuas Literas scire vellem eorum Nomina qui jam superfuere. Dominus Ihesus, magnus Gregis sui Custos, Vos, & Universam suam Ecclesiam custodiat. In eodem vale. Datum è Fernomiano Castro, 16 Calendis Augusti 1565.

Tuus in Christo,

Rob. Winton.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatissimo Theologo, Domino Gualtero, Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Ministro Dignissimo.

Number 76.

Bullinger's *Letter to Bishop* Horne, *concerning that Question.*

Bullingerus Horno, de Re Vestiaria.

(Eadem iterùm recurrit, aliâ Manu.)

Reverendissimo Patri in Christo, Domino Roberto Horno, Episcopo Wintoniensi (in Angliâ) Vigilantissimo; Domino suo plurimùm Observando, Salutem.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

QUæ de Controversia de Vestitu Ministrorum, inter vos exorta, scribis, Reverende in Christo Pater, priùs etiam ex Johannis Abeli, communis nostri Amici, Literis intellexeram, quibus nuper respondi. Doluit mihi vehementer, & adhuc dolet, hanc occasionem adversariis datam esse, quâ inter se committerentur, qui apud vos puriorem Veritatis Doctrinam prædicant. De Causa verò non libenter pronuntio, cùm illius Circumstantias omnes fortassis non nôrim. Ne tamen

tamen abs te, & aliis amicis requisitus, officio deesse videar; hic repetere volui, quæ nuper in literis ad Abetum datis comprehendi. Probo Zelum eorum, qui Religionem ab omnibus sordibus Papisticis repurgatam volunt. Scio enim illud Prophetæ, quo Deus monet, ut scortationes à facie simul & uberibus removeamus. Interim vestram quoque probo Prudentiam, qui, ob vestitum, Ecclesias non putatis deserendas. Etenim cùm finis ministerii sit ædificatio & conservatio Ecclesiæ, magna circumspectione nobis opus est, ne ab hoc declinemus; dum causam per se bonam & sanctam defendimus. Nec modo videndum est qualis jam sit Ecclesiæ conditio, quam deserere statuimus, sed quæ, futura sit nobis ab illa digressio. Si meliorem fore certum est, abire licet. Sin verò deteriorem fore, non aut malis atque insidis operariis locum demus. At quantum ego conjicere possum, hoc unum quærunt adversarii vestri communes, ut vobis ejectis, ut Papistas vel ab his non multum diversos Lutheranos Doctores & antistites surrogent. Quod si fiat, non modo Ecclesiasticus ordo omnis turbabitur & crescet Cæremoniarum Ineptissimarum numerus, verum etiam Idola reducentur (quæ à Lutheranis defendi scimus) ἀρτολατρεία circa Sacram Domini cœnam instaurabitur, privata absolutio & sub hac confessio auricularis paulatim subrepet, & infinita alia fient, quæ & Publicè turbas dabunt, & privatim multos pios in periculum adducent. Nam non dubito vos in vestro ministerio èo usque profecisse ut plurimos habeatis in toto Regno nobiles, cives, agricolas, omnis denique ordinis & loci Homines, qui de Religione optimè sentiant, & Doctrinam omnem abominantur, quæ superstitionibus & idololatriæ fenestras aperit, & quibus intolerabile erit Tyrannidem in Ecclesia denuò stabiliri, quæ Populi infelicis conscientias gravet. Hi certè, si vos ab Ecclesiæ gubernaculis discedatis, adversariorum libidini subjicientur, qui examina & inquisitiones cùm publicas tum privatas adversus eos instituent, hæreseos & seditionis accusabunt, & per hos totam causam Religionis, Reginæ Serenissimæ & totius regni proceribus suspectam atque invisam reddent. Horum ergo artibus & improbitati prudenter occurrendum fuerit, ne illis sponte demus, quod jam annis aliquot magno studio & labore quæsiverunt. Quod si quis me rogat, an ergò eos probem, qui decreta ejusmodi ut primi fecerunt, vel nunc observata volunt, quibus sordes Papisticæ salventur? Ingenuè & libere respondeo, illos mihi non placere. Nam aut imprudenter nimis agunt, si ex nostrorum numero sunt: Aut malo dolo Ecclesiarum Libertati insidias struunt. Etsi feces istas tanquam ad Dei cultum & conscientiarum animæque salutem necessarias vobis obtruderent, quidvis potius ferendum esse judicarem, quàm ut Ecclesias pium Populum ab ingenua fidei professione abstrahi per illos pateremini. Sed cùm in decreto illo disertis verbis (ut tu scribis) cautum sit, quadratos pileos cum superpelliceis absque omni superstitionis opinione retineri debere, simul vestris quoque Conscientiis cautum esse puto. Licebit enim enim vobis, ni fallor, facti vestri rationem reddere, superstitionis opinionem ex omnium animis removere & protestatione uti, quæ scandalum omne è medio auferat. Interea Serenissima Regina & Illustrissimi Proceres Regni edoceantur, moveantur & excitentur, ne Reformationem tanta cum laude & magna cum totius orbis admiratione institutem, fecibus & sordibus ejusmodi inficiant atque polluant,

 neve

neve vicinis Ecclesiis Scoticis & Gallicis aliquam præbeant dissensionis suspicionem. Scio à quibusdam quæstiones moveri multas de regum & magistratus authoritate, an quid hujus ille in Ecclesia statuere, & an horum decretis ministri obedire debeant? At ego Disputationes illas in hac Causa non ita necessarias puto, cum (ut modo dixi) superstitionis opinio per ipsius decreti verba excludatur. Et cavendum est, ne coram populo de magistratus authoritate disputando, alicujus turba authores, simus. In comitiis verò Regni Publicis, ista tractari debent legitime, & qui per occasionem privatim Reginam & Principes Officii admonere possunt, ii suis partibus minime deesse debent. Hæc Reverende in Christo pater, habui quæ nunc scriberem, quia meam in hac Causâ sententiam audire cupiebas. Nolim ego alicujus Conscientiam gravare, sed cavendum puto nedum nobis aut existimationi nostræ privatim consulimus, Ecclesias totas in gravius aliquod periculum adducamus. Et meam hanc sententiam à Pauli mente non dissentire puto, qui omnia omnibus fieri solitus fuit, ut quàm plurimos lucrifaceret: Et qui Timotheum circumcidere voluit, ne Judæos illius loci à Religione Christiana alienaret, & illius ministerio commodius uti posset: Qui tamen alibi nihil prorsus datum esse putavit iis, qui in circumcisione salutis meritum collocabant. Sed non errabant in ejusmodi controversiis, quotquot ædificationem Ecclesiæ suorum consiliorum atque actionum scopum atque finem constituerint. De rebus nostris non est quod scribam. In anni superioris lue ita nobis prospexit Dominus, ut neminem ex ministrorum numero amiserimus. In agro unus & alter obiit. Velitatur nunc & nonnihil pestis in Urbe nostra, sed non sævitura videtur. Sumus in manu Domini, ejus voluntas fiat. Ad vigessimum Novembris Electorum Principum conventus erit Wormatiæ in quo de pace per Gremaniam constituenda deliberabitur & quædam de Episcopis & eorum Reformatione tractabuntur quæ maximi momenti erunt. Deus optimus maximus suo Spiritu omnium mentes & Consilia regat ad sui nominis gloriam & Ecclesiæ incolumitatem. Uxorem tuam honestissimam matronam, mea plurimum salvere jubet. Vale Pater in Christo Reverende. Tiguri 3 Novembris, Anno 1565.

Quæ Stamphii Manu hoc Loco
Scripta, P. 135.

Number

Number 73.

Bullinger's *Answer to* Humphreys *and* Sampson *on the same Subject.*

Ornatissimis D. Laurentio Humfredo, & D. Thomæ Sampsoni, Anglis, Dominis meis & Fratribus in Christo.

DOminus JESUS benedicat vobes, Viri Ornatissimi & Fratres Charissimi, ac servet vos ab omni malo. Accepi literas vestras, ex quibus intellexi te lamentari, conqueri, quod mea responsio data ad tuam quæstionem in via videtur amissa. Ego verò, mi Frater tunc non vidi, neque nunc video, quorsum oportuerit copiosiores scribere Literas. Tu enim rogabas tunc duntaxat, quæ esset mea de re vestiaria, de qua contenditur in Anglia, sententia? Ad hanc quæstionem brevibus tibi respondendum putavi, nam brevibus meam Sententiam dicere potui; dum sciebam beatæ momoriæ D. Pet. Martyrem & Oxoniæ & hic eandem quæstionem tractavisse sepius & susius, quibus quod adjicerem non habebam. Memini verò in Literis ad te Sampsonem Fratrem datis, meæ quidem Sententiæ factam tum quidem fuisse mentionem, & ut iterum uno & altero verbo quod sentio dicam: Nunquam probaverim, si vestrum jubeamini exequi Ministerium, ad aram Crucifixi imagine oneratam magis quàm ornatam, & in veste Missatica hoc est in alba & in Copa quæ à tergo quoque ostentet Crucifixi imaginem. Attamen ex Literis allatis ex Anglia intelligo, nulla nunc est de ejusmodi vestitu contentio, sed quæstio est, an liceat Ministris Evangelicis portare pileum rotundum vel quadratum & vestem albam, quam vocant super pellicium, qua Minister ornatus, à vulgo discernatur? Et an oporteat Ministerium vel stationem sacram citius relinquere, quàm hujusmodi uti vestibus? Respondi ad hanc quæstionem præteritis nundinis Reverendo Viro D. Rob Horn. Vintoniensi Episcopo & quidem brevibus repetens verba D. Martyris. Scripserat eidem paulò ante Symmysta & affinis meus charissimo D. Rod. Gualtherus. Cujus exemplum hisce inclusum ad vos & ad alios Fratres nostros mitto. Ergo si nos audire vultis, nostrûmque judicium de re vestiaria expetitis, sicut ultimis vestris ad me Literis significabatis, en habetis in illa Epistola meum judicium. Cui si acquiescere non potestis, dolemus sanè quàm vehementissimè, & cum nullum aliud nobis amplius supersit Consilium, Dominum, qui in omnibus & semper respiciendus est, ex animo & incessanter oramus, ut ipse sua gratia atque potentia rebus succonsulat afflictis.

Quæstiones tu Humanissimè Frater, proposuisti, plures verò ejusdem Argumenti Sampsonus contexuit. Licet verò pro mea simplici ruditate nunquam probaverim vel in tot distrahi quæstiones & nodis injectis imprecatioribus, quæ alioqui simpliciores per se, brevibus & satis perspicuè expediri potuerant, aliquid tamen annotabo ad singulas, ut

ut hac quoque in re vobis Dominis meis observandis & Fratribus charissimis, quantum per meam possum infantiam atamen retusam magis quàm acutam, inserviam. Vos autem oro, ut benignè hæc à me pro vestro amantissimo accipiatis & de his animo judicetis purgato affectibus atque tranquillo. A contentionibus abhorreo prorsus, & nihil magis supplex peto à Domino, quàm ut ab Ecclesia amoveat contentiones, quæ ab initio & semper plurimum nocuére veræ Pietati & Ecclesiam pacatam & florentem lacerarunt.

Cùm quæritur, an debeant Ecclesiasticis leges præscribi vestiariæ, ut iis distinguantur à Laicis? Respondeo ambiguitatem esse in verbo debere. Si enim accipiatur pro merito & quod ad salutem pertineat acquirendam, non arbitror hoc velle vel ipsos Legum Auctores. Si verò dicatur posse hoc fieri decori, ornatùsque vel dignitatis & ordinis gratia, ut sit similis quædam observantia, aut tale quid intelligatur, quale illud est, quod Apostolus vult, Episcopum vel Ministrum Ecclesiæ Κόσμιον, compositum inquam vel ornatum esse, non video, quid peccet, qui veste hujusmodi induitur, aut qui hujusmodi veste uti jubet.

2. An Ceremonialis cultus Levitici Sacerdotii sit revocandus in Ecclesiam? Respondeo. Si pileus & vestis non indecora Ministro qui Superstitione caret jubeatur usurpari à Ministro, nemo sanè dixerit verè Judaismum revocari: Preterea repeto hic, quod ad hanc Quæstionem video respondisse D. Martyrem, qui cum ostendisset Sacramenta veteris legis fuisse abolita quæ nemo debeat reducere in Ecclesiam Christi, quæ habeat Baptisma & cœnam Sacràm, subjecit: Fuerunt nihilominus in lege Levitica Actiones aliquot ita comparatæ, ut propriè Sacramenta dici non possent: Faciebunt nostræ ad decorem & ordinem & aliquam commoditatem, quæ ut lumini naturæ congrua & ad nostram aliquam utilitatem conducentia ego & revocari, & retineri posse judico. Quis non videt Apostolos pro panè & convictu credentium faciliori mandâsse gentibus, ut à Sanguine & prefocato abstinerent? Erant hæc citra controversiam Legalia & Levitica. Decimas quoque hodie multis in locis Institutas esse ad alendos Ministros, nemo nostrum ignorat. Psalmos & Hymnos cani in sacris cœtibus manifestum est, quod Levitæ quoque usurparunt. Utque hoc non omittam. Dies habemus fastos in memoriam Dominicæ Resurrectionis & alia: An verò illa omnia erunt abolenda quia sunt vestigia legis Antiquæ? Vides ergo non omnia Levitica sic esse antiquata, ut quædam ex iis usurpari non possint: Hæc ille.

3. An vestitum cum Papistis communicare liceat? Resp. Nondum constat Papam discrimen vestium induxisse in Ecclesiam, imò discrimen vestium constat Papa esse longè vetustius. Nec video, cur non liceat vestitu non superstitioso sed politiore & composito, communicare cum Papistis. Si nulla re cum illis communicare liceret, oporteret & templa omnia deserere, nulla accipere stipendia, non uti Baptismo, non recitare Symbolum Apostolorum & Nicænum, adeòq; abjicere orationem Dominicam. Neque vos mutuatis ab eis ullas ceremonias. Res vestiaria ab initio Reformationis nunquam fuit abolita, & retinetur adhuc non lege Papistica, sed vi edicti Regii, ut res media & politica.

4. Ita sanè, si ut in re civili utamini Pileo aut Veste peculiari, non hoc redolet Judaismum, neque Monachismum; nam hi volunt videri à civili vita separati, & constituunt meritum in peculiari sua Veste. Sic Eustathius, Sebastiæ Episcopus, damnatus est, non simpliciter propter peculiarem Vestem, sed quòd in Veste Religionem constitueret. Noti sunt Gangrens. Conc. Canones, Laodiceni, & VI. Synodi. Quod si ex plebe nonnulli sunt persuasi, redolere hoc Papismum, Judaismum & Monachismum, admoneantur, & rectè de tuis instruantur. Quod si importunis quorundam clamoribus, hac de re ad vulgus profusis, multi inquieti redduntur, videant qui hoc faciunt, ne graviora sibi onera imponant, Regiamque Majestatem irritent, denique multos fideles Ministros in discrimen adducant, ex quo vix emergere queant.

5. An qui Libertate sua hactenus acquieverunt, vi Regij Edicti, hac Servitute, implicare se & Ecclesiam salva Conscientia possint? Respondeo; Cavendum ego censeo, ne odiosius disputetur clametur & contendatur de re vestiaria, atque importunitate hac detur occasio Regiæ Majestati, ut liberum amplius illis non relinquat, qui libertate hactenus usi sunt; sed clamoribus non necessariis irritata, mandet sumere vestes illas Ecclesiasticas, vel cedere statione sua, Mirum sanè mihi videtur (meam sententiam, viri Ornatissimi, & fratres Charissimi, dixerim) quòd vobis persuadeatis, salva conscientia vos & Ecclesias servituti vestiariæ subjicere non posse, & non potius expenditis si in re politica & indifferenti uti nolitis & perpetuè contendatis odiosius, cujusmodi servituti & vos & Evangelicos subjiciatis, qui statione vestra cedentes, lupis exponitis Ecclesias, aut saltem parum idoneis doctoribus, qui non æquè ac vos ad docendum populum sunt instructi. An verò Ecclesias in libertatem asseruistis, quando occasionem datis, Ecclesiam pluribus etiam gravioribus quoque oneribus opprimendi? Num ignoratis, quod multi quærant, quomodo erga Evangelicam prædicationem sitis affecti & quales vobis successuri sint, quid de illis sperandum sit?

6. An Vestitus Clericalis res sit indifferens? Videtur sanè res indifferens, cùm sit civilis; Decoris, Ornatus, Ordinisque habeat rationem, in quo Cultus non constituitur.

Hæc, brevibus, ad tuas volui respondere, Doctissime & Dilectissime mi Frater Laurenti. Jam venio etiam ad D. Sampsonis nostri Quæstiones; in quibus exponendis, fortè ero brevior.

1. An Vestitus peculiaris, à Laicis distinctus, Ministris Ecclesiæ unquam fuerit constitutus; & an hodie, in Reformata Ecclesia, debeat constitui? Respondeo: In veteri Ecclesia, fuisse peculiarem Presbyterorum Vestitum, apparet ex Historiâ Ecclesiasticâ Theodoreti, Lib. II. c. 27. & Socratis, Lib. VI. c. 22. Pallio in sacris usos esse Ministros, nemo ignorat, qui veterum Monumenta obiter inspexit. Ideò antea admonui, diversitatem Indumentorum non habere suam originem à Papa. Eusebius rectè testatur, ex vetustissimis Scriptoribus, Johannem Apostolum Ephesi Petalum, seu Laminam gestâsse Pontificalem in Capite: Et de Cypriano Martyre testatur Pontius

tius Diaconus, quòd cum jugulum carnifici præbere vellet, e[illegible] birrum dedisse, Diacono verò dalmaticam, atque sic ipsum in lineis stetisse indutum. Præterea, Vestis candidæ Ministrorum meminit Chrysostomus: Ac certum est, Christianos, cum à Gentilismo ad Ecclesiam converterentur, pro Toga induisse Pallium. Ob quam rem, cum ab infidelibus irriderentur, Tertullianus Librum de Pallio conscripsit eruditissimum. Alia hujusmodi plura proferre possem, nisi hæc sufficerent. Mallem quidem nihil invitis injici Ministris, & eos ea uti posse consuetudine qua Apostoli. Sed cum Regia Majestas Pileum tantummodò & [illegible]didam injicit Vestem, in qua Cultum (quod sæp[illegible]m repetitum est) non constituit; eademque res apud veteres, dum meliores adhuc essent res Ecclesiæ, usurpatæ sint absque superstitione & culpa; optarem, bonos Ministros in his, non ut in prora & puppi, quemadmodum dicitur, totum constituere Religionis profectum: Sed dare aliquid tempori, & de re indifferenti non odiosius altercari, sed modestè indicare, hæc quidem ferri posse, sed proficiendum cum tempore. Propiores enim esse Apostolicæ simplicitati, qui discrimina illa ignorent, aut non urgeant, interim tamen à Disciplina in amictu non sunt alieni.

2, 3. An Vestium Præscriptio conveniat cum Christiana Libertate? Resp. Res indifferentes admittere aliquam Præsciptionem, adeoque Coactionem, ut sic dicam, quoad usum & non quoad virtutem; ut aliquid scilicet, quod natura sit indifferens, ut nimirum Conscientiæ obtrudatur, & ita animis injiciatur Religio. Tempora certè & Loca sacrorum Cœtuum, certè habentur inter indifferentia; & tunc si hic nulla sit Præscriptio, quanta obsecro confusio conturbatioque oriretur?

4. An ullæ Ceremoniæ novæ, præter expressum præscriptum Verbi Dei, cumulari possint? Resp. Me non probare, si novæ cumulantur Ceremoniæ: Sed aliquas institui posse non negârim, modò in eis non statuatur Dei Cultus, sed instituantur propter Ordinem & Disciplinam. Christus ipse Encœniorum Ceremoniam, vel Festum servavit, nec tamen lege præceptum legimus hoc Festum. In summa, Propositionum, vel Quæstionum de re vestiaria, potior pars de eo disputat, an de Vestibus Leges in Ecclesia condi vel debeant, vel possint? Ac Quæstionem revocat ad genus. Quidnam, videlicet, de Ceremoniis statuere liceat? Ad has Propositiones paucis respondeo: Me quidem malle nullas Ceremonias, nisi rarissimas, obtrudi Ecclesiæ: Interim fateor, non posse statim Leges de his, fortè non adeo necessarias, aliquando etiam inutiles, damnari impietatis, turbasque & schisma excitare in Ecclesia, quando (videlicet) superstitione carent, & res sunt sua natura indifferentes.

5, 6. An Ritus Judæorum antiquatos revocare, Religioniq; Idololatrarum propriè dicatos, in usus Reformatarum Ecclesiarum liceat transferre? De hac Quæstione antea respondi, ubi disserui de Leviticis Ritibus. Nolim verò Ritus idololatricos, non repurgatos ab Erroribus, transferri in Ecclesias Reformatas. Rursus verò & ex adverso

quæri potuerat; An recepti Ritus, remota Superstitione, propter Disciplinam & Ordinem, retineri sine peccato non possint?

7. An Conformatio in Ceremoniis necessariò sit exigenda? Respondeo, Conformationem in Ceremoniis, in omnibus Ecclesiis fortè non esse necessariam. Interim, si præcipiatur res non necessaria, rursus tamen non impia, ob eam Ecclesia non videtur deserenda. Non fuit in Ritibus Conformitas in omnibus, in Ecclesiis vetustioribus: Quæ tamen conformibus utebantur Ritibus, eas non vituperabant Conformitate carentes. Facilè autem credo, Viros prudentes atque politicos, Conformationem Rituum urgere, quòd existiment hanc facere ad Concordiam, & quòd una sit Ecclesia totius Angliæ; in qua re, si nihil impij videatur, non video, quomodo ejusmodi non malis institutis vos hostiliter objiciatis?

8. An Ceremoniæ, cum aperto scandalo conjunctæ, retineri possint? Respondeo, Scandalum vitari oportere. Videndum interim, ne sub scandalo nostras Affectiones contegamus: Non ignoratis aliud quidem datum, aliud verò acceptum, & ultrò accersitum esse scandalum. Non disputo nunc, An Vos, sine grandi scandalo dato, deserere possitis Ecclesias, pro quibus Christus mortuus est, propter rem indifferentem.

9. An ullæ Constitutiones ferendæ in Ecclesia, quæ natura sua impiæ quidem non sunt, sed tamen ad Ædificationem nihil faciunt? Resp. Si Constitutiones impietate carent, quas vobis imponere vult Regia Majestas, ferendæ sunt potiùs, quàm deserendæ Ecclesiæ. Si enim Ædificatio Ecclesiæ hac in re potissimum est spectanda; deserendo certè Ecclesiam, plus destruxerimus Ecclesiam, quàm Vestes induendo. Et ubi abest Impietas, nec læditur Conscientia, ibi cedendum non est, licet aliqua imponatur Servitus. Interim verò quæri rursus poterat, An sub Servitutem justè referamus rem vestiariam; quatenus facit ad Decorem & Ordinem?

10. An in Reformatis Ecclesiis à Principe præscribendum in Ceremoniis, sine voluntate & libero consensu Ecclesiasticorum? Resp. Si Voluntas Ecclesiasticorum semper sit expectanda Principi, nunquam fortè sapientissimi & piissimi Reges, Asa, Ezechias, Josaphat & Josias, alijque Principes boni, Levitas & Ministros Ecclesiarum redegissent in ordinem. Quamvis nolim prorsus excludi Episcopos à Consultationibus Ecclesiasticorum. Nolim rursus eam sibi potentiam vendicare, quam sibi usurpârunt contra Principes & Magistratus in Papatu. Nolim item tacere Episcopos, & consentire ad iniqua Principum instituta.

11, 12. Postremæ Quæstiones duæ propiùs ad rem ipsam accedunt: An consultius Ecclesiæ sic inservire; an propterea Ecclesiastico munere rejeci? Et, an boni Pastores, jure ob hujusmodi, Ceremonias neglectas à Ministerio avocari possint? Resp. Si in Ritibus nulla est Superstitio, nulla Impietas, urgentur tamen & imponuntur bonis Pastoribus, qui mallent illos sibi non imponi: Dabo sanè, & quidem

ex abundanti, onus & servitutem ipsis imponi; sed non dabo ideo justissimis ex causis, Stationem vel Ministerium propterea esse deserendum, & locum cedendum lupis, ut antea dictum est, vel ineptioribus Ministris. Præsertim, cum maneat libera Prædicatio, - - - - - possit obtrudere servitus, & multa hujusmodi alia, &c.

Dixi quæ videbantur mihi dicenda de propositis Quæstionibus, non nescius alios pro sua eruditione, longè elegantius meliusque potuisse excussisse; sed quia ita voluistis, ut responderem, feci quod potui, liberum aliis relinquens de his & calamum & judicium. Quod superest, nullius ego his Conscientiam urgere volo, examinanda propono; moneoque, ne quis in hac Controversia, ex Φιλονεικία, sibi faciat Conscientiam. Hortor item vos omnes, per Jesum Christum, Dominum meum, Ecclesiæ suæ Servatorem, Caput & Regem, ut probè quisque apud se expendat: Utra nam re plus ædificârit Ecclesiam Christi, si propter Ordinem & Decorem Vestibus utatur, ut re indifferenti, & hactenus ad concordiam utilitatemque Ecclesiasticam nonnihil facienti; an verò propter rem vestiariam deserere Ecclesiam, occupandam postea, si non à lupis manifestis, saltem à Ministris minus idoneis & bonis? Dominus Jesus det vobis videre, sapere, & sequi quod facit ad Gloriam ejus, & Ecclesiæ Pacem & Salutem.

Valete in Domino, unà cum omnibus fidelibus Ministris. Orabimus sedulò pro vobis Dominum, ut ea sentiatis & faciatis, quæ sancta sunt & salutaria. D. Gualtherus amicissimè vos salutat, & omnia fælicia vobis precatur. Faciunt hoc ipsum reliqui etiam Ministri. Tiguri, Calendis Maij, Anno Domini MDLXVI.

Vester ex animo totus,

Heinrychus Bullingerus, Sen.

Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Minister.

Admonitum te volo, chare mi Sampson, ne quid D. Bibliandri edas, nam quæ habetis excerptæ sunt ab Auditoribus ejus, & non sunt scripta à D. Bibliandro. Habent autem Hæredes ejus Commentaria, ejus manu scripta in Biblia, vel in vetus Testamentum. Indignissimè enim ferunt, si quid sub ejus nomine ederetur, quod ipsus non scripsisset. Interim gratias ago humanitati tuæ, quòd de his nos fecisti certiores. Et Literæ tuæ 16 Febr. scriptæ, demùm mihi traditæ sunt 26 Aprilis.

Number

Number 78.

Humphreys *and* Sampſon's *Letter to* Bullinger, *inſiſting on the Queſtion.*

Laurentius Humfredus, & Thomas Sampſon, Bullingero.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

CUM diligentia tua clariſſimo Viro, in ſcribendo nobis probatur: Tum verò ex Literis illis quidem humaniſſimis incredibilis tuus ergà nos amor & Eccleſiæ noſtræ ſingularis cura, & concordiæ ardentiſſimum ſtudium apparent. Quæſtiones aliquot miſimus P. T. in quibus jus & quaſi cardo totius Controverſiæ ſita eſſe videbatur. Quibus eſt à P. T. accurate reſponſum, nobis tamen quod bona cum venia tua dicimus, non eſt ſatisfactum plenè. Primò reſpondet P. T. Miniſtris præſcribi poſſe leges Veſtiarias ut iis colore & forma à Laicis diſtinguantur: Eſſe enim civilem obſervationem & Apoſtolum velle Epiſcopum eſſe κόσμιον. Cum hæc quæſtio de Eccleſiaſticis Hominibus propoſita ſit & ad Eccleſiaſticam politiam ſpectet: Quomodo habitus Miniſtrorum ſingularis & clericalis civilem rationem habere poſſit, non videmus. Ut Epiſcopum κόσμιον eſſe debere fatemur; ſic ad ornatum mentis non ad cultum corporis cum Ambroſio referimus. Et ut in veſtitu honeſtatem dignitatem, gravitatem requirimus: Sic decorum ab hoſtibus Religionis noſtræ peti negamus. Secundo reſpondes Hypotheticè, ſi pileus & veſtis non indecorus Miniſtro, & quæ ſuperſtitione carent, jubeatur uſurpari à Miniſtris Judaiſmum propterea non revocari. At qui eſſe poteſt veſtis ſimplici Miniſterio Chriſti conveniens, quæ Theatro & Pompæ Sacerdotii Papiſtici ſerviebat? Neque enim (quo noſtri P. T. perſuadent) pileus quadrus & veſtitus externus ſolummodo exiguntur ſed etiam ſacras veſtes in templo adhibentur, ſuperpelliceum, ſeu alba chori veſtis, & capa revocantur. Quæ Judaiſmi μιμήματα quædam eſſe & ſimulacra non modò Papiſtæ ipſi in ſuis Libris clamitant, ſed P. T. non ſemel ex Innocentio docuit. D. Martyris præceptoris noſtri colendiſſimi teſtimonio libenter ſubſcribimus. Sed quæ ille affert exempla ad decorum & ordinem pertinent, hæc Eccleſiam deformant, ἀταξίαν perturbant, condecentiam omnem evertunt: Illa lumini naturæ congruunt; hæc prodigioſa & monſtroſa ſunt: Illa juxta Tertulliani regulam meras neceſſitates & utilitates habebant: Hæc inepta prorſus & ſupervacanea & inutilia ſunt, nec ædificationi nec ulli bono uſui conducentia ſed verius ut ejus Martyris noſtri verbis utamur, cultui, quem hodie quotquot pii ſunt execrantur, ſplendide inſervierunt. Veſtium Eccleſiaſticarum diſcrimen hodiè receptum Papiſticum eſſe inventum ipſi Papiſtolæ Gloriantur, Othonis Conſtitutiones loquuntur, Liber Pontificalis oſtendit, oculi & ora omnium comprobant. Uſus Decimarum Stipendii, Baptiſmi, Symboli, & ante Papam natum divino inſtituto inolevit. Et cum

Augustino quicquid in aliqua Hæresi Divinum ac Legitimum reperimus, id & approbamus & retinemus, non inficiamur. Hoc autem quia erroris illius ac dissensionis proprium est, veraciter cum eodem arguimus & certamus. Quod addis, rem vestiariam ab initio reformationis non fuisse abolitam, in ea rursus vestri minimè vera retulerunt. Multis enim in locis Serenissimi Regis Edvardi VI. temporibus absque superpelliceo cæna D. pure celebrabatur: Et Copa quæ tum lege abrogata est nunc Publico decreto restituta est. Hoc non est Papismum extirpare, sed denuo plantare, non in Pietate proficere sed deficere. Vestitum Sacerdotalem civilem esse ais: Monachismum, Papismum, Judaismum redolere negas. De superpelliceo, quid blaterent Papistæ habitus Clericorum apud eos quanti fiat, & quo Religioni dicatus sit Prudentiam tuam ex libris eorum intelligere non dubitamus. Deinde Monachatum ac Papismum sapit illa ambitio & Pharisaica peculiaris, vestitus præscriptio; cui illi hodiè non minùs quam olim Morachi suæ cucullæ tribuunt. Neq; verò simul ac semel irrupit sanctitatis & meriti opinio, sed paulatim & sensim irrepsit. Quod ne hic quoque fiat, quod veremur, idcircò non ab re cunctamur, & principiis obstare conamur. Cum Eustathio non facimus, qui in veste religionem collocabat, imò his, qui singulares & religiosas vestes sui Sacerdotii indices superstitiose requirunt adversamur. Idem etiam de Canone Consilii Gangrensis & Laodicei & Synodi VI. dicendum, & libertate in qua hactenus stetimus, discedere servitutis autoramentum quoddam esse judicamus. Neq; hic nos rimati sumus, non odiose contendimus, acerbas contentiones semper fugimus, amicas consultationes querimus; lupis non cedimus, sed coacti & pulsi loco inviti & gementes discedimus. Fratres & Episcopos Domino suo stare & cadere permittimus, eandem erga nos æquitatem at frustra petimus. In ritibus nihil est liberum; nec ad hoc nobis R. M. irritata est: Sed aliorum suasu ducta est: at nunc demum non quod Ecclesiæ expedit, sed quod aliquo modo licet, constituatur: & quod omninò impium non est, id sanum & salubre, id sacrosanctum, id ratum habeatur. Ceremonias & vestes sacerdotum, cum religionis testes, & professionis notæ sunt, non civiles esse: & ab hostibus omnium consensu mutuò corrogatæ, non decore haberi: & Anathemate divino notatæ & piis omnibus invisæ & malis ac infirmis admirabiles, sine quibus nec nos ministros esse, nec Sacramenta ritè administrari credunt, in rebus indifferentibus numerari nec possunt nec debent. Habebant Patres antiqui suas vestes, sed nec Episcoporum omnium proprias, nec â Laicis distinctas. Exempla D. Joan. & Cypr. singularia sunt. Sisinius hæreticus erat, nec aut laudatus aut nobis imitandus proponitur. Pallium omnium erat Christianorum commune, ut Tertull. in illo libro refert, & T. P. alibi notavit. Chrysostomus candidæ vestis meminit, sed obiter: nec commendat sed reprehendit: & fuerit ne sacerdotum an aliorum Græcorum linea aut lanea alba an munda nondum constat. Certè ad populum Antiochenum ab eodem, & ab Hieronymo opponitur sordidæ & apud Blondum de pallio laneo fit mentio. Quare ex ambiguo nihil concludi potest. Vestium præscriptionem non congruere cum Christiana libertate Bucerus est testis, qui discrimina vestium propter præsentem abusum in Ecclesiis Anglicanis, propter pleniorem declarationem detestationis Antichristi,

ticæ Christi, propter pleniorem professionem Libertatis Christianæ, propter tollendas inter fratres dissensiones omninò tollenda esse censuit. His enim verbis usus est in Epistola ad D. Alasco, qui totus noster fuit. Cedendum quidem est tempori sed ad tempus : sic ut progrediamur semper, regrediamur nunquam. Absit ut nos vel Schismata in Ecclesia altercando odiosius seramus vel fratribus hostiliter nos opponendo Camerinam moveamus : absit (optime Bull.) ut res natura indifferentes impietatis damnemus : Absit ut sub scandalo nostras affectiones contegamus, vel ex φιλονεικία conscientiam faciamus. Hæc sex & fermentum papisticum (nobis crede) omnis dissensionis est seminarium : Illud tolli & sempiternâ oblivione obrui ac sepeliri cupimus, ne ulla extent Antichristianæ superstitiones vestigia. In Papatu primatus & supercilium semper nobis displicuerunt: Et tyrannis in Ecclesia Libera placebit? Libera Synodus apud Christianos controversiarum nodos hactenus solvit: Cur nunc ad unius aut alterius arbitrium referentur omnia? Ubi hæc votorum & vocum regnat libertas, Ibi valet & viget veritas. Breviter sic habeto rectum, primum hæc nobis potissimum fidem facere, Authoritatem Scripturarum, simplicitatem ministerij Christi, puritatem ecclesiarum primarum & optimarum quæ brevitatis studio commemorare supersedemus. Ex altera verò parte legem nullam, nullum decretum generale, vel Dei optimi maximi, vel repurgatæ alicujus ecclesiæ, vel universalis consilii (quæ August. regula est) legere nobis hactenus contigit vel audire. Præterea illud comperimus, hæc quæ adducta sunt hactenus, exempla particularia esse, & universale non confirmare. Ad hæc statuimus, non quicquid est licitum ullo modo, obtrudendum, sed quod Ecclesiam ædificat omni modo, esse introducendum ; nec quod alicui licet, id statim licere omnibus. Doctrinam castam & incorruptam (Deo sit laus) habemus : in cultu, religionis parte non infima cur claudicabimus? cur mancum Christum potius, quam totum, quam purum ac perfectum recipimus? Cur â Papistis hostibus, & non â vobis fratribus reformationis exempla petimus? Eadem est nostrarum ecclesiarum confessio : eadem doctrinæ & fidei ratio : cur in ritibus & ceremoniis tanta dissimilitudo? tanta diversitas? Signatum idem : cur signa adeò variant ut dissimilia vestris, similia papisticis existant? Idem dux & Imperator Christus : cur in Ecclesiis nostris vexilla hostilia eriguntur? quæ si homines Dei si ullo zelo præditi essemus, jamdudum detestati & demoliti fuissemus. Nos de Episcopos semper optimè sensimus: illorum fastum candidè interpretati sumus: cum nos olim crucem cum ipsis exosculantes & nunc eundem Christum prædicantes, idem jugum suavissimum una ferentes ferre non possunt? Cur in carceres conjiciunt? cur propter vestem persequuntur? Cur victu ac bonis spoliant? Cur libris publicè traducant? Cur causam malam posteritati, edito scripto commendant? Verterunt etiam in idioma nostrum Schedulas aliquot D. Buceri, P. Martyri, & nunc tuas privatas ad nos Literas nobis invitis & insciis in Publicum emiserunt. Unde dum suam causam agunt, suum honorem vendicant, nec Ecclesiæ nostræ, nec Fratribus suis, nec dignitati tuæ, nee seculo alteri consulunt. Quo autem P. T. intelligat, non levem aut ludicram, sed magni ponderis esse controversiam, Nec de pileo solum, aut superpelliceo certari, sed de re gravis-

graviſſima nos conqueri, Stipulas aliquot, & quiſquilias Papiſticæ Religionis mittimus, ex quibus facile, quæ eſt tua prudentia, aliqua conjicias: Et remedium aliquod, quæ eſt tua Pietas, primo quoque tempore excogites. Oramus autem, D. noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum, ut hos tumultus & turbas conſopiat, gloriam ſuam aſſerat, operarios in vineam extrudat, quo Meſſis læta & uberrima proveniat. Teque oramus, ut Conſilio Paterno, Scripto Publico, Literis Privatis Agas, Satagas, facias, efficias, ut vel hæc mala tollantur, vel boni Viri nondum perſuaſi tolerentur, ne quos Doctrinæ firmiſſimum Vinculum copulavit, Ceremonia Romana disjungat. Salutem dicas Gualtero, Symlero, Lavatero, Wolphio Dominis colendis, quibuſcum ſi contuleris, & nobis & Eccleſiæ univerſæ gratiſſimum feceris. D. Jeſus ſuo Tugurio, veſtro Tyguro benedicat. Julij Anno 1566. Hæc paucis & raptim, & non tam reſpondendi, quam admonendi Cauſa, quæ in hanc Sententiam dici poſſent infinita ſunt. Tu nunc non quid fiat, aut fieri poſſit, ſed quid fieri debeat pronuncia.

Tuæ Paternitatis Studioſiſſimus,

Laurentins Humfredus.

Tho. Samſon.

INSCRIPTIO.

Domino Henrico Bullingero, Eccleſiæ Tigurinæ Miniſtro Fideliſſimo, & Doctiſſimo Domino in Chriſto nobis Colendo.

Number 79.

A Paper of other things complained of beſides the Heads.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

1. ALiquot Maculæ quæ in Eccleſia Anglicana adhuc hærent. In Præcibus publicis & ſi nihil impurum, eſt tamen Species aliqua Superſtitionis Papiſticæ. Quod non modò in matutinis & veſpertinis, ſed in ſacra etiam Cæna videre eſt.

2. Præ-

2. Præter Musicæ sonos fractos & exquisitissimos, Organorum usus in Templis invalescit.
3. In Administratione Baptismi, Minister infantem alloquitur, ejus nomine sponsores, parente absente, de Fide, de Mundo, Carne, Diabolo deserendo respondent, Baptizatus cruce signatur.
4. Mulierculis etiam domi baptizandi potestas facta est.
5. In Cœna Dominica sacræ vestes, nempe Capa & Superpelliceum adhibentur; communicantibus Genuflexio injungitur; pro pane communi, placentula Azima substituitur.
6. Extra Templum, & Ministris in universum singulis, vestes Papisticæ præscribuntur; & Episcopi suum lineum, rochetum vocant, gestant & utrique pileos quadros, liripippia, togas longas à Papistis mutuo sumptas circumferunt.
7. De nervo autem Religionis, Disciplina, quid dicemus? Nulla est, nec habet suam virgam Ecclesia nostra: Nulla Censura exercetur.
8. Conjugium Ministris Ecclesiæ, publicis Regni Legibus, concessum & sancitum non est; sed eorum Liberi, à nonnullis, pro spuriis habentur.
9. Solennis Desponsatio fit, more rituque Papistico, per Annulum.
10. Mulieres adhuc cum velo purificantur.
11. In regimine Ecclesiastico, multa Antichristianæ Ecclesiæ vestigia servantur. Ut enim olim Romæ, in foro Papæ, omnia fuerunt venalia; sic in Metropolitani Curia, eadem ferè omnia prostant: Pluralitates Sacerdotiorum, Licentia pro non residendo, pro non initiando Sacris, pro esu carnium diebus interdictis, & in quadragesima, quo etiam tempore, nisi dispensetur & numeretur, nuptias celebrare piaculum est.
12. Ministris Christi libera prædicandi potestas adempta est: Qui jam concionari nolunt, hi rituum innovationem suadere non debent, sed manus subscriptione Ceremonias omnes approbare coguntur.
13. Postremò, Articulus de spirituali manducatione, qui disertis verbis oppugnabat, & tollebat realem Præsentiam in Eucharistia, & manifestissimam continebat veritatis explanationem, Edvardi VI. temporibus excusus, nunc apud vos evulgatur mutilatus & truncatus.

Laur. Humfredus.

Number

Number 80.

Bullinger's *Answer to their Letter, declining to enter further into the Dispute.*

Præstantissimis Viris, D. Laurentio Humfredo, & D. Thomæ Sampsoni, Anglis, Dominis meis Colendis, & Fratribus Charissimis.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

EPistolam illam vestram, Domini colendi & Fratres charissimi, quâ meæ respondetis de re vestiariâ scriptæ, accepimus & legimus. Cujus quidem hæc summa est, Vobis per nostram nondum esse satisfactum. Prævidimus hoc futurum, Fratres: Ideoq; mox ab initio, si bene meministis, in Epistola mea hæc præmisimus verba. Ergo, si nos audire vultis, nostrumque Judicium de re vestiaria expenditis, sicut ultimis ad me Literis vestris significabatis, en habetis in illa (Gualtheri) Epistola meum judicium. Cui si acquiescere non potestis, dolemus sanè quam vehementissimè, & cum nullum aliud nobis supersit consilium, Dominum, qui in omnibus & semper respiciendus est, ex animo & incessanter oramus, ut ipse sua gratia atque potentia, rebus graviter afflictis, &c. His jam nihil amplius addere nec possumus, nec volumus. Respondere quidem ad vestra objecta possemus, sed nolumus ullam novis & nunquam terminandis Disputationibus, scriptis vel rixis dare occasionem. Toties scripsit Martyr beatæ Memoriæ, cum adhuc viveret in Anglia, sed subinde aliæ atque aliæ suggerebantur, repetebanturque Quæstiones, ut videam ægre ullis verbis Scriptisve satisfieri posse. Rogati à vobis fraterno amore suasimus, quod nobis coram Domino videbatur ecclesiæ fore fructuosum. Diximus nobis quidem videri utilius ad tempus uti istis vestibus & cum oviculis creditis manere, quàm rejectis illis pariter & ecclesias deserere. Ulterius progressi non sumus, neque ullas papisticas sordes ac superstitiones probavimus: de quibus in illis disputationem ne suscepimus quidem, quippe ignari, quæ inter vos controverterentur, & de quibus nunc quoque scribitis, De re magni ponderis esse apud vos controversiam, nec de pileo solum aut Superpelliceo certari, sed de re gravissima vos conqueri. Licet quidem epistola illa nostra ad vos privatim de re vestiaria conscripta, inscìis nobis à quibusdam sit edita, speramus tamen pios & prudentes viros, nostra, neque in comitiis neque extra comitia eò detorsuros, quasi videamur ea nunc approbare & restituere velle, quæ pij omnes libris nostris edocti, dudum nos reprobare norunt. Suasimus vobis, sicut & antè nos & una nobiscum D. Martyr, quod nobis quidem videbatur, pro hoc tempore Argumento vel re, recipiendam vobis, ceu honestum & utile. Hoc quia hactenus placere non potuit, committimus nos totum Deo Negotium, petimusq; ut nobis non sitis ingrati, sed nihilominus amici, pergentes amare nos, vestri amantes in Domino, quem ex Animo oramus ut ipse, qui Fidelis est Custos Ecclesiæ suæ, Dissidium hoc infelix, inter vos exortum, componat & Ecclesiæ suæ Tranquillitatem

reddat. Memineritis Fratres, obsecramus, per *Dominum Jesum*, *à* Ministris Ecclesiarum non tantùm requiri, ut sint fidelis Sermonis tenaces, sed ut simul sint prudentes domûs Dei dispensatores, rationem habentes Familiæ, temporumque ; & ut patienter, per Charitatem, plurima sustineant, concordiam veram in Domino foveant, deniq; per omnia Ecclesiam in pace conservent, nimiaq; sua vehementia, morositate aut importunitate, bonum quidem sed non prudenter volendo, non incommodent piis & pietati. Dominus Jesus concedat vobis Spiritum suum sanctum, & dirigat vos in viis suis. Valete Fratres.

Datum Tiguri, 10 Septembr.
Anno Dom. 1566.

Heinrychus Bullingerus,

Suo & sui GUALTHERI Nomine.

Number 81.

Bullinger *and* Gualter's *Letter to the Earl of* Bedford, *pressing him to find a Temper in that Matter.*

Illustrissimo Principi, Domino Francisco Russello, Comiti Bedfordiensi, &c.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

CUM anno superiori intellexissemus apud vos, Illustrissime Princeps, contentionem aliquam de Habitu Ministrorum exortam esse, vehementer timebamus, ne ea ulterius progressa, aliquid majoris mali daret Ecclesiæ : Et ideò à viris piis & cordatis requisiti, consilium dedimus, quod tunc nobis tutum & pium videbatur. Monuimus enim Ecclesiarum Ministros, ne ob rem non adeò magni momenti ab Ecclesiis discederent, & eas lupis & superstitiosis seductoribus vexandas relinquerent. At non fefellit nos gravioris periculi metus, quem nos tunc concepisse diximus. Audimus enim, jam non de solo vestitu apud vos contendi, sed insuper multa alia obtendi piis Ministris ; quæ merum Papatum redolent, imò in Antichristi Schola primùm fabricata sunt, & proinde salva pietate recipi aut dissimulari non possunt. Dolorem autem nobis non levem parit, quòd Epistolam quam privatim ad amicos pauculos ea de re dedimus, typis excusam esse fertur, & quod multi nostrum de re illa vestiaria judicium ad alia usque extendunt, quæ Controversa esse tunc nesciebamus, & quæ

à nobis nunquam probari potuerunt. Et ſanè juſtiſſimi doloris cauſa eſt, noſtri nominis authoritate pios Fratres gravari, quibus conſilium & conſolationem afferre, potiùs quam moleſtiam exhibere ſtuduimus. Magis tamen utimur ſcandali conſideratione, quod inde exortum eſſe non dubitamus. Auget prætcrea triſtitiam noſtram infælix Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ conditio; quam cum ſemper amaverimus, non poſſumus non ſanguinariis Fidei purioris hoſtibus totis animis commoveri, quòd quæ vixdum liberata nonnil florere cæperat, nunc inteſtinis diſſidiis labefactatur. Et quia de tua virtute, Illuſtriſſime Princeps, nobis ſatis conſtat, & non pauca extant tuæ Pietatis argumenta, ad tuam Excellentiam Literas dandas eſſe putavimus, de qua pij quàm plurimi ſpem non mediocrem conceperunt. Rogamus autem ut apud Sereniſſimam Reginam, & in Comitiis (quæ brevi futura audimus) apud regni proceres, cauſam Eccleſiæ pro more tueri pergat, neque ſuum patrocinium piis Fratribus neget; qui etſi aliqua in re peccarunt, veniam tamen merentur, quando illos ferventi pietatis zelo commotos fuiſſe; conſtat & hoc unum quærere, ut Eccleſiam ab omnibus Papiſticis ſordibus repurgatam habeant. Neq; illi modò nobis digni videntur, quos pij Principes propugnent; ſed tota hæc cauſa ejuſmodi eſt, ut qui in illa agenda ſtudium & induſtriam adhibent, eo facto demùm teſtentur, ſe Principum nomine digniſſimos eſſe. Dignatus eſt illuſtres viros eo honore Dominus, ut Eccleſiæ ejus nutritij dicantur, quæ ſanè laus omnem hujus mundi gloriam atq; dignitatem longè ſuperat. Erunt autem fideles nutritij, ſi Eccleſiam non modò ex hoſtium manibus eripiant, verbi Prædicationem inſtaurent, & Sacramentorum uſum legitimum reſtituant; verùm & caveant, ne quæ Chriſto adduci debet Sponſa incontaminata, ullo ſuperſtitionum fuco defœdetur, aut ullis Ritibus à ſimplicitate Chriſtiana, alienis à fide ſua ſuſpectam reddat. Et notum eſt illud Hoſeæ, qui Eccleſiam Iſraeliticam monebat, ut ſcortationes non ab uberibus modò, verùm & à facie removeret. Quare etiam atq; etiam Excellentiam tuam rogamus, ut quod hactenus fecit, nunc imprimis facere pergat, & ſua Authoritate apud Sereniſſimam Reginam & Regni Proceres efficere ſtudeat, ne cum magna totius orbis admiratione inſtituta Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Reformatio, novis ſordibus & poſtliminio reductis infelicis Papatûs reliquiis, deformetur. Nam ſi id fiat, non modo inconſtantiæ nota multis in Regno veſtro florentiſſimo inuretur, verùmetiam infirmi offendentur, & vicinis Scotiæ, Galliæ & Flandriæ Eccleſiis, ſcandalum præbebitur ſub cruce adhùc laborantibus, cujus pœnæ in authores ejus proculdubio redundabunt. Imò ex vobis exemplum ſument vicini veritatis Evangelicæ hoſtes; ut ipſi quoq; in ſuis locis, liberiorem verbi Dei cultum novis tyrannicæ ſuperſtitionis legibus circumſcribant. Liberiùs hæc dicimus, Illuſtriſſime Princeps, non quòd de tua pietate quicquam dubitemus, ſed id partim tua humanitate incredibili freti faciamus, partim rei neceſſitate adducti tuæ Excellentiæ, & multis aliis de hac cauſa cogitandi materiam & occaſionem ampliorem præbere cupimus. Precamur autem Deum optimum maximum, ut Eccleſiæ ſuæ miſeratus, pacem illi reſtituat, & T. E. tuiq; ſimiles Principes ſuo Spiritû regat, ſuo favore proſegat, & potenti brachio ſervet,

vet, ad sui Nominis Gloriam, & Ecclesiæ suæ Conservationem. Tiguri, 11 Sept. Anno 1566.

Tuæ Excellentiæ Deditissimi,

Henricus Bullingerus, Sen. &
Rod. Gualtherus.

Number 82.

Bullinger *and* Gualter's *Letter to Bishop* Grindal *and Bishop* Horn, *for quieting the Dispute.*

Reverendis in Christo Patribus, D. Edmundo Gryndallo Londoniensi, & de Roberto Horno Wintoniensi, in Anglia Episcopis, Dominis nostris Colendissimis & Fratribus Charissimis.

Reverendi in Christo Patres, Domini Honorandi, & Fratres Charissimi.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

RUmore perlatum est ad nos, confirmato eodem nonnullorum Literis Fratrum aliunde ad nos allatis, Epistolam illam meam, quam Mense Maio, privatim Scripsimus ad Honorandos Fratres nostros D. Humfredum, & Sampsonem, vobisque Dominis nostris & Fratribus Charissimis, certo Consilio exposito à nobis in Epistola ad vos data communicavimus, Typis excusam atque publicatam esse, eaque ipsa illos confirmari, qui jam multos Ecclesiarum Ministros pios & doctos exauthorarunt, non quidem ob rem vestiariam, de qua illa nostra Scripta est Epistola, sed alios complures ob articulos, apud vos controversos. De quibus in Epistola illa nostra nullam instituimus Disputationem, quos tamen omnes dicimur contra exauthoratos defendere atque approbare. Nos quidem incendium inter vos exortum non augere, sed extinguere studio vestri Sancto sumus conati, & non probare vel improbare articulos de quibus nihil nobis constabat. Proinde luculenta nobis fieret injuria, si nostra Epistola raperetur eo quasi eos etiam articulos, quos tunc ignoravimus, cum de re vestiaria scriberemus, approbare videremur. Summa sententiæ nostræ erat, Ecclesias Christi Sanguine redemptas, minimè esse deserendas propter pi-

leos & vestes, res indifferentes, cum non propter cultum ullum, sed propter ornatum politicè usurpari jubeantur. Nunc verò audimus (utinam rumore falso) requiri à Ministris novis quibusdam subscribant articulis, aut statione sua cedant. Articulos verò esse hujusmodi, cantum in templis figuratum, & peregrina lingua, unà cum strepitu organorum esse retinendum, Mulieres in casu necessitatis privatim posse; & debere baptizare infantulos. Magistrum quoq; infantem oblatum baptismo rogare debere quæstiones, olim catechumenis propositas. Baptizantes item Ministros usurpare exufflationes, exorcismos, crucis characterem, oleum, sputum, lutum, accensos cæreos & hujus generis alia: Docendum esse Ministris in perceptione Cœnæ Domini, opus esse genuflexione (quæ speciem habet adorationis) nec panem frangendum esse communiter, sed cuilibet communicaturo crustulam ori ejus esse inserendam à Ministro. Neq; verò modum Spiritualis manducationis, & præsentiæ Corporis Christi in Sacra Cœna explicandum, sed relinquendum in medio. Præterea dicitur, ut quondam Romæ omnia fuerint venalia, ita nunc in Metropolitani Curia, prostare eadem, pluralitates videlicet Sacerdotiorum, licentiam pro non residendo, pro esu carnium diebus interdictis, & in quadragesima, & rebus similibus, pro quibus nisi quis numeret, nihil impetret. Uxores item Ministrorum longè arceri à suis maritis, quasi impura sit conjugatis cohabitatio, perinde ut quondam factitatum est apud Antichristi Sacerdotes; aiunt autem illis omnibus non licere vel privatim vel publicè contradicere, quinimò adigi Ministros, ne hanc camarinam siquidem Ministrare Ecclesiis velint, commoveant. Adeoq; omnem potestatem gubernationis, vel potestatis Ecclesiasticæ penes solos esse Episcopos, neq; ulli Pastorum permitti, in rebus hujusmodi Ecclesiasticis, suam dicere sententiam. Quæ si vera sunt, plurimum sanè non nobis tantum, sed Piis omnibus dolent. Oramusq; Dominum, ut hæc ex Sancta Christi Ecclesia quæ in Anglia est eluat, prohibeatq; ne quisquam Episcoporum, statione sua, dejiciat Pastorem ullum hujusmodi articulos recipere, aut approbare respuentem. Et quanquam de vestra Pietate Sinceritateque hoc nobis persuasissimum habeamus, vos si quid hujus (tam crassa enim extare apud vos vixdum credimus,) in usu apud vos est, ferre & dissimulare ea ad comitia usq; regni opportuna, quibus de superstitione abolenda commodè & prudenter agatur: Et si qui sint, qui nostra illa Epistola abutantur ad quoslibet abusus confirmandos, vel tamen non esse de eorum numero, nihilominus hortamur vestram Pietatem per Dominum Jesum, ut seriò de emendandis expurgandisq; istis similibusq; superstitionibus, si ita res habet, ut dicitur, cum vestris Coepiscopis, & aliis Viris sanctis prudentibusq; consultetis, nosq; ab injuria illa nobis ab aliis irrogata, fideliter vindicetis. Non enim istos articulos, uti perlati sunt ad nos, unquam probavimus. Rogamus insuper Humanitatem vestram, ut hæc à nobis benigno animo accipiatis, qui vestræ concordiæ item sinceritatisq; in Religione Regni Anglici sumus studiosissimi, & vobis in Christo addictissimi. Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis, & servet ab omni malo. Salutate obsecramus nostro nomine, reliquos Reverendissimos Patres in Christo, Dominos meos Honorendos & Fratres Charissimos Angliæ Episcopos. Reginæ quoq; Serenissimæ semper nos commendate. Cui optamus

vitam

vitam longævam, & gubernandi felicitatem, firmum tranquillumq; & tutum Regnum, & omnia quæ pii exoptare possunt.

Datæ Tiguri, Septemb. 6.
Anno 1556.

Vestræ Pietatis Humanitatisque
Deditissimi,

Heinrychus Bullingerus, &
Rod. Gualtherus, Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Pastores & Ministri.

Number 83.

A Letter of Bishop Grindal, *and Bishop* Horn, *giving a full Account of their Sense of all the Matters complained of in the Church of* England.

N. B. Ex Præcipuis.

Edmondus Londinensis, & Robertus Wintoniensis, Bullingero Heinricho, & Rodolpho Gualtero.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

ERuditas vestras Literas ad Humfredum, & Sampsonem, commodissimas, cum ad nostras de vestibus animorum dissensiones, tum verborum altercationes atq; pugnas sedandas, quam libentissimè accepimus: Acceptas non sine certo Consilio, parcentes tamen Fratrum nominibus, Typis excudi atq; publicari curavimus, indeq; fructum amplissimum quidem, quemadmodum sperabamus, percepimus. Nam sanis quidem viris, universum Evangeliorum institutum & finem spectantibus, multum profuere: Ministros certè nonnullos qui de deserendo Ministerio propter rem vestiariam, quæ jam sola controversa ac causa contentionis apud nos fuerat, cogitarunt, persuasos ne Ecclesias fraudari suâ operâ sinerent propter tantillum, confirmatosq; reddidere, & in vestram sententiam retraxere: Plebem autem quæ per importunos quorundam clamores concitata in varias partes distrahebatur, piosq; Ministros contumeliâ afficiebat, quasi concordia quadam illis placavere ac leniere temperantia: Morosis vero & nihil preterquam

quam quod ipsi statuerant preferre valentibus, etsi non satisfecere, eo tamen eis profuere, ut pios convitiis minus proscindere, pacemq; Ecclesiæ salutarem sermonibus suis morologis non adeò audacter fædare, velint aut possint. Ex hiis quosdam esse exauthoratos, etsi sua ipsorum culpa, ut gravius in illos nos dicamus, fatemur & dolemus. Verum illud æquiori animo ferendum putamus, quod non sint multi sed pauci, & ut pij, certè non adeò docti. Nam solus Sampsonus inter eos qui exauthorati sunt, & pius pariter ac Doctus est habendus. Humfredus verò ac Doctiores omnes in sua hactenus statione manent. Quod si vestra Epistola Typis excusa ac publicata fuisset, ut qui exauthorarunt, confirmarentur: Si qui exauthorati sunt, propter alios articulos apud nos controversos & non ob rem solam vestiariariam de gradu fuissent dejecti suo: Si deniq; illa Epistola quæ verbis adeò exquisitis ac perspicuis solam controversiam vestiariam pertractat, ut alio transferri non possit ad approbandos articulos vobis ignotos, nec dum apud nos Dei gratia controversos (nam nulli nobis cum Fratribus articuli in contentionem hactenus venerunt nisi hic solus vestiarius) reperetur: Luculenta profectò vobis, quos amamus, colimus, & in Domino Honoramus, fuisset injuria: Sicut nobis manifesta adhibita est calumnia ab hiis qui Authores fuerunt vanissimi rumoris, quo ad vos perlatum fuit, à Ministris Ecclesiæ requiri novis quibusdam subscribant articulis, aut statione sua cedant. Summa controversiæ nostræ hæc est: Nos tenemus Ministros Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ sine impietate uti posse vestium discrimine publica authoritate jam præscripto, tum in Administratione Sacra, tum in usu externo, præsertim cum ut res indifferentur proponantur, tantum propter ordinem ac debitam legibus Obedientiam usurpari jubeantur: Et omnis Superstitionis Cultus ac Necessitatis quod ad Conscientias attinet, opinio, legum ipsarum præscripto & sincerioris Doctrinæ Prædicatione assidua quantum fieri potest amoveatur, rejiciatur, ac omnino condemnetur. Illi contra clamitant vestes has in numerum τῶν ἀδιαφόρων, jam haud quaquam esse ascribendas, impias esse, Papisticas ac Idolatricas: Et propterea, omnibus piis uno consensu Ministerio cedendum potius, quàm cum istis Pannicularìis Papisticis, sic enim loquuntur, Ecclesiæ inservire: Licet Doctrinam sincerissimam prædicandi nec non omnimodos Errores seu abusus sive in Ritibus, sive in Doctrina, sive in Sacramentis, sive in Moribus, per sanam Doctrinam subaccusandi, exagitandi, condemnandi, summam habeamus Libertatem. Istud istorum immaturum Consilium accipere non possumus: quomodo nec impetuosas eorum Adhortationes, quibus Pacem Ecclesiæ indesinenter pro suggestu disturbant, Religionemq; nostram universam in Periculum trahunt, ferre debemus. Nam istiusmodi suis celeusmatibus, sereniss. Reginæ Animum alioqui ad optimè merendum de Religione propensum, irritari, prohi dolor, nimium experti sumus: Procerum quorundam Animos, ut de aliis taceamus, ægros, imbecilles, vacillantes, hiis vulnerari, debilitari, abalienari, certò certius scimus. Ecquis dubitare possit, quin Papistæ hujusmodi Occasione nacti virus suum pestilentissimum eructabunt, evoment in Evangelium Jesu Christi, ejusq; Professores omnes; in spem erecti, jam Oportunitatem se habere suam sibi ereptam Helenam recuperandi. Quodsi inconsulto nostro Consiljo acquiesceremus, ut omnes cunctis viribus impetum in vestes Legibns Constabilitas, contra

Legem

Legem faciamus, perimamus, ac deleamus omnino, aut ſimul omnes Munia exuamus. Papiſticum profectò, vel ſaltem Lutherano-papiſticum haberemus Miniſterium, aut omnino nullum. Illud autem Deum Optimum Maximum teſtamur, Fratres in Chriſto honorandi; neque culpa eveniſſe diſſidium hoc noſtra, nec per nos ſtare quo minùs iſtiuſmodi veſtes è medio tollerentur: Imò ſanctiſſime, licet, juremus, laboraſſe nos hactenus quanto potuimus ſtudio, fide, diligentia, ut id effectum daremus, quod fratres poſtulant, & nos optamus. Verùm in tantas adducti anguſtias, quid faciendum? (multa vobis, qui prudentes & ad pericula Eccleſiis impendentia perſpicienda eſtis ſagaces, conjicienda relinquimus) niſi ut cùm non poſſumus quod velimus, velimus in Domino quod poſſumus. Hactenus rem controverſam & plenam diſſenſionis inter nos, ut ſe habet, expoſuimus. Nunc vero quod reliquum eſt, accipite: Falſiſſimus omnino eſt ille rumor, ſi tamen rumor dicendus ſit (novimus enim prudentiam veſtram, ac modeſtiam, & laudamus) de receptione, ſubſcriptione, & approbatione novorum iſtorum Articulorum quos recenſetis. Nec magis ſunt veraces, qui ſive ſcriptis ſuis Epiſtolis, ſive verbis coram, hoc prætextu vobis fucum facere, nobis autem calumniam inurere ſunt conati. Pleriq; enim omnes iſti Articuli falſò nobis objiciuntur; perpauci recipiuntur: Horum omnino nulli, Fratribus ſua ſubſcriptione approbandi obtruduntur. Cantum in templis figuratum, unà cum ſtrepitu organorum, retinendum non affirmamus imò prout decet, inſectamur. Peregrinam linguam, exufflationes, exorciſmos, oleum, ſputum, lutum, accenſos cereos, & ejus generis alia, ex Legum præſcripto nunquam revocanda, penitùs amiſit Eccleſia Anglicana. Mulieres poſſe aut debere baptizare infantulos, nullo modo prorſus aſſentimur. In Cœnæ Dominicæ perceptione, panem communiter frangere, cuilibet communicaturo non ori inſerere, ſed in manus tradere: Modum ſpiritualis manducationis, & preſentiæ Corporis Chriſti in ſacra Cœna, explicari Leges jubent, Uſus confirmat, Oblatratores noſtri Anglo-Lovanienſes nefariis ſuis ſcriptis teſtantur. Uxores Miniſtrorum non arcentur à ſuis Maritis; cohabitant, & eorum Conjugium apud omnes (ſemper Papiſtas excipimus) habetur honorabile. Denique non minùs falſum eſt quod oblatrant, penes ſolos Epiſcopos omnem eſſe Eccleſiaſticæ gubernationis poteſtatem, etſi primas illis dari non negamus. Nam in rebus hujuſmodi Eccleſiaſticis in Synodo deliberari ſolet. Synodus autem indicitur, Edicto Regio, eo tempore quo habetur totius Regni Parliamentum, ut vocant. Adſunt Epiſcopi, adſunt etiam totius Provinciæ Paſtorum doctiores quique, qui triplo plures ſunt quàm Epiſcopi. Hij ſeorſum ab Epiſcopis de rebus Eccleſiaſticis deliberant, & nihil in Synodo ſtatuitur, aut definitur, ſine communi eorum ac Epiſcoporum, aut majoris ſaltem illorum partis, conſenſu & approbatione: tantùm abeſt ut Paſtoribus non permittatur in hujuſmodi rebus Eccleſiaſticis ſuam dicere ſententiam. Recipimus quidem, ſeu potiùs toleranter ferimus, donec meliora Dominus dederit, interrogationes infantium, & crucis characterem in Baptiſmo, in Cœnæ perceptione genuflexionem; & Regiam Facultatum Curiam, quam Metropolitani vocant. Quæſtiones iſtiuſmodi non adeò accommodè infantibus proponi, etſi ex

Augu-

Augustino videantur emendicatæ, publicè profitemur, ac sedulò docemus. Crucis Charactere frontem jam baptizati infantis notare; etsi Minister palàm conceptis verbis, profiteatur signatum esse Cruce infantulum, solummodò in signum quòd in posterum illum non pudebit fidei Christi crucifixi, idque ex vetustiori Ecclesia videatur transumptum, tamen non defendimus. Genuflexionem in sacræ cœnæ perceptine, quoniam ita Lege constitutum est, permittimus: Ea tamen expositione, seù potius cautione, quam ipsi genuflexionis authores, viri sanctissimi ac Martyres Jesu Christi constantissimi, adhibuerunt, diligentissimè populo declarata, promulgata, inculcata. Quæ sic ad verbum habet: Etsi in Libro Præcum statutum sit, ut communicantes genuflectendo sacram accipiant communionem, id tamen eo trahi non debere declaramus, quasi ulla adoratio fiat aut fieri debeat, sive Sacramentali pani ac vino, sive ulli reali & essentiali præsentiæ ibi existenti, naturalis carnis & sanguinis Christi. Nam Sacramentalis panis & vinum permanent in ipsis suis naturalibus substantiis, & propterea non sunt adoranda: Id enim Idololatria horrenda esset, omnibus Christianis detestanda. Et quantum ad corpus naturale ac sanguinem salvatoris nostri Christi attinet, in Cœlo sunt & non sunt hic. Quandoquidem contra veritatem veri naturalis corporis Christi est, pluribus quàm uno inesse locis, uno atque eodem tempore. Facultatum Curia, undecunque est allata, Regia est, non Metropolitani. Is enim prudens Pater, doctus & ad syncerissimam Religionem propagandam optimè affectus, omnimodas Romanas fæces prorsus eluere peroptat, conatur, satagit. Et licet omnes hujus Fiscalis Curiæ, sicut etiam alios nonnullos abusus, è medio tollere non possumus, eos tamen carpere, contumeliis insequi, ad tartara usque, unde prorepserunt, detrudere non desistimus. Nobis credite, fratres venerandi: Unicuique licet Ministro omnibus istiusmodi articulis, cum modestia & sobrietate contradicere. Pastores verò articulos istos nobis falsò impositos, recipere aut approbare nolentes, statione sua haudquaquam dejicimus. Pergite ergo nos amare, admonere, juvare, ut incendium inter eos exortum, solummodo pro re vestiaria, extinguatur. Nosque operam dabimus, quantum fieri possit, quemadmodum in proximis Comitiis fecimus, & si nihil obtinere potuimus; ut omnes errores & abusus ad amussim verbi Dei corrigantur, emendentur, expurgentur. Commendamus vos Fratres Gratiæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quem oramus ut vos incolumes, vestrasque Ecclesias in pace quam diutissimè conservet. Salutate nostro nomine Fratres ac Symmistas Tigurinos omnes.

Londini, 6 Februarij,
Anno Dom. 1567.

Vestrum omnium
Amantissimus,

Edm. London.

Robertus Winton.

Addita

Addita Manu Winton' ſequentia.

Obſecro & ego vos, Fratres mihi plurimùm obſervandi, (ignoſcatis mihi) quod Literis veſtris ad me privatim ſcriptis, hactenus non reſponderim; neç pro doctiſſimis veſtris Commentariis ad me tranſmiſſis, ullas hactenus gratias retulerim. Neque illud ipſum mihi vitio vertant Wolvius & Lavaterus; quos quæſo, meo nomine, plurimùm ſalutate, & me apud illos excuſate. Scio enim Officij mei rationem hoc ipſum efflagitâſſe; & vos, illoſque, meas Literas deſiderâſſe, non dubito. Efficiam poſthac, ſcribendo vos omnes expleam, & Officio non deſim meo. Salutem etiam à me dicite, oro, D. Simlero, Zuinglio, Halero. Vivite omnes, ac valete in Chriſto.

Totus Veſter,

Robertus Winton.

INSCRIPTIO.

Ornatiſſimis Viris, D. Henricho
Bullingero, & D. Radulpho
Gualtero, Tigurinæ Eccleſiæ
Paſtoribus fideliſſimis.

Number 84.

A Letter of Jewell's *to* Bullinger, *concerning the Debates in Parliament relating to the Succeſſion, and the Heats in the Diſputes about the Veſtments.*

Johannes Juellus Henricho Bullingero.

S. P. in Chriſto.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

PRoximæ Literæ meæ, Ornatiſſime Vir, cum Londinum tardiuſculè veniſſent, & Francofordiam ad Nundinas proficiſci non poſſent, re infecta, domum ad me reverſæ ſunt. Quod nonnihil vereor, ne nunc quoque in iſtas accidat. De prolixis & pereruditis illis tuis ad me Literis proximis, prolixè tibi ago gratias. Nunc mihi de Synodo illa Francofordienſi, ut de re obſcura, & controverſa,

 egre-

egregiè ſatisfactum eſſe, & fateor & gaudeo. Res noſtræ Eccleſiaſticæ, publicæ privatæque, eo loco nunc ſunt, quo fuerunt. Lovanienſes noſtri clamant, & turbant, quantum poſſunt : Et habent fautores, etſi non ita multos, plures tamen multò quam velim. Et quamvis complures ſint, & in univerſum in omnes ſcribant, tamen neſcio, quo meo fato, omnes in me feruntur unum. Itaq; dum illis reſpondeo, ne me eſſe otioſum putes. Habuimus, proximis iſtis Menſibus, Comitia totius Regni : Illis ego, propter Valetudinem, intereſſe non potui. Scriptæ ſunt Leges de Religione, quibus Papiſtarum obſtinata malitia, atq; inſolentia in officio continentur. Actum etiam eſt de Succeſſione ; hoc eſt, cui Familiæ Jus Regni debeatur, ſi quid Elizabethæ Reginæ humanitus acciderit, quod nolimus. Ea Contentio menſem unum, atque alterum omnium animos occupavit ; cum Regina ea de re agi nollet : Reliqui omnes vehementer cuperent, & utrinque magnis viribus, & ſtudiis pugnaretur. Quid quæris ? Effici poſtremò nihil potuit : Regina enim, ut eſt fœmina imprimis prudens & provida, Hærede ſemel deſignato, ſuſpicatur, aliquid ſibi creari poſſe periculi. Nôſti enim illud, plures Orientem Solem adorant, quam Occidentem. De Religione, Cauſa illa veſtiaria magnos hoc tempore motus concitavit. Reginæ certum eſt, nolle flecti : Fratres autem quidam noſtri ita ea de re pugnant, ac ſi in ea una omnis noſtra Religio verſaretur. Itaq; Functiones abjicere, & Eccleſias inanes relinquere malunt, quàm tantillum de ſententia decedere. Neq; aut tuis aut D. Gualtheri doctiſſimis ſcriptis, aut aliorum piorum Virorum monitis moveri volunt. Agimus tamen Deo gratias, qui non patitur nos inter nos, hoc tempore, gravioribus Quæſtionibus exerceri. Unus tantùm quiſpiam è noſtro numero, Epiſcopus Glóceſtrenſis, in Comitiis apertè, & fidenter dixit, probari ſibi Lutheri ſententiam de Euchariſtia ; ſed ea ſeges non erit, ſpero, diuturna. In Hibernia, nonnihil hoc tempore tumultuatur. Inſula ea, uti ſcis, paret noſtris Regibus. Johannes quidam Onelus, ſpurius, conſcripſit nuper militem, & noſtros inſolenter provocavit. Sed plus in ea re moræ eſt, quàm periculi. Is enim longè abdit ſeſe in paludes, & ſolitudines ; quo noſter miles conſequi facilè non poſſit. E Scotia vero, (quid ego dicam ? aut tu, quid credas ?) horrenda atq; atrocia nuntiantur. Ea quamvis ejuſmodi ſint, ut credo, vix poſſint, tamen ex Aula uſq; ad me ſcribuntur, & paſſim jactantur, & creduntur ab omnibus. Regem juvenem, aiunt, proximis hiſce admodum diebus, unà cum uno famulo, quem habuit à cubiculis, interfectum eſſe domi ſuæ, & exportatum foràs, & relictum ſub dio. Crede mihi, horret animus iſta commemorare. Si iſta vera ſint, ne ſint ; tamen ſi ſint, quid cauſæ fuerit, aut quibus ille inſidiis petitus ſit, faciam te poſthac, ubi omnia reſcivero, de rebus omnibus certiorem. In Præſentia, nec ea, quæ ita conſtanter jactarentur, reticere potui, nec ea quæ comperta non haberem, nimium fidenter affirmare. Julium noſtrum, audio, Tiguri eſſe mortuum : Mitto tamen ad illum viginti Coronatos Gallicos, ſi vivit, ut illi cedant ; ſin autem, quod nolim, eſt mortuus, ut in Epulum Scholaſticum inſumantur. Si eſſet otium, ſcriberem ad D. Lavaterum, ad D. Simlerum, ad D. Wolphium, ad D. Hallerum, & alios : Imprimis vero ad D. Gualterum ; ad quem, hactenus homo ingratus, nunquam ſcripſi. Quæſo, ut hoſce omnes,

atque

atq; etiam in primis D. Rodolphum, & D. Henricum tuos, meo nomine plurimum valere jubeas. Vale, mi Pater, & Domine in Christo Colendissime.

Sarisberiæ in Anglia.
Feb. 24, 1567.

Tuusq in Christo,

Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Henricho Bullingero Ministro Ecclesiæ Tigurinæ Fidelissimo, Viro longè Doctissimo, & Domino suo Colendissimo.

Tiguri.

Number 85.

A Letter of Jewel'*s to* Bullinger, *of the State Affairs were in, both in* England, Ireland, Scotland, *and the* Netherlands.

Salutem Plurimam in Christo Jesu.

QUID ego dicam, Doctissime Vir & Clarissime Pater? Et pudet & dolet, pudet primum, non scripsisse sæpius, deinde dolet, eas ipsas quas scripsi, non potuisse ad vos pervenire, obsecro tamen te, ne putes mihi aut Scholam Tigurinam, aut Rempublicam, aut illam vestram Humanitatem tantam tam citò ex Animo elabi potuisse. Equidem vos omnes in oculis, & in sinu gero, & te imprimis. Mi Pater, lumen jam unicum ætatis nostræ. Quod autem ad Literas attinet, equidem, preterquam anno illo superiore cum peste, & lue omnia ubique clausa essent, cæteroquis nunquam intermisi scribere, ad te, ad Lavaterum, ad Simlerum, & ad Julium. Quod nisi facerem, videri, vix possem, non dico officii, sed ne Humanitatis quidem rationem ullam retinere. Et de aliis quidem meis Literis superioribus, quid factum sit, nescio. Proximas autem audio in navali conflictu exceptas fuisse à Gallis, atque ablatas Caletum. Sed Missa ista facio. Nunc accipito de rebus nostris, quos tibi, pro tua pietate, magis cordi esse, sat scio. Primum de Religione omnia domi Dei Optimi Maximi Beneficio pacata sunt. Papistæ exules turbant, & impediunt quantum possunt & evulgatis libris, nescio, quo meo, fatone, dicam, an me-

Ex MSS. Tigur.

 rito,

rito, me petunt unum, idque terni maximis clamoribus uno tempore. Illis omnibus dum unus respondeo, tu me ne putes esse otiosum. Offertur mihi inter alia, causa illa Ubiquitaria, quam ego in senis illius nostri Tubingensis gratiam, ut potui, utque res tulit, de industria ornavi pluribus: Sed nostra lingua, utpote nostris Hominibus. Si quidem otium erit, partem aliquam transferam, & ad vos mittam. De illo autem sene, equidem non video quid debeam statuere. Ita mihi videtur, magis magisque in singulos dies delirare. Legi enim novum Menandri phasma, quod nunc nuper dedit: Et tibi, & de illo Libro, & de omnibus Literis tuis, & de omni tua Humanitate, ago gratias. Respublica domi, forisque, terra marique tranquilla est. Pacem habemus cum Gallis constitutam. Flandrica etiam illa turba jam tandem consiluit. Mercatores utrinque commeant, Flandri ad nos, & nostri vicissim ad illos. Granvelanus, cujus unius nequitia hæc omnia cæpta sunt, id egit, ut, turbatis, atque impeditis emporiis, cum neque invehi quicquam, neque exportari posset, attonitis mercatoribus, & oppidano vulgo, quod verè è lanificio victum quærit, ad otium, atque inopiam redacto, popularis aliquis motus, & seditio domestica sequeretur. Ita enim sperabat Religionem unà posse concuti. Sed Deus ista consilia convertit potiùs in authorem. Nostri enim in officio, uti par erat, remanserant. Flandricum autem vulgus, digressis nostris Mercatoribus, & Emporio Embdæ constituto, eam rem indignè ferre, atque etiam tantum non tumultuari. Hiberni, uti te audisse scio, nobis parent, & nostris utuntur legibus. In illam insulam, Papa ante aliquot admodum dies immisit Hominem sceleratum, & callidum, cum mandatis, qui huc illuc concursaret. Erat enim Hibernus, qui gentem feram & silvestrem contra nos Religionis causa commoveret. Quid quæris? Nebulo statim primo appulsu comprehenditur, & excussus, & vinctus ad nos mittitur. Ita sacerrimus Pater prorsus decrevit, cum flectere non possit superos, Acheronta movere. In Scotia ita ut volumus. Regina sola Missam illam suam retinet. invitis omnibus. Parkhurstus, Hoperus, Sampson, Sandus, Leverus, Chamberus valent, & officium faciunt. Biennium jam est, quod ego illorum quenquam viderim. Vale, mi Pater. Dominus Jesus te quàm diutissimè servet superstitem, & incolumem. Saluta D. Gualterum, D. Lavaterum, D. Simlerum, D. Lupum, D. Hallerum, D. Gesnerum, D. Frisium, D. Zuinglium, D. Wikium; ad quos singulos darem Literas si esset otium, vel potius nisi prorsus obruerer Negotiis.

Sarisberiæ, in Anglia, Calend. Martiis, 1565.

Tui Nominis Studiosissimus,
Tibique Deditissimus,

Jo. Juellus, Anglus.

Number

Number 86.

The End of a Letter written to Zurich, *setting forth the Temper of some Bishops in these Matters.*

—NUNC Patres, illud petimus, & in Christo contendimus etiam atq; etiam, (quod vos ultrò benignissimè polliciti estis) ut Londinensis, Wintoniensis ac Cantuariensis Episcoporum animos exacerbatos molliatis, & si non amplius aliquid potestis, saltem hoc tantùm exoretis: Ut & in Fratres nostros in Anglia remanentes mitiores esse velint, & fæces ex suis Ecclesiis removentes, si non adjuvare, at saltem tolerare, & ipsorum factis connivere velint. Atq; vos Reverendis Nordovicensi, Wigorniensi, & Dunelmensi Episcopis, in vestris Epistolis, pollicitis justas suæ pietatis laudes persolvatis: Atque illis, simul & Fratribus Ministris studentibus repurgationi Ecclesiarum, animos pergendi in proposito addatis. Hæc, si pro vestra summa Dignitate (ut confidimus) impetraverimus, non modò non fatigabimus alias Ecclesias novis precibus, sed & nos, omnesq; verè pii, omnia vobis ob pacem & concordiam, vestra opera, Ecclesiæ partam debebimus; & Deus optimus maximus vobis, per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, æternam Coronem tribuet. Amen.

Ex MSS. *Tigur.*

Vestræ Dignitatis Studiosissimi,

Georgius Witherus, }
Johan. Bartholottus, } Angli.

Number 87.

Bullinger *and* Gualter's *Letter to the Bishops of* London, Winchester, *and* Norwich, *interceeding for Favour to those whose Scruples were satisfied in those Matters.*

Intercessionales pro Tolerantia.

Londinensi, Wintoniensi, & Norvicensi, Episcopis in Anglia.

Reverendi Viri Domini Colendissimi, & Fratres in Domino Charissimi. Dominus Jesus benedicat vobis & servet vos ab omni malo.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

QUO vehementius favemus vobis Reverendi Domini & Fratres Charissimi, eò dolemus gravius dessidere vos à Fratribus aliquot, Viris Doctis, in Anglia gradu suo dejectis. Atque ideo dilectioni nostræ dabitis, quod frequentius eadem de re aures vestras obtundimus. Vidimus & accepimus vestram in hanc causam excusationem: Interim Angli exules ad nos veniunt, qui affirmant Londinensis Ecclesiæ Doctores, nec non aliarum in Anglia Ecclesiarum, in Mariana persecutione probatos Homines, quorum fide diligentia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ in sævissimus istis tempestatibus conservatæ sint, nunc pelli, nec pelli tantum, sed gravi etiam persecutione premi, adeoque & in tetras retrudi carceres. Addunt plures esse in Hibernia Ecclesiarum Ministros, qui non aliter sentiant aut faciant, quàm illi ipsi qui in Anglia sustinent persecutionem. Illos autem Episcopi sui Beneficio, & apud Regiam M. interventu agere in summa tranquillitate. Unde isti colligunt, si Episcopi qui in Anglia sunt apud R. Majestatem intercederent, fore ut & ipsi tranquillè sibi commissas possit retinere & gubernare Ecclesias. Et quod hac in causa præcipuum est, Episcopos non diffiteri meliorem habere causam afflictos & dejectos. Nam agnoscere eos Ecclesiam rectius constitui & constitutam gubernari sine illis cæremoniis ritubusve & institutis, quam cum illis, adeò ut ipsismet afferatur optio, malint ipsi sibi Ecclesiam deligere sine illis, quam illis oneratam sibi dari. Id quod inde quoque colliquescat manifestissimè, quod in Regni Comitiis, non semel Episcopi petierint, à R. M. ut tollantur illa & purgatior ornatiorque aut minus saltem onerata fiat Ecclesia. Quæ cum ita sint reverendi Domini & Fratres Charissimi, incitabit vos ipsos haud dubiè vestra pietas ad consultandum, quomodo fieri possit commodè & maturè, ut Fratribus istis afflictis consulatur, & ne ita gravi persecutione premantur, quin potius R. Maj. Clementia tolerentur, donaque in ipsis utilia Ecclesiæ, per abdicationem non extinguantur. Non est autem quod multis rationibus aut exemplis

plis, vos alioqui peritiſſimos omnis pietatis & æquitatis, urgeamus; tantum hoc oramus per Dominum, ut ſi apud R. M. afflictis afflictionem vel imminuere, vel prorſus adimere poteſtis, pro Chriſtiana Charitate, illis omnem veſtram fidelem impendatis operam; & noſtram hanc fraternam admonitionem boni conſulatis, ſolitoque amore nos veſtri amantiſſimos proſequi pergatis. Valete, Honorandi Domini.

Tiguri, 26 Auguſti
1567.

Bullingerus, & Gualterus.

Number 88.

A Part of a Letter of Jewell's *to* Bullinger, *of the State of Affairs both in* England *and* Scotland.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

Contentio illa de Eccleſiaſtica Veſte linea, de qua vos vel ab Abele noſtro, vel à D. Parkhurſto audiſſe non dubito, nondum etiam conquievit. Ea res nonnihil commovet infirmos animos: Atque utinam omnia etiam tenuiſſima veſtigia Papatus, & è templis, & multò maximè ex animis omnium auferri poſſent. Sed Regina ferre mutationem in Religione, hoc tempore, nullam poteſt. Res Scotiæ nondum etiam ſatis pacatæ ſunt: Nobiles aliquot primi nominis apud nos exulant. Alij domi remanſerunt, & ſeſe, ſi vis fiat, ad reſiſtendum parant, & ex arcibus ſuis excurſiones interdum faciunt, & ex Papiſtarum agris agunt, feruntque quantum poſſunt. Regina ipſa, etſi animo ſit ad Papiſmum obfirmato, tamen vix ſatis exploratum habet, quo ſe vertat: Nam de Religione adverſariam habet magnam partem, & Nobilitatis, & Populi: Et, quantum quidem nos poſſumus intelligere, numerus indies creſcit. Submiſerat proximis iſtis menſibus Philippus Rex, Abbatem quendam Italum cum auro Hiſpanico, hominem vafrum, & factum atque inſtructum ad fraudes, qui & Regem Reginamq; juvaret veteratorio Conſilio, & impleret omnia tumultibus. Rex novus, qui ſemper hactenus abſtinuiſſet à Miſſis, & ultrò acceſſiſſet ad Conciones, ut ſe Populo daret, cum audiret navem illam appulſuram poſtridie, factus repentè confidentior, ſumptis animis, noluit longiùs diſſimulare. Accedit ad Templum; jubet ſibi de more dici Miſſam. Eodem ipſo tempore, D. Knoxus, Concionator in eodem oppido, & in proximo templo, magna frequentia clamare in Idolomanias, & in univerſum Regnum Pontificium, nunquam fortius. Interea, navis illa Philippica jactata tempeſtatibus, & ventibus fluctibuſq; concuſſa, & fracta, convulſo malo, ruptis lateribus, amiſſis gubernatoribus, vectoribus, & rebus omnibus

inanis,

inanis, & lacera, & aquæ plena, refertur in Angliam. Hæc ego divinitus non dubito contigisse, ut Rex fatuus intelligat, quàm sit auspicatum audire Missas. E Galliis multa turbulenta nunciantur. Domus illa Guisana non potest acquiescere sine aliquo magno malo: Verùm ista vobis multò propiora sunt, quàm nos. Danus, & Suecus, cruentissimè inter se conflixerunt, & adhuc dicuntur esse in Armis: Uterq; affectus est maximis incommodis; nec adhuc uter sit superior, dici potest. Libri vestri (tuus, Reverende Pater, in Danielem, & tuus, Doctissime Ludovice, in Josuam) incolumes ad me delati sunt: Ego & Deo Optimo Maximo de vobis, & vobis de istis laboribus & studiis, deq; omni vestra humanitate, ago gratias.

Misi in hoc tempore ad Julium nostrum, in annuum Stipendium, viginti Coronatos; & alteras totidem ad vos duos, ut eos vel in cœnam publicam pro more vestro, vel in quemvis alium usum pro vestro arbitrio consumatis.

Deus vos, Ecclesiam, Rempublicam, Scholamq; vestram conservet incolumes. Salutate D. Gualterum, D. Simlerum, D. Zuinglium, D. Ghesnerum, D. Wikium, D. Hallerum, D. D. Hen. & Rod. Bullingerum meo nomine. Sarisberiæ, 8 Februar. 1566.

Vestri Amans, &

Studiosus in Deo,

Jo. Juellus.

Number 89.

The Nobilitie, Gentillmene, Barons, with Superintendants, Ministers and others, professinge the Evangell of Jesus Christ, *within this Realm: To the Kings and Quens Majestie, and the Christian Estat of yis Realme presentlie met into Parliament, wisheth the Feare of God, with the Spirit of righteous Judgment.*

Cott. Libr.

FOrasmuckill as in the Convention of the Kirke, halden at *Edenburghe* the 25th Day of *June* last past, certayn Gentelmen then were directed to the Queens Majestie, with certaine Articles concerning the Religion, desiring her Majesties Answer therupon: To the whilks howbeit her Majestie than gave sum particular Answer, nocht the less her Majestie remitted the ferder Answer to this present Parliament. And therfore wee, of our Dewty, can doe noe lesse

lesse nor crave the full Answer of the said Articles in this present Parliament, conforme to the Queens Grace own Appointment. And alsua in respect that the Parliament, halden at *Edinburghe* the 10th of *July* 1560 Years, it was determined and concludid, the Masses, Papistrie, and Papis Jurisdiction, to be simply abolyshit and put away out of this Realme, and Christs Religion to be reteined universally and approvit. And in like manor, in respect that the Queens Majestie, by many, divers and sundry Proclamations, hes ratefyt and approvyt Christs Religion; quhilk She fand publickly resaved in this Realme at her Arrivall, and spetially upon the fiftene Daye of *September* last at *Dunde*: The Kinge and Queens Majestie, with the Advyse of thair Secreat Counsaill, promiset as well be the Act of Secreat Counsaile, as by divers and sundry Proclamations mad therupon, publickly in the principall Burghis of this Realme, to establish in this present Parliament the Religion of Christ, quhilke thei fand publicklie and univarsally standing at the Arivall in *Scotland*; and all Acts, Lawes and Constitutions, Comon, Civill, or Municipiall, prejudiciall to the same, to be abolished and put away, as the said Acts and Proclamations mair fullelye proports. Desiringe thairfore the Premisses to be considered, together with the said Articles, and the Queens Majesties Answers to the same, with the Kirks Replie thareupon as followis.

The ARTICLES.

Theis are the Articles, which the Nobilitie, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeosis, and other Professors of Christs Evangell, crave with all Humilitie at the Queens Majestie, and her Honorable Consaile, within this Realme of *Scotlande*.

Imprimis, That the Papistical and Blasphemos Mass, with all Papistree, Idolatry, and Pope's Jurisdiction, be universallie suppressed and abolished thorowgout this whole Realme, not only in the Subjects, but also in the Queenes Majestie owne Person, with Punishment against all Persons, that shall be deprehendet to transgresse and offend in the same: And that the sincere Word off God, and Christs true Religion, nowe presently received, might be established, approved, and ratified througheout thole Realme, aswel in the Queenes Majestie owne Person, as in the Subjects, without any Impedyment: And that the People be astricted to resort, upon the Sondaies at least, to the Praiers and Preaching of Godes Worde, like as they were astricted before to resort to the Idolaters Masse: And theis Heads to be provided by Act off Parliament, with the Consent of the Estates, and Ratifycacion of the Queenes Majestie.

Secondlie, That feur Provision be appoincted for Sustentation of the Mynistrye, aswel for the Tyme present, as for the Tyme to come; and that suche Persons as are publickelie admytted in the Mynistrye, may have there Livings assigned unto them, in the Townes where they travell, or at the least next adjacent thereto: And that they have not occasion to crave the same at the Hands of any others. And that the Benyfices nowe vacant, or that have vaked sithence the Monethe of *Marche*, *Anno* 1558. or that hereafter shall happen to vake, be disponed to qualified and learned Persons, able to preche Goddes Worde, and to discharge the Vocation concernynge the Mynysterye, by Tryall, and Admission of the Superintendents: And that no Bishopricke, Abbaty, Priorye, Deaconrye, Provostrye, or enye other Benyfyce having many Churches annexed thereto, be disponed altogether at eny time to come, to eny one Man: But at the least, the Churches thereof be severallye disponed, and to several Persons, so that every Man having Charge may serve at his owne Church, according to his Vocation. And to this Effect, that the Glebbis and Manses be given to the Mynistrye, that they may make Residence at there Churches, wherethrough they may discharge there Conscyences, conform to there Vocation, and also that the Churches may be repaired accordinglie; and that a Lawe be made and established hereupon by Act of Parliament, as said is.

Thirdlie, That none be permytted to have Charge of Scoules, Colledges, or Universities, or yet privatly or publickly instruct the Youth but such as shall be tryed by the Superintendents, or the Visitors of the Churche, found sound and able in Doctrine, and admitted by them to there Charges.

Fourthlie, For Sustentacion of the Poore, that all Lands founded to Hospitalitie of Old, be restored again to the same Use: And that all Lands, Anuell Rents, or any other Emoluments pertayninge any wayes somtyme to the Friers of whatsoever Ordre they had been of, or Anuall Rents, Altarage, Obits perteoninge to the Priests, be applyit to the Sustentacion of the Poor, and Uphold of Scoles in the Townes, and other Places whear thaye lie.

Fifthlie, That all sic horrible Crymes, as now abounds in this Realme, without any Correction, to the great Contempt of God and his Holye Worde, sic as Ydolatry, Blasphemy of Godes Name, manifest brekinge of the Sabath Day, with Wichcraft, Sorcery and Inchantment, Adultery, Incest, manifest Whordome, Mentenance of Bordells, Murther, Slaughter, Reyfe and Spulze, with many other detestable Crymes, may be severely punished; and Judges appointed in every Province or Dioces, for Execution therof, with Power to doe the same, and that by Act of Parliament.

Last, That som Order be devysit and establishit, for the Ease of the poore Laborers of the Ground, concerninge the reasonable Payment of thair Teynds, and settinge of thair Teyndis to an over yair Heads, without yaire own Advyse and Consent.

The

The Queen's Majesties Answer to the Articles, presentit to her Highnes by certaine Gentlemen, in the Name of the hall last Assemblie of the Kirke.

TO the First, Desiringe the Mass to be suppressed and abolyscht, as well in the Head as Members, with Punyshment against the Contradoenars; as also that Religion now professed to be establisht be Acte of Parliament. It is Answerit, First, for the Part of her Majestie selfe, that hir Highnes is yet na wyse perswadit in the said Religion, not yett that any Impyetie is in the Masse; and therefore beleves that her Lovinge Subjects will noe wayes presse her to receive any Religion agaynst her Conscience: Quilke suld be to her continuall Troble, be remorse of Conscience, and ther through an perpetuall inquietnes. And to deal plainly with her Subjects, her Majestie neather will, nor may leave the Religion, quharin she hes ben norysht, and upbrought, and believes the same to be well grounded; knowinge besides the Grudge of Conscience, gyf she shold receve any change in her owne Religion, that she shold leave the Friendship of the King of *France*, the Auncient Allia of yis Realme, and of other great Princes hir Frinds and Confederats: Quha wold take the same in Evil Part. And of quhom she may luke for thare great Support in har Necessities and havefund no other Confederation that may contraven the same. She will be loth to put in hasard the losse of all her Frinds in an instant; prayinge all her lovynge Subjects, seing they had Experience of hir Goodnes, that she his neither in Tymes by past, nor yet means hearafter to prease the Conscience of any Man, but that they may Worshippe God in sick sort as they ar perswadit to be the best, that they will allwayes notht presse hir toffend hir awne Conscience. As to the Establishment in the Body of the Realme; these your selfis knawis as appears well by your Articles, that the sam can nocht be done, be thonly Consent of hir Majestie, but requires necessarily the Consent of the Thre Estates in Parliament. And therefore soe sone as the Parliament halds, that Thing quhilke the Thre Estates agree upon amangst your selfes, hir Majestie shall grant the same unto you. And alwais sall make you suer yat na Man shall be troblit for using your selves in Religion accordinge to your Consciences: So that no Man shall have Cause to doubt that for Religious Causes Mens Lyves, or Heritags, shall be in haserid.

To the Second Article, That her Majestie thinks it no wayes resonable that she shuld defraud her selfe of sa greate a Parte of the Patrimony of the Crowne, as to put the Patronages of the Benifices, furth of her owne Hands. For her own Necessity, in beringe of her, and Comon Charges, will requyre the Retention of ane Guide Part in her own Hands: Nochtyelles her Majestie is well pleasit that Consideracion being had of hir owne Necessity, and quhat may be sufficient, for the resonable Sustentation of the Ministers, and speciall

 Assignation

Assignation be made to you, in Places maist comodius and with the quhilk her Majestie shall not intromitt, but soffer the same to run to tham.

The Answer of the rest of the Articles is refered to the Parliament.

The Kirk's *Reply to the Queen's Majesties Answers aforesayd.*

FIrst, whar her Majestie Answers that she is not persuadit in the Religion ; neather that she understands any Impietie in the Masse, bot that the same is well grounded, *&c.* This is no smale greafe to the Christian Harts of her Godlie Subjects ; consideringe that the Trompet of Christ's Evangell hes ben sa lange blawin in this Countrie ; and his Mercy sa plainly offerit in the same : That her Majestie yet remaynes unperswadit of the Trewth of this our Religion ; for our Religion is not ells, but the same Religion quhilke Christ in the last Days revelit, fra the Bossome of his Father : Quharof he mad his Apostells Messengers, and quhilke they preachit and establysh amoungst his Faithfull to continu till gaine coming of the Lord Jesus : Quhilk differs from the Impietie of the *Turks*, the Blasphemy of the *Jewes*, and Vaine Superstition of the Papists. In this that onlie our Religion hes God the Father, his only Sonne our Lord Jesus, his Holy Spirit speakinge in his Prophets and Apostles, for Authors therof : And the Doctrine and Practice for Ground of the same. The quhilk Assurance no other Religion upon the Face of the Yearth can justly alleage, or plainly prove ; yea, quatsoever Assurance the Papists hes for their Religion, the same hes the *Turk* for mayntenance of the *Alcarone* ; and the *Jewys* far greter for the Defence of their Cerimonies ; quihidder it be Antiquity of Tyme, Consent of People, Authority of Princes, great number or multitud consentinge together, or any other sike like Cloks, that they can pretent. And therefore as we are dolorous that her Majestie in this our Religion is not perswadit, so maist reverently wee require in the Name of the Eternal God, that her Highnes wald embrace the Meanes quharby she may be perswadit in the Trewth. Quhilke presently we offer unto her Grace, aswell by Preachinge of his Worde, quhilk is the chiefe Means apointed be God to perswade all the Chosen Children of his infailable Veritie. As be publick Disputacon against the Adversaries of this our Religion descivers of her Majestie whensoever it shall be thought expedient to hir Grace. And as to the Impietie of the Masse, we dare be bauld to affirme, that in that Idoll thare is great Impietie, ye it is na thinge ells but a Messe of Impietie, fra the Beginninge to the Endinge. The Author, or Sayer, the Action it selfe, the Opinion therof conteanit, the Hearers of it, Gasars upon it, avoure it pronouncis

 Blasphemy,

Blasphemy, and comytts maist abhomynable Ydolatry, as we have ever offerit, and yet offer our selves maist manifestly to prove. And quhar hir Majestie estemes that the Change of hir Religion should dissolve the Confederacy and Allyance, that she hes with the Kinge of *France*, and other Princes, *&c.*

Assuredly Christ's true Religion is the undowtid Means to knit up surly perfect Confederacy and Friendship, with him that is King of all Kings; and quha hes the Harts of all Princes in his Hands. Quhilk aucht to be more precious unto her Majestie, nor the Confederacy of all the Princes of the Yearth; and without the quhilke, neather Confederacy, Love, or Kindness, can long endure.

Concerning her Majesties Answer to the Second Article, quhar as she thinks yt no ways resonable to defraud hir selfe of hir Patronage of the Benefices, quhilk her Majestie estemes to be a Portion of hir Pattimony. And that hir Majesty is mindit to retaine an gud Parte of the Benifices in her own Hands to support her Comon Charges: As to the First Point, our Mind is not that hir Majestie, or any other Patrone of this Realme, shuld be defraudit of their just Patronages, but we mean that quhen soever hir Majestie, or any other Patrone dois present any Personage to any Benefice, that the Parson presently shuld be tryed and examined by the Learned Men of the Kirke, Sic appertaineth, as the Superintendaunts appointit there to. And as the Presentacion of the Benefices appertayne to the Patrons, so ought the Collation therof by Lawe and Reason appertayne to the Church; of the quhilke Collation, the Kirk shuld not be defrauded, maire nore the Patrons of their Presentation; for otherwise, if it shall be Lawfull to the Patrons absolutely to present, quhom thai please, without Triall or Examination, quhat than can abyde in the Kirke the Kirke of God, but mere ignorance without all Ordre. As to the Second Parte concerninge the Retention of a gude Parte of the Benefices in her Majesties owne Hands, this Point abhorris sa far fra gud Conscience, as well of God's Law, as fra the Publicke Ordre of all Comon Laws; That we ar loth to open up the Ground of the Matter, be any long Circumstances. And therefore maist reverently we wish that hir Majestie wold consider the Matter with her selfe, and with her Wise Councell, that howsoever the Patronages of the Benefice may appertayne to her selfe, yet the Retention therof in hir own Hands undisponing them to qualyfyt Persones, is both Ungodly, and also contrary to all Polyticke Order, and Finall Confusion to the Pure Saules of the Common People: Quha be this Means shuld be instructit of their Salvation. And quhar hir Majestie concludis in her Second Answer, that she is content that an sufficient & resonable Sustentacion of the Ministers be provydat to tham, by assignation in Placis most commodious and easiest to tham; consideracion beinge had of hir owne Necessitie. As we are altogether desirous that hir Gracis Necessitie be relevit, so our Duty craves that we should notefie to your Grace, the true Order that shuld be observed in this Behalfe, quhilk is this, The Teynds are properly to be reputed to be the Patrimony of the Kirke, upon the quhilks befor all Things they that travells in the Ministery thairof, and the pore indigent Members of Christ Body are to be sustenit. The Kirks also repaired, and the Youthead brought up in gud Letters: Quhilks Things be and done, than other

Necessitie

Necessitie resonable might be supportede accordinge as her Majestie, and hir Godlie Counsaile could think expedient. Allways we cannot but thank her Majestie most reverently, of her liberall Offer, of Assignations to be made to the Ministers for their Sustentation. Quhilk not the lesse is so generally conceived that without mare speciall condiscendinge upon the particularity therof, no Expectacion is able to follow therupon. And so to conclud with her Majestie at this Parliament, we desire most earnestly the Performance of the said Articles, beseching God that as they are Resonable and Godly in thamselvis; so your Majesties Hart, and the Estates jointly convenit, may be inclynit and perswadit to the Performance therof.

Number 90.

The Supplication to the Queen's Majestie of *Scotlande*.

To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, her Grace's Humble Subjects, professing the Evangell of Christ Jesus within this Realme, wisheth longe Prosperitie, with the Spirit of Righteous Judgment.

Cotton Libr. *Calig.* B.10.

IT is not unknown unto your Majestie, that within this Realme the Evangell of Jesus Christ was lately so planted, the Trewe Religion so established; Idolatry, to wit, the Masses, and all that therto appertenyth, together with the Usurped and Tyrannicall Power of that *Romaine* Ante-Christ, called the Pope, so suppressed, aswel by the Mighty Power and Hand of God, as by just Lawes and Decres of Parliament, that none within this Realme durst in Publick have gainsaid the one, nor mayntenet the other. It is further known, that such as in whose Hands, God of his Mercye had prospered the Begynninge of this his Worke, were going forwarde to an exact and parfect Reformation, concerninge the Policy of the Churche, accordinge to the Word of God, and Sustentation of them that Travell in the same. But theis nowe our most Just and Godlie Begynnings have nowe bene staied and trobled nere the Space of 4 Yeres, to the great Grief of all Godlie Hartes within this Realme. Shortlie after your Grace's Arrival, was that Idol the Masse erected up againe: And there after were wicked Men Enemyes to Christ Jesus, and his Holy Evangell reposed in the Places wich they never possessed, and were admitted to receive the Fruts, that by no just Lawe can apperteane to them: And that under color they shold pay ther Thirds to your

Majesties Comptroller, and suche as he shold depute for the receiving of the same; to thend as we understond, that our Mynysters and Mynisterye might have bene planted and sustanid according to Gods Comaundement. And albeyt we were plainly forwarned, that suche Begynnynge wold not have eny happy Ende; yet the Love that we bare to the Tranquyllitie of your Realme, and Esperance and Hope that we had, that God of his Mercye wold molyfye your Highnes Hart, to heare his Blessed Evangell publickly preched, we quyetly past over many Things that were in our Harts, as also many tymes by our Supplicacions unto your Majestie, we desiered to have bene redressed: But howe litle we have proffyted to this Daie, bothe great and small amongest us begynne now to consider. For Laws we see violated, Idolatrye encreased, your Highnes owne Gates (against Proclamations) made patent to the foolishe People, to commytt Idolatrye: The Patrymony of the Churche, we see bestowed upon Persons most unworthie, and to other Uses then was at first intended: And thereby, the Tyrannye of that *Romaine* Antichrist to be intruded upon us againe; our Mynisters brought to extreme Povertie; some of them trobled in ther Function, some Prechers hurt, and no Redresse maide. Fornicacion, Adulterye, Incest, Murther, Sorcerers, Bewytchers, and al Impietie, so to abounde universallie within this your Highnes Realme, that God cannot lange spaire to stricke the Heade and the Members, onless speedye Repentance followe. We therfore, nowe contynuinge in our former humble Sewte, most humbly requere of your Majestie a speadye Reformation of the Innormyties aforesaid, and a favorable Answere of our just Petycions; as more fullye your Majestie please receive in Articles; most humbley beseaching your Highnes to have this Opynon of us, that as to this daie your Grace have founde nothinge in us, but dewe Obbedyence to your Majesties Lawes and Auctoritie, which we have given, because we are thonly Part of your People that treuly fear God, so to esteame of us, that God, his Christ Jesus, and his trewe Religion which we professe, (and by his Grace shal be) to us more dear then Lives, Possessions, or respect of Prosperitie. And therefore yet againe we the hole Bodye, professing Christ Jesus within this Realme, humbly crave of your Majestie, that ye give us not occasion to thinke, that ye entende nothinge but the Subversion of Christ Jesus his true Religion, and in the Overthrowe of it, the Distruction of us the best part of the Subjects of this your Graces Realme: For this before the World we plainly professe, that to that *Romaine* Antichrist we will never be subyect, nor yet suffer (so far as our Power may suppresse it) any of his usurped Auctoritie to have Place within this Realme. And thus with all humble and dewtifull Obbedyence, we humbly crave your Graces favorable Answer, with these our appointed Commissioners.

Number 91.

A Letter of Parkhurst *Bishop of* Norwich, *to* Bullinger, *concerning the State of Affairs in* Scotland, *and the Killing of Signior* David.

Ex MSS. Tigur.

SAlvus sis in Christo, optime Bullingere. Secundo Februarij scripsi ad te, & unà cum Literis misi viginti Coronatos, vel decem Coronatos & Pannum pro toga: Nam hoc Abeli arbitrio permisi. Tuas accepi 23 Maij. Paulò post Londinensis Episcopus, exemplar Responsionis tuæ ad Literas Laurentij Humphredi, & Thomæ Sampsonis, ad me misit. Quæ scripsisti, typis apud nos excuduntur, & Latinè, & Anglicè. Accepi præterea, 12 Julij, Confessionem Fidei orthodoxæ, c. pulcherrimum libellum. Mense Martio, Italus quidam, vocatus Senior David, Necoromanticæ artis peritus, in magnam gratiam apud Reginam Scotiæ, è Reginæ cubiculo (illa præsente) vi extractus, & aliquot pugionibus confossus, miserè periit. Abbas quidam ibidem vulneratus, evasit ægrè, sed paulò post ex vulnere est mortuus. Fraterculus quidam, nomine *Black*, (niger Visularius) Papistarum antesignanus, eodem tempore in Aula occiditur: Sic niger hic Nebulo, nigra quoq; morte peremptus, invitus nigrum subitò decendit in orcum. Consiliarij, qui tum simul in unum cubiculum erant congregati, ut de rebus quibusdam arduis consultarent, audientes has cædes, (nam priùs nihil tale sunt suspicati) alij hac, alij illac, alij è fenestris sese proturbantes certatim aufugerunt, atque ita cum vitæ periculo, vitæ consulebant suæ. Regina Scotiæ Principem peperit: Et cum antea Maritum (nescio quas ob causas) non tanti faceret, jam plurimi facit. D. Jacobum, suum ex patre fratrem, quem antea exosum habuit, nunc in gratiam recepit, nec solum illum, sed omnes (utinam verum esset) proceres evangelicos, ut audio. Evangelium quod ad tempus sopiebatur, denuò caput exerit. Cùm hæc scriberem, ecce Scotus quidam è Patria profugiens, Vir bonus & doctus, narravit mihi, Reginam ante decem hebdomadas Puerum peperisse; nec dum esse baptizatum. Rogo causam. Respondet, Reginam velle Filium in summo Templo, cum multarum Missarum Celebratione tingi. At Edinburgenses id omnino non permittunt: Nam mori potiùs malunt, quàm pati, ut abominandæ Missæ in suas Ecclesias iterum irrepant. Metuunt Edinburgenses, ne illa è Gallia auxiliares vocet Copias, ut facilius Evangelicos opprimat. Oremus Dominum pro piis Fratribus. Mandatis dedit cuidam pio Comiti, ut Knoxum apud se manentem, ex ædibus ejiciat. Dominus illam convertat, vel confundat. Plura scribere non possum; diu ægrotavi, nec dum plenè convalui. Est hæc scribendo debilitata manus.

Vale

I

Vale, Chariſſime mi Bullingere. Salutem quæſo adſcribas omnibus, atque adeo omnibus Piis, meo nomine. Dominus ſua dextra protegat Ditionem Tigurinorum. Raptim Ludhamiæ, 21 Auguſti 1566.

Tuus,

Joh. Parkhurſtus, N.

INSCRIPTIO.

D. Henricho. Bullingero.

Number 92.

A Letter of Grindall's *to* Bullinger, *giving an Account of the State of Affairs both in* England *and* Scotland; *and of the Killing of Signior* David.

Salutem in Chriſto.

Clariſſime D. Bullingere, ac Frater in Chriſto Chariſſime,

D. Johannes Abelus tradidit mihi Literas tuas D. Wintonienſi, Norvicenſi, & mihi communiter inſcriptas, unà cum ſcripto veſtro de re veſtiaria: Quorum ego exemplaria ad D. Wintonienſem & Norvicenſem ſtatim tranſmiſi. Quod ad me attinet, ago tibi maximas gratias, tum quod noſtrarum Eccleſiarum tantam curam geris, tum quod me, hominem tibi ignotum, participem facis eorum, quæ ad noſtros de rebus controverſis ſcribuntur. Vix credibile eſt, quantum hæc Controverſia, de rebus nihili, Eccleſias noſtras perturbarit, & adhuc aliqua ex parte perturbat. Multi ex Miniſtris doctioribus, videbantur Miniſterium deſerturi. Multi etiam ex Plebe, contulerunt Conſilia de Seceſſione à nobis facienda, & occultis cœtibus cogendis; ſed tamen, Domini benignitate, maxima pars ad ſaniorem mentem rediit. Ad eam rem Literæ veſtræ, plenæ Pietatis ac Prudentiæ, plurimùm momenti attulerunt: Nam eas latinè, atque anglicè, Typis evulgandas curavi. Nonnulli ex Miniſtris, veſtro judicio atque authoritate permoti, abjecerunt priora Conſilia de deſerendo Miniſterio. Sed & ex Plebe quamplurimi mitiùs ſentire cæperunt, poſtquam intellexerunt noſtros Ritus, à vobis (qui iiſdem non utimini) nequaquam damnari Impietatis, quod ante publicatas veſtras Literas, nemo illis perſuaſiſſet. Sunt tamen, qui adhuc manent in priore Sententia; & in his, D. Humfredus & Sampſonus: Nihil verò eſſet

Ex MSS. Tigur.

facilius, quàm Regiæ Majestati eos reconciliare, si ipsi ab instituto discedere vellent. Sed quum hoc non faciunt nos apud Serenissimam Reginam ista contentione irritatam, nihil possumus. Nos, qui nunc Episcopi sumus, in primo nostro reditu, priusquam ad Ministerium accessimus, diu multumque contendebamus, ut ista de quibus nunc controvertitur, prorsus amoverentur. Sed cùm illa de Regina & Statibus in Comitiis Regni impetrare non potuimus, communicatis Consiliis, optimum judicavimus, non deserere Ecclesias propter Ritus non adeo multos, eosque per se non impios; præsertim quum pura Evangelij Doctrina nobis integra ac libera maneret, in qua ad hunc usque diem, (utcunque multi multa in contraria moliti sunt) cum vestris Ecclesiis, vestraque Confessione nuper dedita, plenissimè consentimus. Sed neque adhuc pœnitet nos nostri Consilij: Nam interea, Domino dante incrementum, auctæ & confirmatæ sunt Ecclesiæ, quod alioqui Eceboliis, Lutheranis, & Semi-papistis, prædæ fuissent expositæ. Istæ verò istorum intempestivæ Contentiones de Adiaphoris, (si quid ego judicare possum) non ædificant, sed scindunt Ecclesias, & discordias seminant inter Fratres. Sed de nostris Rebus hactenus. In Scotia non sunt res tam bene constitutæ, quàm esset optandum. Retinent quidem Ecclesiæ adhuc puram Evangelij Confessionem; sed tamen videtur Scotiæ Regina omnibus modis laborare, ut eam tandem extirpet. Nuper enim effecit, ut sex aut septem Missæ Papisticæ, singulis diebus in Aula sua publicè fierent, omnibus qui accedere volunt admissis, quum antea unica, eaque privatim habita, nullo Scoto ad eam admisso, esset contenta. Præterea, quum primum inita est Reformatio, cautum fuit, ut ex bonis Monasteriorum, quæ fisco adjudicata sunt, stipendia Evangelij Ministris persolverentur: At ipsa jam integro triennio nihil solvit. Joannem Knoxum, regia urbe Edinburgo, ubi hactenus primarius fuit Minister, non ita pridem ejecerit, neque exorari potest ut redeundi facultatem concedat. Publicè tamen, extra Aulam, nihil hactenus est innovatum; & Proceres Regni, Nobiles item, ac Cives, multò maxima ex parte Evangelio nomen dederunt, multa, magnaque Constantiæ indicia ostendunt. In his, præcipuus unus est, D. Jacobus Stuardus, Murraciæ Comes, Reginæ Frater, Nothus, Vir pius, ac magnæ apud suos Authoritatis. Perscribitur ad me ex Scotia, Reginæ cum Rege pessimè convenire. Causa hæc est: Fuit Italus quidam, nomine David, à Cardinale Lotharingo Reginæ Scotiæ commendatus. Is quum Reginæ à secretis atque intimis esset Consiliis, ferè solus omnia administrabat, non consulto Rege, qui admodum juvenis & levis est. Hoc malè habebat Regem. Itaque facta Conspiratione cum Nobilibus quibusdam, & Aulicis suis, Italum illum Reginæ opem frustra implorantem ex ipsius conspectu arripi, & statim indicta causa multis pugionibus perfodi, atque interfici curavit. Hujus facti immanis memoriam Regina, tametsi nuper Filium Regi peperit, ex animo deponere non potest. Hæc paulò verbosius de Scotia, ex qua fortassis rarò ad vos scribitur.

Oro

Oro ut D. Gualterum, ac reliquos Collegas tuos, meo nomine salutes. Dominus te, nobis & Ecclesiæ suæ, quàm diutissimè conservet.

Londini 27 Aug. 1566.

Deditissimus tibi in Domino,

Edm. Grindallus

Episcopus Londinensis.

INSCRIPTIO.

Reverendo in Christo, D. Henricho Bullingero, Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Ministro Fidelissimo, ac Fratri in Domino Charissimo.

Number 93.

A Part of Grindal's *Letter to* Bullinger, *of the Affairs of* Scotland.

——Scotia jam in novos motus incidit. Henricus nuper Scotiæ Rex (uti te audivisse existimo) Decimo Februarii elapsi, in horto quodam, hospitio suo adjacente, inventus est mortuus: De genere mortis nondum convenit apud omnes. Alii dicunt incensis vasis aliquot pulveris tormentarii, quæ sub cubiculo in quo dormiebat ex industria reposita fuerant, ædes eversas atq; ipsum in hortum proximum projectum fuisse. Alii verò intempesta nocte vi extractum è cubiculo, & postea strangulatum, ac tum demum incenso pulvere ædes disjectas fuisse affirmant. Hujus cædis apud omnes suspectus erat Comes quidam nomine Bothwellius. Huic Comiti, postquam Uxorem Legitimam interveniente authoritate Archiepiscopi S. Andreæ repudiasset: Decimo Quinto Maii nupsit Scotiæ Regina, atq; eandem ex Comite, Orchadum Ducem creavit. Paulo ante hoc Matrimonium omnes fere Regni proceres, quum nullam in cædem Regis inquisitionem institui viderent, discesserunt ex Aula, & seorsum apud Sterlynum oppidum conventum habuerunt. In hoc conventu, certis inditiis nefandam hanc cædem à Bothwellio perpetratam fuisse, compertum est. Itaq; collecto exercitu ipsum comprehendere satagunt, Bothwellius verò dat

Ex MSS. Tigur.

se in fugam: Sed quo profugerit, adhuc nescitur. Reginam alii aiunt obsideri in Arce quadam, alii verò in Arce Edinburgensi, tanquam necis mariti consciam, captivam detineri asserunt. Quomodocunque sit, infames illæ Nuptiæ, non possunt, non in aliquam diram Tragœdiam desinere. Sed de his omnibus expectamus indies certiora, de quibus, efficiam brevi ut cognoscas. De persequutionibus, Flandriæ nihil scribo, quod eas vos non latere existimem: Multa apud nos jactata sunt de obsessa Geneva, sed spero vana esse. Dominus Jesus pietatem tuam, nobis & Ecclesiæ incolumen conservet.

Londini, 21 Junii,
1567.

Deditissimo tibi in Domino

Edmundus Grindallus

Episcopus Londiniensis.

INSCRIPTIO.

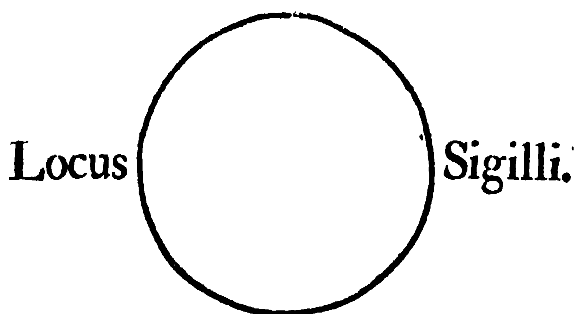
Reverendo in Christo, D. Henricho Bullingero, Tigurinæ Ecclesiæ Ministro Fidelissimo, & Fratri in Christo Charissimo.

Tiguri.

This being the last of the Letters sent me from Zurich, *which I have put in this Collection; I add to it the Attestation sent me from thence, that the Copies were Faithfully taken from the Originals, and that they were carefully Collated with them.*

The Atteſtation of the Burgomaſter and Council of Zurich, *of the Faithfulneſs of the Copies of the Letters ſent me from the MSS. that lie there.*

COnſul & Senatus Civitatis Thuricenſis Helvetiorum vulgò Zurich dictæ, præſentibus hiſce confitemur ac notum facimus. Apographa illa ex Originalibus in Archivis Civitatis noſtræ aſſervatis Literis, quæ tempore Reformationis ab Eccleſia Anglicana ad noſtræ Eccleſiæ tunc temporis Miniſtros & vice verſa emanavêre, ducta & tranſumpta, omni diligentiâ & fidelitate deſcripta eſſe, ut facta in Cancellaria noſtra accuratâ collatione, Copias Originalibus de Verbo ad Verbum ubiq; concordare repertum fuerit, quibus Apographis proinde plenaria fides tutò adhiberi poſſit. In cujus rei Teſtimonium præſentes haſce exhiberi, Civitatis noſtræ Sigillo muniri, & à Jurato Secretario noſtro ſubſcribi mandavimus, Die Decimo Julii, Anno à Nata Salute Milleſimo, Septingenteſimo, Decimo Tertio.



BEATUS HOVRHALBIUS,

Reipublicæ Thuricenſis,
Archigrammaticus.

Manu propria ſubſcripſi.

Number

Number 94.

A Relation of Mary *Queen of* Scotland's *Misfortunes, and of her last Will, in the Life of Cardinal* Laurea, *written by the Abbot of* Pignerol *his Secretary. Printed at* Bologna, *Anno* 1599.

ATqui tunc in Scotia tam scelestum, tamque nefarium facinus commissum est, ut illud reminisci, nedum enarrare animus quòdammodò exhorreat. Rex, variolarum (ut vulgò aiunt) morbo correptus, ne fortassis Uxorem contagione contaminaret, se in ædes à regiis ædibus Edimburgi sejunctas receperat; ubi, simul ac convalescere cæpit, ab Uxore sæpius invisitur, quodam autem die cum simul cænassent, atq; in multam noctem sermonem, lusumq; protraxissent, quo minus itidem simul cubarent, excusationem affert Regina, quod sponsam quandam è nobilibus suis mulieribus ea primam nuptiarum nocte usque ad cubile honoris gratia esset comitatura: Quem morem superiores Reginæ observare semper consueverant. Vix Regina discesserat, cum ecce pulvis tormentarius, per cuniculos subter fundamentum domus conjectus, totum edificium continuò dejicit, ipsumque Regem opprimit: Quamvis nonnulli non ruina interemptum, sed, dum per posticum primo circa ædes audito armorum strepitu in hortum proximum confugeret, unà cum familiari quodam strangulatum, moxque ædes tormentario pulvere dejectas fuisse malint. Planè constat, exangue Regis Corpus in horto repertum nullo affectum vulnere, nigram tantum modò circa collum maculam habuisse. Indignissima hac Regis divulgata cæde, ingens omnes horror corripuit; quidem iniquos in Reginam sermones jacere; alij per injuriam libellos edere: Nonnulli Comitem Boduellium, quem cædis nefariæ auctorem fuisse compererant, non sicarium, sed crudelissimum carnificem accusare, adeò interdum vulgus acutissimè indagare, atque odorari omnia solet. Boduellius, licet Hæreticus, Reginæ tamen studiosissimus, fidelissimusque semper extiterat: Nuper eam gravissimo illo seditionis periculo fortiter liberaverat, ab ipsa deniq; perditè amabatur. Quamobrem in spem adductus fore, ut Reginam ipsam in Matrimonio haberet, primò Uxori propriæ (quasi propter adulterium fieri divortium, aliamque ducere liceret) repudium misit, deinde Regi necem crudeliter machinatus est. Regina post, improbissimos de ea, Boduellioque rumores dissipatos, verita ne quis populi motus in eorum perniciem fieret, Edimburgo statuit recedendum, ac se unâ cum parvulo filio ad munitam Strivelini arcem recepit; statuto prius (ut simile vero videtur) quid inter ipsam, & Boduellium foret postea Transigendum. Nam paucis inde diebus egressa Regina, venatum prodire simulat; tum Bodvellius, veluti ex insidiis, ducentis stipatus equitibus, illam circumvenire, vimque ei intendere visus est. Ergo Regina, unà cum Bodvellio in arcem regressa, confestim

festim eum Orcadum Ducem, moxque Maritum suum esse declarat, verùm Nuptiæ illæ neutiquam faustæ, ac diuturnæ fuerunt : Quippe quæ non Matrimonij dignitate, sed indigni facinoris societate conjunctæ viderentur. Eo tempore, Moraviensis è Scotia aberat, præ cæteris tamen relicto Ledingtonio, qui novas, ut occasio daretur, turbas, novasq; rixas faceret. Huic quàm facillimum fuit sponte omnium in Reginam Bodvelliumque ira, accensos animos acriùs inflammare. Raptim igitur, turbulenteque, Exercitu Edenburgi comparato, subitò Strivelinam versus Castra moventur. Id ubi Regina intellexit, secum Mulieres tantum, paucosq; aulicos Homines, adducens obviam prodeundum duxit, venienti debita cum reverentia assurrexerunt. Interrogati, quanam de causa armati illuc accessissent, non alia respondisse feruntur, nisi ut atrocem injuriam à Bodvellio factam, ac crudelem, & indignam Regis necem, vimq; ipsimet Reginæ illatam vendicarent. At Regina noxam Bodvellij purgare ; nihil non ipsa assentiente commissum. Quo sermone adeò sunt commoti, & exarserunt, ut omnes illicò uno ore acclamaverint. Et tu igitur, Domina, apud nos Captiva eris. Nec mora, ad Arcem insulæ intra Lacum Levinum in custodiam mittunt ; uno ei tantum Lixa, duabusq; infimæ conditionis Mulierculis, ad ei ministrandum concessis.

Towards the End of the Book comes what follows.

——Unum, hoc loco, non videtur silentio prætereundum : Quod cum Sixti Pontificis jussu, Regni Scotiæ, atque in primis Reginæ Mariæ Res, in Urbe protegendi munus suscepisset, accidit, ut infælix Regina pridiè, quàm securi in Anglia feriretur, supremas tabulas Gallica Lingua, Manuque propria conficeret. Quibus primo, se Religionis Catholicæ studiosissimam semper fuisse professa est ; deinde cavit, ne ad Filium Principem, si falsam Hæresis, quam animo imbiberat, persuasionem non exuisset, Anglici Regni Hæreditas ullo unquam tempore perveniret ; sed loco sui ad Philippum, Hispaniarum Regem Catholicum pertineret. Hasce Tabulas cum Vincentius Cardinalis accepisset, mira diligentia recognoscendas curavit, ut ad Reginæ ultimam Voluntatem aperiendam, Fidemq; faciendam sufficerent. Nam & cum Literis ab eadem Regina priùs acceptis contulit, & non à se solùm, verùmetiam à Ludovico Audoeno, Anglo, Episcopo Cassanensi, pio & integerrimo Homine, voluit subsignari : Sicq; firmatas, ac tanquam publica Authoritate roboratas, Comiti Olivario, Hispaniarum Regis Oratori, ad ipsumet Regem fideliter transmittendas dedit.

Number

Number 95.

A Bond of Association, upon Mary *Queen of* Scotland's *Resigning the Crown in Favour of her Son.*

An Original, in the Library of Glasgow.

WE quhilks has subscrivit the underwritten Bond, understanding that the Queenis Majesty willing nathing mair earnestlie, nor that in her Lifetime her Majesties Dear Son, our Native Prince, be placit and inaugurat in the Kingdom of this his Native Cuntre and Realm, and be obeyit as King be us, and uthers his Subjects: And being wearit of the great Pains and Travels taken be her in her Government thereof, hes be her Letters demittit and renderit, and given Power thairby to demit and renunce the said Government of this Realm, Liegis and Subjectis thairof, in Favours of her said Son, our Native Prince: To the effect he may be inaugurat thairin, the Crown Royal put upon his Head, and be obeyit in all Things as King and Native Prince thairof, as her Hieness Letters past thairupon bears. Thairfore, and because it is ane of the maist happy Things that can come to any Pepill or Cuntre, to be governit and rulit by their awn Native King; We, and ilk ane of us, quhilk hes subscrivit thir Presents, be the Tenor heirof, promitties, binds, and oblissis us, faithfully to convene and assembil our selfs at the Burgh of *Sterling*, or any other Place to be appointit, to the Effect foresaid; and thair concur, assist and fortify our said Native King and Prince, to the Establishing, Planting and Placing of him in his Kingdom, and Putting of the Crown Royal thairof upon his Head, and in the Fear of our God being instructit and teichit be his and all other Laws, sall giff our Aith of Fidelity and Homage, and lawfull and dutiful Obedience, to be made by us to him during his Graces Lifetime, as it becomes faithfull, Christian, and true Subjects, to do to thair Native King and Prince. And farther, that we sall with all our Strength and Forcis promote, concurre, fortifie and assist, to the Promoteing and Establishing of him in his Kingdom and Government, as becumis faithfull and true Subjects to do to thair Prince, and to resist all sick as wald oppon them thairto, or make any Trouble or Impediment to him thairin, and sall do all uther Things, that becomis faithfull and Christian Subjects to do to thair Native King and Prince. In Witness of the quhilk Thing, we haif

haif subscrivit thir Presents with our Handis, at *Edinburgh*, the Day of——, the Year of God 1567 Years.

James Regent. *Huntley.* *Archibald Argyle.* *Athol.* *Mortoun.* *Mar.* *Glencairn.* *Errol.* *Buchan.* *Graham.* *Alexander* Lord *Home.* *William* Lord *Ruthven.* Lord *Sanquhar.* *Ihon* Lord *Glanis.* *Patrick* Lord *Lindsey.* *Michael* Lord *Carlisle* : With my Hand at the Pen, *Alexander Hay*, Notarius. *William* Lord *Borthwick.* Lord *Innermaith.* *Ucheltrie.* *Sempill.* *Henry* Lord *Methven.* *Allan* Lord *Cathcart.* *Patrick* Lord *Gray.* *Robert* Com. of *Dumferling.* *James Stuart.* *Alexander* Com. of *Culross.* *Adam* Com. of *Cambuskenneth.* *Dryburgh.* Master of *Montrose.* *Alexander* Bishop of *Galoway.* *Caprington.* *Blairquhan.* *Tullibarden*, Comptroller; with Eighteen more.

Number 96.

Bond to the King, and to the Earl of Murray, *as Regent during his Infancy : Registred in the Council-Books on the 5th of* April 1569.

US, and every ane of us underscriv, and sall in all time cuming, like as we do presentlie, reverence, acknowledge and recognosce the maist Excellent and Mighty Prince *James* the Sixt, by the Grace of God King of the *Scottis*, our only Soveraine Lord, and his dearest Uncle, *James* Earl of *Murray*, Lord *Abernethie*, Regent to his Hieness, his Realme, and Leidges thereof, during his Majesties Minority. His Hieness his said Regent, and his Majesties Authority, we sall observe and obey, as becumis dutifull Subjectis, our Landis and Livis in the Defence and Avancement thairof, we sall bestow, and wair. The Skaith, Harm, or Subversion of the samen, we sall never knaw, nor procure by any meanis, direct nor indirect. All former Bandis, for Obedience of any other Authority, subscrivit or made by us in any tymes, by-gaine, contrarious or prejudicial to his Hieness, his said Regent and Authority, we renunce and discharge for evir : Affirming and swearing solempnitlie, upon our Faiths and Honouris, to observe and keep this our Declaration and plane Profession, everie Poynt thairof, be God himsellf, and as we will answer at his General Judgement : Whairin gif we failzie, we are content to be comptit Faithless, False, Perjurit and Defamit for ever; besyde the ordinar Pain of the Lawis

to be execute upon us, without Favour, as a perpetual Memory of our unnaturall Defection, and inexcusable Untruth. In Witnes whairof, we have subscrivit thir Presents with our Handis as follows, at the Dayes and Tymes particularly under specified.

Huntley. Crafurd. Cassilis. Sanquhar. Saltoun.
James Lord *Ogilvie. Laurance* Lord *Oliphant.*
John Mr. *Forbes.* With Thirty six more.

Number 97.

A Declaration of the Causes moving the Queene of England, *to give Aide to the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the* Lowe-Countries.

Kings and Princes, Soveraigns are to yield Account of their Actions only to Almighty God, the King of Kings.

ALthough Kinges and Princes, Soveraignes, owing their Homage and Service only unto the Almightie God, the King of all Kings, are in that respect not bounde to yeeld Account, or render the Reasons of their Actions to any others, but to God their onely Soveraigne Lord : Yet (though amongst the most Ancient and Christian Monarchies, the same Lorde God having committed to us the Soveraignetie of this Realme of *Englande*, and other our Dominions, which wee holde immediatly of the same Almightie Lorde, and so thereby accountable only to his Divine Majestie) wee are, notwithstanding this our Prerogative at this time, specially moved (for divers Reesons hereafter briefly remembred) to publish, not only to our owne Naturall Loving Subjects, but also to all others our Neighbours, specially to such Princes and States as are our Confederates, or have for their Subjects Cause of Commerce with our Countreis and People, what our Intention is at this time, and upon what just and reasonable Grounds, we are moved to give Aid to our next Neighbours, the Naturall People of the *Low-Countreis*, being by long Warres, and Persecutions of Strange Nations there, lamentablie afflicted, and in present danger to be brought into a perpetual Servitude.

Natural Causes of the Ancient continual Traffick betwixt the People of *England* and them of the *Low-Countries*.

First, It is to be understoode, (which percase is not perfectly knowen to a great Number of Persons) that there hath been, Time out of Minde, even by the Naturall Situation of those *Low-Countreis*, and our Realme of *England*, one directly opposite to the other; and by Reason of the ready Crossing of the Seas, and Multitude of large and commodious Havens respectively on both Sides, a continuall Traffique and Commerce betwixt the People of *England*, and the Naturall People of these *Lowe-Countries*; and so continued in all

Anci-

Ancient Times when the severall Provinces therof, as *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*, and other Countries to them adjoining, were ruled and possessed by severall Lordes, and not united together, as of late Yeeres they have been by Entermarriages; and at length by Concurrences of many and sundrie Titles have also been reduced to be under the Government of their Lordes that succeeded to the Dukedome of *Burgundie*, whereby there hath been in former Ages many speciall Alliances and Confederations, not only betwixt the Kinges of *England* our Progenitours, and the Lordes of the said Countries of *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and their Adherents; but also betwixt the very Naturall Subjectes of both Countries, as the Prelates, Noblemen, Citizens, Burgesses, and other Comminalties of the great Cities and Port Townes of either Countrie reciproquelie by speciall Obligations and Stipulations under their Seales interchangeablie, for Maintenance both of Commerce and Entercourse of Merchantes; and also of speciall mutuall Amitie to be observed betwixt the People and Inhabitants of both Parties, as well Ecclesiasticall, as Secular: And very expresse Provision in suche Treaties conteined for mutuall Favours, Affections, and all other Friendly Offices to be used and prosecuted by the People of the one Nation towards the other. By which mutual Bondes, there hath continued perpetuall Unions of the Peoples Hearts together, and so by way of continuall Entercourses, from Age to Age the same mutuall Love hath bene inviolablie kept and exercised, as it had been by the Worke of Nature, and never utterly dissolved; nor yet for any long Time discontinued, howsoever the Kinges, and the Lordes of the Countries sometimes (though very rarely) have beene at difference by sinister Meanes of some other Princes their Neighbours, envying the Felicitie of these Two Countries.

Confederations both betwixt the Kinges of *England*, and the Lordes of the *Lowe Countries*, and also the Subjects of both Countries.

The People of both the Countries bound by special Obligations enterchangeablie, for mutual Favours, and Friendly Offices.

And for Maintenance and Testimonie of these natural Unions of the Peoples of these Kingdoms and Countries in perpetuall Amitie, there are extent sundrie Autentique Treaties and Transactions for mutual Commerce, Entercourse and straight Amitie of Ancient Times: As for Example, some very Solemnely accorded in the Times of King *Henrie* the VIth our Progenitour, and *Philip* the IId, Duke of *Burgundie*, and Inheritour to the Countie of *Flanders* by the Ladie *Margaret* his Grandmother, which was above One Hundred and Forty Years past; and the same also renewed by the Noble Duke *Charles* his Sonne, Father to the King of *Spayne*'s Grandmother, and Husband to the Ladie *Margaret*, Sister to our Great Grandfather King *Edward* the IVth: And after that, of newe oftentimes renewed by our most Noble and Sage Grandfather King *Henrie* the VIIth, and the Archduke *Philip*, Grandfather to the King of *Spayne* now being: And in later Times, often renewed betwixt our Father of Noble Memorie King *Henrie* the VIIIth, and *Charles* the Vth Emperour of *Almaigne*, Father also to the present King of *Spaine*.

Treaties extant of Ancient Time, betwixt the Kinges of *England*, and the Dukes of *Burgundie*, for the Commerce betwixt their Countries.

In al which Treaties, Transactions, and Confederations of Amitie and mutuall Commerce, it was also at all Times specially and principally contained in expresse Words, by Conventions, Concordes, and Conclusions, that the Naturall People and Subjects of either side, should shewe mutuall Favours and Dueties one to the other; and should safely, freely, and securely Commerce together in everie their

Conventions for the Subjectes of either side, to shewe mutual Favours one to the other.

Countries, and so hath the same mutuall and naturall Concourse and Commerce bene without interruption contynued in many Ages, farre above the like Example of any other Countries in Christendome, to the Honour and Strength of the Princes, and to the singular great Benefite and Enriching of their People, untill of late Yeeres that the King of *Spayne* departing out of his *Lowe Countries* into *Spayne*, hath bene (as is to be thought) councelled by his Counselours of *Spayne*, to appoynt *Spaniardes*, Foreners, and Strangers of strange Blood, Men more exercised in Warres, than in Peaceable Government; and some of them notably delighted in Blood, as hath appeared by their Actions, to be the chiefest Governours of all his said *Low Countries*, contrary to the Ancient Lawes and Customes thereof, having great plentie of Noble, Valiant, and Faithful Persons naturally Borne, and such as the Emperour *Charles*, and the King himselfe had to their great Honours used in their Service, able to have bene employed in the Rule of those Countries. But these *Spaniardes* being meere Strangers, having no naturall Regarde in their Government to the Maintenance of those Countries and People in their Ancient and Naturall Maner of Peaceable Living, as the most Noble and Wise Emperour *Charles*; yea, and as his Sonne King *Philip* himself had, whilest he remained in those Countries, and used the Counsels of the States, and Natural of the Countries, not violating the Ancient Liberties of the Countries: But, contrarywise, these *Spaniardes* being exalted to Absolute Government by Ambition, and for private Lucre have violently broken the Ancient Lawes and Liberties of all the Countries; and in a Tyrannous Sort have banished, killed, and destroyed without Order of Lawe, within the Space of a fewe Monthes, many of the most Ancient and Principal Persons of the natural Nobilitie that were more Worthy of Government. And howsoever in the Beginning of these Cruel Persecutions, the Pretence thereof was for Maintenance of the *Romish* Religion, yet they spared not to deprive verie many Catholiques, and Ecclesiastical Persons of their Franchises and Privileges: And of the Chiefest that were executed of the Nobilitie, none was in the Whole Countrie more affected to that Religion, then was the Noble and Valiant Count of *Egmond*, the very Glory of that Countrie, who neither for his singular Victories in the Service of the King of *Spayne* can be forgotten in the true Histories, nor yet for the Cruelties used for his Destruction, to bee but for ever lamented in the Heartes of the natural People of that Countrie. And furthermore, to bring these whole Countries in Servitude to *Spayne*; these Foreine Governours have by long intestine Warre, with multitude of *Spaniards*, and with some fewe *Italians* and *Almains*, made the greater Part of the said Countries, (which with their Riches, by common Estimation, answered the Emperour *Charles* equally to his *Indias*) in a maner Desolate; and have also lamentably destroyed by Sword, Famine, and other Cruel Maners of Death, a great Part of the natural People, and now the rich Townes and strong Places being Desolate of their natural Inhabitants, are held and kept chiefly with Force by the *Spaniardes*.

Spaniardes and Strangers lately appointed Governours in the *Lowe Countries*, to the Violation of the Liberties of the Country.

The Destruction of the Nobilitie, and the People of the Countries by *Spanish* Government.

The lamentable Violent Death of the Count of *Egmond*, the Glory of those Countries.

The Riche Townes and Strengthes with the Wealth thereof possessed by the *Spaniardes*.

All which pitiful Miseries and horrible Calamities of these most Rich Countries and People, are of all their Neighbours at this Day, even of such as in Ancient Time have bene at frequent Discord with them, thorowe natural Compassion verie greatlie pitied, which appeared specially this present Yere, when the *Frenche* Kinge pretended to have received them to his Protection, had not (as the States of the Countrey and their Deputies were answered) that certaine untimely and unlooked for Complottes of the House of *Guise*, stirred and maintained by Money out of *Spayne*, disturbed the Good and General Peace of *Fraunce*, and thereby urged the King to forbeare from the Resolution he had made, not only to aide the Oppressed People of the *Lowe Countries* against the *Spaniardes*, but also to have accepted them as his owne Subjects. But in verie truth, howsoever they were pitied, and in a sort for a Time comforted and kept in Hope in *Fraunce* by the *French* King, who also hath oftentimes earnestly sollicited us as Queen of *England*, both by Message and Writinge to bee careful of their Defence: Yet in respect that they were otherwise more straightly knitte in Auncient Friendship to this Realme then to any other Countrie, we are sure that they could bee pitied of none for this long Time with more Cause and Grief generally then of our Subjects of this our Realme of *England*, being their most Ancient Allies, and Familiar Neighbours, and that in such Maner, as this our Realme of *England*, and those Countries have been by common Language of long Time resembled, and termed as Man and Wife. And for these urgent Causes and many others, we have by many Friendly Messages and Ambassadors, by many Letters and Writings to the said King of *Spayne* our Brother and Allie, declared our Compassion of this so Evil and Cruel Usage of his Natural and Loyal People, by sundrie his Martial Governoures, and other his Men of Warre, all Strangers to these his Countries. And furthermore, as a good Loving Sister to him, and a natural good Neighbour to his *Lowe Countries* and People, we have often, and often againe most Friendly warned him, that if he did not otherwise by his Wisdome and Princely Clemencie restraine the Tyrranny of his Governours, and Crueltie of his Men of Warre, we feared that the People of his Countries should be forced for Safetie of their Lives, and for Continuance of their Native Countrey in their former State of their Liberties, to seek the Protection of some other Foreyne Lorde; or rather to yeeld themselves wholy to the Soveraigntie of some Mighty Prince, as by the Ancient Lawes of their Countries, and by speciall Priviledges graunted by some of the Lordes and Dukes of the Countries to the People, they do pretende and affirm, that in such Cases of General Injustice, and upon such Violent Breaking of their Priviledges, they are free from their former Homages, and at Libertie to make Choice of any other Prince to bee their Prince and Head. The Proof whereof, by Examples past is to be seene and read in the Ancient Histories of divers Alterations, of the Lordes and Ladies of the Countries of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*, and other Countries to them united by the States and People of the Countries; and that by some such Alterations, as the Stories do testifie, *Philip* the Duke of *Burgundy* came to his Tytle, from which the King of *Spayne*'s

The *French* King's Offers to have aided and received to his Subjection the oppressed People of the *LoweCountries*.

The Queen of *Englande*'s continual Friendly Advices to the King of *Spaine* for restraining of the Tyrrannie of his Governours.

Spayne's Intereſt is derived: But the further Diſcuſſion hereof, we leave to the Viewe of the Monuments and Recordes of the Countries. And now for the Purpoſes to ſtay them from yeelding themſelves in any like Sort to the Soveraigntie of any other ſtrange Prince, certaine Yeeres paſt, upon the earneſt Requeſt of ſundrie of the greateſt Perſons of Degree in thoſe Countries, and moſt Obedient Subjects to the King, ſuch as were the Duke of *Aſcot*, aad the Marques of *Havery* yet Living, and of ſuch others as had Principal Offices in thoſe Countries in the Time of the Emperour *Charles*, we yielded at their importunate Requeſts, to graunt them preſts of Money, only to continue them as his Subjects, and to maintaine themſelves in their juſt Defence againſt the Violence and Cruelties of the *Spaniardes* their Oppreſſours, thereby ſtaying them from yielding their Subjection to any other Prince from the ſaid King of *Spayne*: And during the Time of that our Aide given to them, and their ſtay in their Obedience to the King of *Spayne*, we did freely acquainte the ſame King with our Actions, and did ſtill continue our Friendly Advices to him, to move him to commaund his Governours and Men of Warre, not to uſe ſuch Inſolent Cruelties againſt his People, as might make them to deſpayre of his Favours, and ſeeke ſome other Lorde.

The Queene of *England*'s Meanes uſed to ſtaie the States of the *Lowe Countries* from yeelding their Subjection to any other Forrreine Prince.

And in theſe kind of Perſwaſions and Actions wee continued many Yeeres, not onely for compaſſion of the miſerable ſtate of the Countries, but of a natural diſpoſition to have the ancient Conditions of ſtraight Amitie and Commerce for our Kingdomes and People to continue with the States and the People of the ſaid Dukedome of *Burgundie* and the Appendants, and namely with our next Neyghbours the Countries of *Flanders*, *Holland* and *Zeland*. For wee did manifeſtly ſee, if the Nation of *Spayne* ſhoulde make a conqueſt of thoſe Countries, as was and yet is apparantly intended, and plant themſelves there as they have done in *Naples* and other Countries, adding thereto the late Examples of the violent hoſtile Enterpriſe of a power of *Spanyardes*, being ſent within theſe fewe Yeeres by the King of *Spaine* and the *Pope* into our Realme of *Ireland*, with an intent manifeſtly confeſſed by the Captaines, that thoſe Nombers were ſent aforehand to ſeaſe upon ſome ſtrength there, to the intent with other greater Forces to purſue a Conqueſt thereof: wee did we ſay againe, manifeſtly ſee in what danger our ſelfe, our Countries and People might ſhortly bee, if in convenient time wee did not ſpeedily otherwiſe regard to prevent or ſtay the ſame. And yet notwithſtanding our ſaide often Requeſts and Adviſes given to the King of *Spayne*, manifeſtly for his own Weale and Honour, wee found him by his Counſell of *Spayne* ſo unwilling in any ſort to encline to our friendly Counſell, that his Governours and Chiefetains in his lowe Countries increaſed their Cruelties towards his own afflicted People, and his Officers in *Spayne* offered dayly greater Injuries to ours, reſorting thither for Trafique: yea, they of his Counſell in *Spayne*, would not permit our expreſs Meſſenger with our Letters to come to the King their Maſters Preſence: A Matter very ſtrange, and againſt the Law of Nations.

The Enterpriſe of the *Spaniardes* in *Ireland* ſent by the King of *Spayne* and the Pope.

The Refuſal of the Queen's Meſſenger, and her Letters to the King of *Spayne*.

And

And the Cause of this our writing and sending to the King, proceeded of Matter that was worthy to be knowen to the King, and not unmete nowe also to be declared to the World, to shewe both our good Disposition towardes the King in imparting to him our Grieves, and to let it appear howe evill we have beene used by his Ministers, as in some part may appear by this that followeth. Although we coulde not have these many Yeres past any of our Servaunts, whome we sent at sundrie times as our Ambassadours to the King our good Brother, as was mete, suffered to continue there without many Injuries and Indignities offered to their Families, and divers times to their owne Persons, by the greatest of his Counsellours, so as they were constrained to leave their Places, and some expelled, and in a sort banished the Countrey, without Cause given by them, or notified to us: Yet we, minding to continue very good Friendship with the King, as his good Sister, did of long Time, and many Yeres give favourable Allowance to all that came as his Ambassadours to us; saving onely upon manifest daungerous Practices, attempted by Two of them to trouble our Estate, whereof the one was *Girald Despes*, a very turbulent-spirited Person, and altogether unskilfull and unapt to deale in Princes Affaires being in Amitie; as at his Retourn into *Spaine*, he was so there also reputed: The other, and last was, *Bernardin de Mendoza*; one whom we did accept, and use with great Favour a long time, as was manifestly seene in our Court, and we thinke cannot be denied by himself: But yet of late Yeeres, (we know not by what Direction) we found him to be a secret great Favourer to sundrie our evill-disposed and seditious Subjectes, not onely to such as lurked in our Realme, but also to such as fled the same, being notoriously condemned as open Rebelles and Traytours; with whome by his Letters, Messages, and secret Counsels, he did in the ende devise, how with a Power of Men, partely to come out of *Spayne*, partely out of the *Lowe Countries*, whereof hee gave them great Comforte in the Kinges Name, an Invasion might be made into our Realme; setting downe in Writing the manner howe the same should be done, with what Numbers of Men and Shippes, and upon what Coastes, Portes and Places of our Realme, by special Name: And who the Persons should be in our Realme of no small Account, that should favour this Invasion, and take part with the Invadours; with many other Circumstances, declaring his full set Purpose and Labours taken, to trouble us and our Realme very dangerously; as hath beene moste clearly proved and confessed, by such as were in that Confederacy with him: whereof some are fled, and now do frequent his Companie in *France*; and some were taken, who confessed at great length by writing, the whole Course herein helde by the saide Ambassador, as was manifestly of late time published to the Worlde uppon *Francis Throgmorton*'s, a principall Traitours Examination. And when we found manifestly this Ambassadour so dangerous an Instrument, or rather a Head to a Rebellion and Invasion: And that for a Yeere or more together, he never brought to us any Letter from the Kinge his Master, notwithstanding our often Requeste made to him, that he woulde by some Letter from the King to us, let it appeare

The just Causes of Dismissing of *B. Mendoza* out of *England*.

that

that it was the Kings Will, that he ſhould deale with us in his Maſters Name, in ſundrie Thinges that he propounded to us as his Ambaſſadour; which we did judge to be contrary to the Kinge his Maſters Will. We did finally cauſe him to be charged with theſe dangerous Practices; and made it patent to him, how, and by whom, (with many other Circumſtances) we knew it; and therfore cauſed him, in very gentle ſort, to be content (within ſome reaſonable time) to departe out of our Realme, the rather for his own Safety, as one in very deed mortally hated of our People. For the which we graunted him favorable Conduct, both to the Sea, and over the Sea. And thereupon we did ſpeedily ſend a Servant of ours into *Spaine*, with our Letters to the King, only to certify him of this Accident, and to make the whole Matter apparant unto him. And this was the Meſſenger afore-mentioned, that might not be ſuffred to deliver our Meſſage, or our Letters, to the King.

And beſide theſe Indignities, it is moſt manifeſt, how his Miniſters alſo have both heretofore many times, and now lately practiſed here in *England*, by meanes of certaine Rebelles, to have procured ſundry Invaſions of our Realme, by their Forces out of *Spaine* and the *Lowe Countreis*: Very hard Recompences (we may ſay) for ſo many our good Offices. Hereupon we hope, no reaſonable Perſon can blame us, if we have diſpoſed our ſelves to change this our former Courſe, and more carefully to look to the Safety of our Selfe, and our People. And finding our owne Dangers in deed very great and imminent, we have bene the more urgently provoked to attempt and accelerate ſome good Remedy: For that, beſides many other Advices, given us both at Home and from Abrode, in due Time to withſtand theſe Dangers; we have found the general Diſpoſition of al our own faithfull People, very ready in this Caſe, and earneſt, in offring to us both in Parliaments and otherwiſe, their Services with their Bodies and Blood, and their Aides with their Lands and Goods, to withſtand and prevent this preſent common Danger to our Realme and themſelves, evidently ſeene and feared, by the ſubverting and rooting up of the Ancient Nation of theſe *Low Countries*, and by Planting the *Spaniſh* Nation and Men of Warre, Enemies to our Countries, there ſo nere unto us. And beſides theſe Occaſions and Conſiderations, we did alſo call to our Remembrance our former fortunate Proceeding, by God's ſpeciall Favor, in the Beginning of our Reigne, in remedying of a like Miſchief that was intended againſt us in *Scotland* by certaine *Frenchmen*, who then were directed onely by the Houſe of *Guiſe*, by Colour of the Mariage of their Neece, the Queene of *Scots*, with the *Dolphin* of *France*: In like maner, as the Offsprings of the ſaide Houſe have even now lately ſought to attaine to the like unordinate Power in *France*: A Matter of ſome Conſequence for our ſelves to conſider; although we hope, the King (our good Brother) profeſſing ſincere Frendſhip towards us, as we profeſs the like to him, will moderate this aſpiring Greatnes of that Houſe, that neither himſelf, nor the Princes of his Bloud be overruled, nor we (minding to continue perfect Frendſhip with the King, and his Bloud) be by the ſaid Houſe of *Guiſe*, and their Faction, diſquieted or diſturbed in our Countries. But now

The Queen of *England's* Proceeding, for the Deliverie of *Scotland* from the Servitude wherein the Houſe of *Guyſe* meant to have brought it.

now to return to this like Example of *Scotlande* aforesaid, when the *French* had in like manner (as the *Spanyardes* have nowe of long time attempted in the *Lowe Countries*) sought by Force to have subdued the People there, and brought them into a Servitude to the Crowne of *France*; and also by the Ambitious Desires of the saide House of *Guise*, to have proceeded to a Warre by way of *Scotland*, for the Conquest of our Crowne for their Neece the Queene of *Scottes* (a Matter most manifest to the common Knowledge of the Worlde): It pleased Almightie God, as it remaineth in good memorie to our Honour and Comfort, to further our Intention, and Honourable and Just Actions, at that time, in such sort, as by our Aiding then of the Nation of *Scotland*, (being sore oppressed with the *French*, and universally requiring our Aide) we procured to that Realme (though to our great Cost) a full Deliverance of the Force of Strangers, and Danger of Servitude, and restored Peace to the whole Countrie; which hath continued there ever since many Yeres; saving that at some Time of Parcialities of certaine of the Noblemen, (as hath beene usuall in that Countrie, in the Mynoritie of the yong King) there hath risen some inward Troubles, which (for the most part) we have, in Favour of the King and his Governours, used Meanes to pacifie: So as at this Day, such is the Quietnes in *Scotlande*, as the King our Dear Brother and Cousin, by Name *James* the VIth, a Prince of great Hope for many goode Princely Respectes, raigneth there in Honour and Love of his People, and in very good and perfect Amitie with us and our Country. And so our Actions, at that time, came to so good Successe, by the Goodnes of God, as bothe our own Realme, and that of *Scotland*, hath ever since remained in better Amitie and Peace, then can be remembred these manie Hundred Yeeres before: And yet nothing heereby done by us, nor any Cause justly given, but that also the *Frenche* Kinges that have since succeeded, (which have been Three in Number, and all Brethren) have made and concluded divers Treaties for good Peace with us; which presentlie continue in Force on both Parties, notwithstanding our foresaide Actions, attempted for Removing out of *Scotland* of the saide *French* Forces, so transported by the onely Direction of the House of *Guyse*.

The Realm of *Scotland* restored to the ancient Fredom, and so possessed by the present King, by the Means only of the Q. of *England*.

And therefore, to conclude for the Declaration of our present Intention at this time, we hope it shall of all Persons abroade be well interpreted, as wee knowe it will be of such as are not ledde by Parciallitie, that upon the often and continuall lamentable Requestes made to us by the Universall States of the Countries of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Guelders*, and other Provinces with them united, (beeing desperate of the King of *Spaines* Favours) for our Succours to be yeelded to them, onely for their Defence against the *Spaniards*, and other Strangers; and therewith finding manifestly, by our often and importunate Requests and Advices given to the King of *Spaine*, no Hope of Reliefe of these their Miseries, but rather an Increase thereof, by dayly Conquests of their Townes, and Slaughter of their People; (tho' in very Trueth, we cannot impute the Increase of any late Cruelties, to the Person of him that now hath the Title of Generall Governor, shewing his Naturall Disposition more inclynable to

The Conclusion of the Causes of sending of certain Companies of *English* Soldiers, to the Defence of the oppressed People of the *Low Countries*, and to withstand the Attempts against this Realm.

Mercie and Clemencie, then it seemeth he can direct the Heartes of the *Spaniardes* under him, that have been so long trayned in Shedding of Blood, under the former *Spanish* Governours:) And joyning therunto our owne Danger at Hand, by the Overthrow and Destruction of our Neighbours, and Accesse and Planting of the great Forces of the *Spaniards* so nere to our Countries, with precedent Arguments of many troublesome Attemptes against our Realme: We did therefore, by good Advice, and after long Deliberation, determine, to sende certaine Companies of Souldieres, to ayde the Naturall People of those Countries; onely to defende them and their Townes, from Sacking and Desolation, and thereby to procure them Safetie, to the Honour of God; whome they desire to serve sincerly, as Christian People, according to his Holie Word, and to enjoye their Ancient Liberties for them and their Posteritie, and so consequently, to preserve and contynue the Lawful and Ancient Commerce betwixt our People, and those Countries and ours.

Three special Things reasonably desired by the Q. of *England*. 1. The End of Wars, with Restitution of the *Low Countries* to their Ancient Liberties. 2. Surety from Invasion of her own Realm. 3. And Renewing of the mutual Traffick between the Countries.

And so, we hope, our Intention herein, and our subsequent Actions will be, by God's Favour, both honourably and charitably interpreted of all Persons, (saving of the Oppressors themselves, and their Partizans) in that we meane not heereby, either for Ambition or Malice, (the Two Rootes of all Injustice) to make any particular Profit hereof, to our Selfe, or to our People: Onely desiringe at this time to obtaine (by Gods Favour) for the Countries, a Deliverance of them from Warre, by the *Spaniards* and Forrainers; a Restitution of their Ancient Liberties and Government, by some Christian Peace; and thereby, a Suretie for our selves and our Realme, to be free from invading Neighbours; and our People to enjoy in those Countries, their lawfull Commerce, and Entercourse of Frendship and Marchandise, according to the ancient Usage and Treaties of Entercourse, made betwixt our Progenitors and the Lordes and Earls of those Countries, and betwixt our People and the People of those Countries.

The Causes of taking some Towns into her Majesties Custody.

And though our further Intention also is, or may be, to take into our Garde some fewe Townes upon the Sea-side next opposite to our Realme, which otherwise might be in Danger to be taken by the Strangers, Enemies of the Country: Yet therein considering we have no Meaning at this Tyme, to take and retaine the same to our owne proper Use; we hope, that all Persons will thinke it agreeable with good Reason and Princely Policie, that we should have the Gard and Use of some such Places, for sure Accesse and Recesse of our People and Soldiers in Safety, and for Furniture of them with Victuals, and other Things requisite and necessarie, whilest it shall be needful for them to continue in those Countries, for the Aiding therof in these their great Calamities, Miseries, and imminent Daunger, and untill the Countries may be delivered of such strange Forces as do now oppresse them, and recover their Ancient Lawfull Liberties and Maner of Gouvernment, to live in Peace as they have heeretofore done, and doe nowe most earnestly in lamentable manner desire to doe; which are the very onely true Endes of all our Actions nowe intended, howsoever malicious Tongues may utter their cankred

cankred Conceits to the contrary, as at this Day the Worlde aboundeth with such Blasphemous Reportes in Writings and Infamous Libels, as in no Age the Devil hath more abounded with notable Spirites replenished with all Wickednesse, to utter his Rage against Professours of Christian Religion. But thereof we leave the Revenge to God, the Searcher of Hearts, hoping that he beholding the Sinceritie of our Heart, wil graunte good Successe to our Intentions, whereby a Christian Peace may ensue to his Divine Honour, and Comfort to al them that Love Peace truely, and wil seeke it sincerely.

An Addition to the Declaration, touching the Slaunders published of her Majestie.

AFter we had finished our Declaration, there came to our Hands a Pamphlet written in *Italian*, ptinted at *Milan*, Entituled *Nuono advifo*, directed to the Archbishop of *Milan*, conteyning a Report of the Expugnation of *Antwerpe* by the Prince of *Parma*: By the which we found our self most maliciously charged with two notable Crimes, no lesse hateful to the World, then most repugnant and contrary to our own Natural Inclination. The one, with Ingratitude towards the King of *Spaine*, (who as the Author saith) saved our Life being justly by Sentence adjudged to Death in our Sister's Time: The other, that there was some Persons procured to be corrupted with great Promises, and that with our Intelligence as the Reporter addeth in a Parenthesis in these Words (*as it was said*,) that the Life of the Prince of *Parma* should be taken away: And for the better proving and countenancing of this horrible Lye, it is further added in the said Pamphlet, that it pleased the Lord God to discover this, and bring Two of the wicked Persons to Justice. Now knowing how Men are maliciously bent in this declining Age of the World, both to judge, speak, and write maliciously, falsely and unreverently of Princes: And holding nothing so Dear unto us, as the Conservation of our Reputation and Honour to be blamelesse: We found it very expedient, not to suffer Two such horrible Imputations to pass under silence, least for lacke of Answere, it may argue a kind of Guiltines, and did therefore think, that what might be alledged by us for our Justification in that Behalfe, might be most aptly joined unto this former Declaration now to be published, to lay open before the World the Maner and Ground of our Proceeding in the Causes of the *Lowe Countries*.

And for Answere of the First Point wherewith we are charged, touching our Ingratitude towards the King of *Spaine*, as we do most willingly acknowledge that we were beholding unto him in the Time of our late Sister, which we then did acknowledge very thankfully, and have sought many Ways, since in like Sort to requite, as in our former Declaration by our Actions may appeare: So do we utterly denie as a most manifest Untruth, that ever he was the Cause of the saving of our Life, as a Person by a Course of Justice sentenced unto Death, who ever carried our

ſelf towards our ſaid Siſter in Dutiful Sort, as our Loyaltie was never called in Queſtion, much leſſe any Sentence of Death pronounced againſt us: A Matter ſuch, as in reſpect of the ordinarie Courſe of Proceeding, as by Proceſſe in Lawe, by Place of Tryal, by the Judge that ſhould Pronounce ſuch Sentence, and other neceſſary Circumſtances in like Caſes uſual, eſpecially againſt one of our Qualitie, as it could not but have bene publiquelie known, if any ſuch Thing had bene put in Execution. This then being true, we leave to the Worlde to judge howe maliciouſly and injuriouſly the Author of the ſaid Pamphlet dealeth with us, in charging us by ſo notable an Untruth with a Vice that of all others we do moſt Hate and Abhorre. And therefore by the manifeſt Untruth of this Imputation, Men not tranſported with Paſſion may eaſily diſcerne what Untruth is conteined in the Second, by the which we are charged to have bene acquainted with an intended Attempt againſt the Life of the ſaid Prince: A Matter, if any ſuch Thing ſhould have been by us intended, muſt have proceeded, either of a miſlyking we had of his Perſon, or that the Proſecution of the Warres in the *Lowe Countries* was ſo committed unto him, as no other might proſecute the ſame but he.

And Firſt for his Perſon, we could never learne that he hath at any Time, by Acte, or Speach, done any Thing that might juſtly breede a Miſlike in us towards him, much leſſe a Hatred againſt his Perſon in ſo high a Degree, as to be either Privie, or Aſſenting to the taking away of his Life: Beſides, he is one of whom we have ever had an Honourable Conceite, in reſpect of thoſe ſingular rare Partes we alwaies have noted in him, which hath won unto him as great Reputation, as any Man this Day Living carrieth of his Degree and Qualitie: And ſo have we always delivered out by Speeche unto the World, when any Occaſion hath bene offered to make mention of him. Nowe, touching the Proſecution committed unto him of the Warres in the *Lowe Countries*, as all Men of Judgment know that the taking away of his Life carrieth no likelihood that the ſame ſhall worke any Ende of the ſaid Proſecution: So is it manifeſtly knowen, that no Man hath dealt more Honourablie then the ſaide Prince, either in duely obſerving of his Promiſe, or extending Grace and Mercie, where Merite and Deſerte hath craved the ſame: And therefore no greater Impietie by any coulde bee wrought, nor nothing more Prejudicial to our ſelfe, (ſo long as the King ſhall continue the Proſecution of the Cauſe in that forcible Sort he now doeth) then to be an Inſtrument to take him away from thence by ſuch violent Means, that hath dealt in a more Honourable and Gracious Sort in the Charge committed unto him, then any other that hath ever gone before him, or is likely to ſucceede after him.

Now therefore how unlikely it is, that we having neither Cauſe to miſlike of his Perſon, nor that the Proſecution of the Warres ſhoulde ceaſe by loſſe of him, ſhould be either Authour, or any way aſſenting to ſo horrible a Fact, we referre to the Judgment of ſuch as looke into Cauſes, not with the Eyes of their Affection, but do meaſure and weigh Things according to Honour and Reaſon. Beſides, it is likely if it had bene true that we had bene any way Chargeable,

(as

(as the Author reporteth) the Confeſſions of the Parties executed, (importing ſuch Matter, as by him is alledged) would have been both produced and publiſhed; for Malice leaveth nothing unſearched, that may nouriſh the Venime of that Humour.

The beſt Courſe therefore that both we and all other Princes can holde in this Unfortunate Age, that overfloweth with Nombers of malignant Spirits, is through the Grace and Goodneſſe of Almighty God, to direct our Courſe in ſuch ſort, as they may rather ſhewe their Willes through Malice, than with juſt Cauſe with Deſert, to ſay ill, or deface Princes, either by Speach or Writing: Aſſuring our ſelves, that beſides the Puniſhment that ſuch Wicked and Infamous Libellours ſhall receive at the Handes of the Almightie for depraving of Princes and Lawfull Magiſtrates, who are God's Miniſters, they both are, and alwayes ſhall be thought by all good Men, Unworthie to live upon the Face of the Earth.

Given at Richmount *the Firſt of* October, 1585; *and the 27th Yeere of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lady the Queene; to be publiſhed.*

Imprinted at *London* by *Chriſtopher Barker*, Printer to the Queene of *England*, Her moſt Excellent Majeſtie. 1585.

An

AN APPENDIX.

CONTAINING

SOME PAPERS

Relating to the

Two Volumes

OF THE

History of the Reformation of the Church of England.

1. Corrections of ſome Miſtakes in the *Two Firſt Volumes* ; ſent to me by Mr. *Granger*, in *Devonſhire*.

2. A Letter written to me by *Anthony Wood*, in Juſtification of his Hiſtory of the Univerſity of *Oxford* : With Reflections upon it, referr'd to *Alphabetically*.

3. A Letter to Mr. *Auſont*, which was tranſlated into *French*, upon his Procuring for me a Cenſure in Writing, made in *Paris* upon the *Firſt Volume* of my Hiſtory of the *Reformation*.

4. Corrections of the *Two Volumes* of the *Hiſtory of the Reformation*.

5. Some *Remarks*, ſent me by another Hand.

6. Obſervations and Corrections of the *Two Volumes* of that *Hiſtory*, by Mr. *Strype*.

AN APPENDIX, &c.

Number I.

Corrections of the First Volume *of the History of the* Reformation ; *sent me by Mr.* Granger, *in* Devonshire.

PAg. 25. Lin. 27. John Braybrook, *Bishop of* London,] For *Robert.*

P. 53. l. 48. *I cannot imagine what moved the Lord* Herbert, *who saw these Letters, to think that the Cardinal did not really intend the Divorce.*] Possibly, beside the Paper of Instructions here mentioned, the Testimony of King *Henry*, p. 73. that the Cardinal had always opposed it ; and the Information given the King, *p.* 78. of his having juggled in this Business.

P. 86. l. 33. *So was also* Boner, (*whom they call Dr.* Edmonds.] *Boner* was not of *Cambridge*, but of *Broad-Gate*-Hall in *Oxford* : And tho' called Dr. *Edmunds* (from his Font-Name) in the Life of *Wolsey*, by *Cavendish* ; and perhaps vulgarly, as *Stephen Gardiner* was Mr. *Stevyns*, in *Wolsey*'s Letter : Yet it seems unlikely, that he alone in the Grace should be written by his Font-Name, when all the others were by their Sir-Name. And therefore we have Reason to think, that this Dr. *Edmunds*, was *John Edmunds*, at that time Master of *Peter-House*, and of great Note in the University ; as we may guess, from the Frequency of his being Vice-chancellor, *viz.* in the Years 1521, 1526, 1527, and 1540.

P. 261. l. 30. *But in* England *it went otherwise* ; *and when the Order of the* Knights-Templars *was dissolved*, *it was then judged in Favour of the Lord, by Escheat.*] *Quære.* Because by the Statute *de Terris Templariorum*, neither the King, nor the Lords, were to have by Escheat the Lands that were the *Templars* ; but those Lands were to remain to the Prior, and Brethren, of the Order of the Hospital of St. *John* of *Jerusalem.*

P. 312. l. 37. *The Lord* Cromwell *also had his Writ*; *tho' I do not find by any Record, that he was restored in Blood.*] He had his Writ, not by Virtue of any Restoration in Blood, but of his Creation by Patent: Neither, the Day his Father was created Earl; as Mr. *Fulman* hath it, following Dr. *Fuller*; but Five Months after his Father's Death, *viz.* the 18th of *December*, in the 32d of *Henry* VIII. when he was created Baron of this Realm, by the Title only of Lord *Cromwell*, but not distinguish'd by any Place. *Vide Sir* W. Dugdale's *Hist. of the* Baronage.

P. 328. l. 37. *Dr.* Lee, *Dean of* York.] *Quære*, if not for Dr. *Leighton*.

P. 341. l. 9. *Then to be Bishop Suffragan of* Ely.] For Suffragan to the Bishop of *Ely*.

P. 366. l. 12. *They (*viz. *the Schoolmen and Canonists) studied to make Bishops and Priests seem very near one another, so that the Difference was but small.*] Tho' most of the Schoolmen asserted Bishops and Priests to be of the same Order, for the Reason here specified, their being equally appointed to the Consecration of the *Eucharist*, which they thought to be the Highest, and most Perfect Function; yet they allowed the Bishops a Superiority of Jurisdiction, which some of them were content to call a Superior Order; as the Canonists did also generally, notwithstanding their Endeavours to depress the Episcopal Authority, for the Advancement of the Papal.

Corrections of the Second Volume.

PAg. 1. Lin. 10. *Lost his Mother the Day after he was born.*] Your Self say Two Days after, in the *Appendix* of Tom. I. p. 295. His Journal says, a few Days after.

P. 1. in the Margin; *On the* 17*th, if the Letter of the Physicians be true in* Fuller's *Church-History.*] It was Copied from its Original in the *Cotton* Library; and your self give Credit to them, in the forecited Place of your *Appendix*.

P. 3. l. ult. *Lord* St. John, *Great Master.*] Supply, of the Houshold.

P. 25. l. 28. Ridley *is said to be Elect of* Rochester, *and designed for that See by King* Henry.] *Quær.* How? When in the Commission granted for the Examination, whether the Marquess of *Northampton* could lawfully Marry, after the Divorcement of his Wife *Anne* for Adultery? bearing Date Three Months after the Death of King *Henry*, even *May* the 7th, 1 *Edward* VI. *Holbeck* was Bishop of *Rochester*, and not at that Time translated to *Lincoln*.

P. 43.

P. 43. l. 28. *Excepting only the Archbishop of* Canterbury's *Courts.*] The Archbishop might only use his owne Name, and Seal for Facultys, and Dispensations; being in all other Cases as much restrain'd as other Bishops.

P. 54. l. 45. *Nor is it reasonable to imagine, that the Dutchess of* Somerset *should be so foolish, as to think she ought to have the Precedence of the Queen Dowager.*] She is acknowledgd to have been an Insolent Woman, p. 194. and to have had a great Power over her Husband, where it is assign'd as the Chief Cause of procuring an Act of Parliament for the Disinheriting, and Excluding from his Honours, his Children by his former Wife.

P. 90. l. 12. *The Council of* Trullo *in the 5th Age.*] In the latter End of the 7th, or rather in the Beginning of the 8th.

P. 94. l. 43. *A General Rule was layd downe, that every Common Festival should be praceded by a Fast.*] The Festivals between *Easter*, and the *Ascension-Day*, were not so, on the pretended Reason that the Bridegroom was with them; as also *Michaelmas.*

P. 164. l. 18. *About which, one* Carr *writ a Copious and Passionate Letter to Sir* John Cheek.] *Nicholas Carr, Regius*-Professor of the *Greek* Tongue in *Cambridge*, and a great Restorer of Learning in that University.

P. 165. l. 2. *à fine. Dr.* Story *was made Bishop of* Rochester.] For Dr. *Scory.*

P. 171. l. 34. *Harle.*] For *Harley*, afterward Bishop of *Hereford.*

P. 176. l. 3. *Though I have seen it often sayd in many Letters and Writings of this Time, that al that Issue by* Charles Brandon *was Illigitimated, sinc he was certainly married to one* Mortimer, *before he married the Queen of* Franc: *Which* Mortimer *lived long after his Marriage to that Queen; so that al her Children were Bastards. Some say he was divorced from his Marryage to* Mortimer, *but this is not clear to me.*] *Charles Brandon* First married *Margaret*, one of the Daughters of *John Nevil*, Marquess *Mountague*, Widow of Sir *John Mortimer.* Secondly, *Anne*, Daughter of Sir *Anthony Browne*, by whom he had Issue, after Marriage, *Mary*, wedded to *Thomas Stanley*, Lord *Mont-Eagle.* Thirdly, *Mary*, Queen of *France*, as Sir *William Dugdale* hath it in the Text; though in the Scheme adjoyn'd by him, the Order is inverted. 1st *Anne*, 2d *Margaret*, but *repudiata*, 3d *Mary.*

P. 196. l. 37. *One* Traheron.] *Bartholomew Traheron*, afterward made Lecturer of Divinity at *Frankford*, on the new molding of the Congregation there, in Queen *Mary*'s Days; and Dean of *Chichester* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s.

P. 251. l. 40. Ratcliff, *Earl of* Sussex, *was licenced under the Great Seal, to cover his Head in the Queen's Presence, the only Peer on whom this Honour was ever conferred, as far as I know.*] Dr. *Fuller* assures us in his Church History, Book 9. p. 167. that he had seen a Charter granted by King *Henry* the VIIIth, the 16th of *July*, in the 18th of his Reign, and confirmed by Act of Parliament, to *Francis Brown* (a Commoner); giving him leave to put on his Cap in the

Presence of the King, and his Heirs; and not to put it off, but for his own Ease and Pleasure.

P. 272. l. 1. *There was one* Harding, *that had been her Father's Chaplain.*] *Thomas Harding*, afterward Antagonist to Bishop *Jewel.*

P. 276. l. 16. Barlow *had never married.*] Q. Whether he were not at that Time married? Sir *John Harring* in his Continuation of Bishop *Godwin*, and who by his being of *Somersetshire*, was the better capacitated to know, says that he had some Sons; One whereof in his Time, was a Worthy Member of the Church of *Wells*, and Five Daughters.

Ibid l. 21. Chichester, *a much meaner Bishoprick.*] *Wells* had lately been much impoverished by the Alienations in *Barlow*'s Time; the Regret whereof, might probably make him less desirous of returning to it. Afterward its Profits were raised by the Lead Mines, about Bishop *Stillingfleet*'s Time: However, 'tis valued in the King's Books but 535 *l.* whereas *Chichester* is 677 *l.*

Ibid. Bishop *Harley* is said to have been deprived, because married, by *Fox* and *Godwin*, though no notice be taken of it in the Order.

P. 305. l. 31. Alphonsus, *a* Franciscan *Fryar, his Confessour.*] *Alphonsus à Castro*, Famous for his Treatise *de Haeresibus.*

P. 313. l. 43. *Neer Three Yeares.*] Neer Two Yeares.

P. 318. l. 1. Shaxton, *Bishop Suffragan of* Ely.] Again for Suffragan to the Bishop of *Ely.*

P. 402. l. 36. *According to a Method often used in their Elections.*] There had been but One Election since the Prior and Monks were chang'd into a Dean and Prebendaries.

P. 403. l. 23. Par, *Bishop of* Peterborough.] For *Scambler.*

Thomas Davies of St. *Asaph*, and *Richard Cheiny* of *Gloucester*, being some of the First Set of Bishops, should have been remembred, though Consecrated a while after.

Number

Number II.

A Letter written to me by Anthony Wood, *in Justification of his History of the University of* Oxford, *with Reflections on it; referred to Alphabetically.*

SIR,

YOUR Book of *The Reformation of the Church of* England, I have latelie perused, and finding my self mentioned therin, not without some Discredit, I thought fit to Vindicate my self so far in these Animadversions following, that you may see your Mistakes, and accordingly rectifie them, (if you think fit) in the next Part that is yet to publish.

P. 86. *But after he hath set downe the Instrument, he gives some Reasons*, &c.

The Two First Reasons, (if they may be so called) ([a]) *were put in by another Hand*; and the other were taken from these Three Books following, ([b]) *viz.* From Dr. *Nicholas Harpesfeild*'s *Treatise concerning Marriage*, &c. which is a fair Manuscript in Folio; written either in the Time of Queen *Marie*, or in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*, and 'tis by me quoted in my Book, in the Place excepted against. From *Will. Forest*'s *Life of Queen* Catherine, written in the the Raigne of Queen *Marie*, and dedicated to her. 'Tis a Manuscript also, and written verie fairlie in Parchment. ([c]) From *an Apologie for the Government of the Universitie against King* Henry *the VIIIth.* Written by a Master of Arts *Septimo Elizabethæ.* 'Ts a Manuscript also, and hath all the King's Letters therin, written to the Universitie about the Question of Marriage and Divorce, with several Passages relating to Convocations concerning the said Questions.

So that by this you see I do not frame those Reasons out of mine owne Head (as partiall Men might) but what other Authours dictate to me.

Ibid. [*Upon what Designe I cannot easily imagine.*]

No Designe at all God-wot, but meerlie for Truth's sake, which verie few in these Dayes will deliver.

([a]) I could not know this: He publishes them, and is justly to be charged with them.

([b]) From such Authorities what else was to be expected?

([c]) This, as Dr. *Lloyd* informs me, is *Parsons*'s Book, an Author of no better Credit than the former; for he was a Master of Arts in *Baliol* College, in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time. See *Wood* in *Bal. Coll.*

Ibid.

Ibid. [*And as if it had been an ill Thing, he takes Paines to purge the Universities of it,* &c.]

It was an ill Thing I think, (I am sure it was taken so to be) for a Prince by his Letters to frighten (d) People out of their Conscience, and by Menaces force them to say what must please him. But seeing the Masters would not be frightned, and therefore they were laid aside, (the Matter being discussed by a few old timerous Doctors and Batchellors of Divinity, who would say any Thing to please the King, least Danger should follow) they ought to be commended, or at least justified for keeping their Consciences safe.

Ibid. [*And without any Proof gives Credit to a Lying Story set downe by* Sands, *of an Assemblie called by Night.*]

Sands is not my Authour, for he says no such Thing in his Book *de Schismate*, of an Assembly (e) called by Night; my Author for this is the Apologie before mentioned, which adds, that *when a Regent of* Baliol *College, (whom they called King* Henry*) heard that the Commissarie, and his Company, were going to dispatch this Night Work, denied the Seale with his Breeches about his Shoulders, for want of a Hood.* See in *Hist. & Antiq. Oxon.* Lib. 1. p. 256. A. (f) The Truth is, the Meeting was unseasonable, and their Actions clancular; as being protested against by, and done without the Consent of the Regents. And as for *Sands*, though I cannot well defend him, yet many Things in his Book *de Schismate*, especially those relating to the Universitie of *Oxford*, I find from other Places to be true. (g)

Ibid. [*But it appears that he had never seen, or considered the other Instrument, to which the Universitie set their Seale.*]

The Grand Collection, or *Farrago*, which Mr. *Thomas Masters* made, (by the Lord *Herbert*'s Appoinment) in order to the Writing of King *Henry* the VIIIth's Life, I have seen and perused, but could not with all my Diligence find that Instrument (as you call it, yet we, an Act, or Decree) of Convocation; neither in the Three Great Folio's, written by another Hand, containing Materials at large for the said Life; neither in any of the Registers, Records, or Papers, belonging to the Universitie. So that for these Reasons, and that because the Lord *Herbert* says, *it was blurred, and not intended for the King*; and also not under Seal, (you say 'twas) neither passed

(d) I do not find there was any frightning Threatnings; none appear in the King's Letters. If he had this from any good Authors, he had done well to have quoted them. It is not Honourable for the University, as it is not probable, to represent all the Doctors and Batchelours of Divinity, as Men apt to be frightned out of their Consciences; and that only the Masters of Arts were impregnable. It is rather to be supposed that the one Sort were carried away by Faction; and that the others were guided by Learning and Conscience.

(e) He says it was called *Clam*; that could hardly be, but in the Night: So this is no material Difference. In the rest you agree with *Sanders*.

(f) I see no Reason for this. The Instrument set forth by the Lord *Herbert* shews, that the Persons deputed had good Authority to set the University Seal to their Determination: And they were not tied to Forms, but might have done it at any Time.

(g) Yes, such Authors as you quote: You say you cannot well defend *Sanders*. It seems you would if you could. These are soft Words concerning that Scandalous Writer.

in the House by the Majority of Votes; therefore did I omit it, as not Authentick. ([h]) I truly believe, or at least have good Grounds to think, that it was only drawn up, and not proposed; for if it had, it would have been registred: There being nothing proposed, either in Convocation or Congregation, but is registred, whether denied, or not. And the Register of that Time is most exactly kept; and nothing thence, as I can perceive, is torn out.

Ibid. [*There seems to be also another Mistake, in the Relation he gives: For he says,* **those of* Paris *had determined in this Matter.*]

I say ([i]) so from *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, then Chancellor of the University: Who in his Letters thereunto, desires the Members, *to make what Expedition they could, to give in their Answer to the King's Question; forasmuch as* Paris *and* Cambridge *had done it already.*——— For this I quote the Book of *Epistles*, *in Archiv. Lib. Bod. MS.* Epist. 197. Yet, I believe, the Archbishop said this, to hasten the University of *Oxon* the more; tho' probably it was not so. However, I am not to take notice of that, but to follow Record as I find it. And that I do follow Record throughout all my Book, there is not one (I presume) of the Senate of Antiquaries can deny it: And therefore, how there can be many Things in my Book, (of my framing) that are Enemies to the Reformation of the Church of *England*, as was suggested by you to Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, (who thereupon made a Complaint in open Parliament, last *April*, against the said Book) I cannot see ([k]). Truth ought to take place; and must not be concealed, especially when 'tis at a Distance. And if our Religion ([l]) hath had its Original, or Base, on Lust, Blood, Ruin and Desolation, (as all Religions, or Alterations in Governments, have had from one or more of them) why

([h]) All that you say here, is only Negative Authority; but since the Lord *Herbert* says he saw the Original, though it is not in any of these Collections, you must either believe it, or make him a Liar: And if it was an Original, it must either have been subscribed by the Hands of the Persons deputed; or must have had the Seal put to it. The Beginning of it shews it was not subscribed; for it is in the Name of *John Cattisford*, their Commissary: So it must have been either in the Form of a Notary's Instrument, or must have had the Seal put to it, for he calls it an Original. Perhaps the Blurring of it might either be casual, or when it was brought to Court, the King might have made some Alterations in it, that it might be in *Italica*, are renewed according to these Corrections. * *It might be Casual; Lord* Herbert *says not that it was rased out*, &c.

*These Words are in the Bishop of *Worcester's* Hand.

([i]) In this you had a Warrant for what you wrote, but I had a better to correct it by.

([k]) I do profess I do not remember that I ever mentioned your Book to him: And Sir *Harbottle* himself, when I asked him the Question, said, he never heard me speak of it.

([l]) This is writ very indecently: Neither like a Divine, nor a Christian.

should

ſhould it be hidden, ſeeing it is ſo obvious to all Curious Searchers into Record.

This is all from him

that ſtudies Truth,

Anthony à Wood.

July the 5th
1679.

Number III.

A Letter to Mr. Auſont, *which was tranſlated into* French, *upon his Procuring for me a Cenſure in Writing, made in* Paris *upon the* Firſt Volume *of my Hiſtory of the* Reformation.

S I R, *Paris*, the 10th of *Auguſt*, 1685.

WHEN I came laſt to *Paris*, I was told there was a *Cenſure* of the Firſt Volume of my Hiſtory of the *Reformation*, going about in Writing. I was glad to hear of this, when I was upon the Place, ready either to juſtify my ſelf, or to acknowledge ſuch Miſtakes as ſhould be offered to me: For I am ready, upon Conviction, to retract any Thing that may have fallen from my Pen, as ſoon as I ſee Cauſe for it, with all the Freedom and Candor poſſible. I ſhould be much more out of Countenance, to perſiſt in an Error, when I am convinced of it, than to acknowledge, that in ſuch a Multitude of Matters of Fact, of which my Hiſtory makes mention, I might have been miſinformed in ſome Particulars, and have miſtaken others; which I was reſolved to rectify, when diſcover'd, in another Edition. This made me very deſirous to ſee, what it was that had been objected to me: And I am much obliged to you, for Procuring me a Sight of it; for which I return you my moſt humble Thanks.

When I had read it over, and over again, I confeſs, I was amazed to find, that he who cenſured me ſo ſeverely, had read my Book ſo ſlightly; and yet gives way to his Paſſions, with ſo little Judgment, and with leſs Sincerity, that among all the Things that he charges me with, there ſhould not be One Single Particular, that might

might give me Occasion to shew my Readiness to retract what I had written.

What can be expected from a Writer, who, after the List I had given, of the many gross Errors of which *Sanders*'s History was made up, says, *That I have proved, that he has failed in some Circumstances, that may seem to aggravate the Matter more or less?* If any Man will be at the Pains to read what I have proved, of the Falshoods in that Author, and compare it with the mild Censure here given; he will see Cause to be ashamed of it, and will look for little Sincerity, after so false a Step made in the Beginning. From this, he goes on to his Main Design; and runs out into an Invective against K. *Henry* the VIIIth, for his Incontinencies, and other Violences.

If I had undertaken to write a *Panegyrick*, or to make a Saint of King *Henry*, he might have triumphed over me as much as he pleased. But I, who have neither concealed, nor excused any of his Faults, am no way concerned in all this.

There are only Two Things that I advance, with Relation to that Prince.

The First is, That whatsoever his Secret Motives might have been, in the Suit of the Divorce; He had the constant Tradition of the Church on his Side, and that in all the Ages and Parts of it; which was carefully searched into, and fully proved: So that no Author, elder than Cardinal *Cajetan*, could be found, to be set against such a Current of Tradition. And in the Disputes of that Age, with those they called Hereticks, all that wrote of the Popish Side, made their Appeal always to Tradition, as the only Infallible Expounder of Scripture: And it was looked on as the Character of an Heretick, to Expound the Scripture by any other Key, or Method. So that K. *Henry* had this clearly with him.

The other Particular that I make *Remarks* on, is, That the Reformation is not at all to be Charged with King *Henry*'s Faults: For, that unsteady Favour and Protection, which they sometimes found from him, can signify no more to blemish them, than the Vices of those Princes that were the great Promoters of Christianity, signify to cast a Blemish on the Christian Religion. Let the Crimes of King *Clovis*, as they are related by *Gregory* of *Tours*, be compared with the worst Things that can be said of King *Henry*; and then let any Man see, if he finds so much Falshood, mixed with so much Cruelty, in so many repeated Acts, and in such a Number of Years, in King *Henry* the VIIIth, as he will find in King *Clovis*. Nor do we see any Hints of *Clovis*'s Repentance, or of any Restitution made by him, of those Dominions that he had seized on in so Criminal a manner, to the Right Heirs; without which, according to our Maxims, his Repentance could not be accepted of God. And this was the First Christian King of the *Franks*.

I do not comprehend what his Design could be, in Justifying Pope *Gregory* the VIIth's Proceedings, against the Emperor, *Henry* the IVth, with so much Heat. One that reads what he writes on this Subject, can hardly keep himself from thinking, that he had something in his Eye, that he durst not speak out more plainly:

But that he would not be sorry, if *Innocent* the XIth should treat the *Great Monarch*, as *Gregory* the VIIth did the Emperor, and as *Paul* the IIId did King *Henry* the VIIIth. But whatsoever his own Thoughts may be, I desire he would not be so familiar with my Thoughts, as to infer this from any Concession of mine: For I allow no Authority to the Bishops of *Rome* out of their own Diocese. The Additional Dignity that they came to have, flowed from the Constitution of the *Roman* Empire: And since *Rome* is no more the Seat of Empire, it has lost all that Primacy, which was yielded to it merely by Reason of the Dignity of the City. So that as *Byzance*, from being a small Bishoprick, became a Patriarchal Seat, upon the Exaltation of that City; by the same Rule, upon the Depression of *Rome*, the Bishops of that See ought to have lost all that Dignity, that was merely accidental. But suppose I should yield, according to the Notion commonly received in the *Gallican* Church, that the Pope is the *Conservator of the Canons*; that will signify nothing, to justify their Deposing of Princes; except he can shew what those Canons were, upon the Violation of which, Princes may be deposed. If he flies to the Canons of the Fourth Council in the *Lateran*, those being made about 150 Years after P. *Gregory*'s Proceedings against the Emperor, will not justify what was done so long before these were made. When he thinks fit to speak out more plainly upon this Head, it will be more easy to answer him.

As for the Supremacy that King *Henry* the VIIIth assumed in Ecclesiastical Matters, he should not have condemned that so rashly as he does, as a Novelty, till he had first examined the Reasons upon which it was founded; not only those drawn from the Scriptures, but those that were brought from the Laws and Practices, both of the *Roman* Emperors, and of the Kings of *England*. His Thoughts or his Pen run too quick, when he condemned the following those Precedents, as a Novelty, without giving himself the Trouble of enquiring into the Practices of former Ages.

He charges me with flying to the Rasure of the Registers in Queen *Mary*'s Time, and to the Burning of others in the Fire of *London*, for proving several Things, for which I could bring no better Vouchers; and for Relying so often on a Passionate Writer. I suppose, *Fox* is the Person hereby pointed at.

When he applies the General Censure to any Particular in my Work, I will then shew that it amounts to nothing. I often stop, and shew that I can go no further, for want of Proof: And when I give Presumptions from other Grounds, to shew what was done, I may well appeal to the Rasure, or Loss of Records, for the want of further Proof. But this I never do upon Conjectures, or slight Grounds. And as for *Fox*, I make a great Difference between Relying upon what he writes barely upon Report, (which I never do) and Relying upon some Registers, of which he made Abstracts. For having observed an exact Fidelity, in all that he took out of such Registers as do yet remain; I have Reason to depend on such Abstracts as he gives of Registers that are now destroyed. He might be too Credulous, in writing such Things as were brought him by Report; and in these I do not depend on him: But he was

known to be a Man of Probity, so I may well believe what he delivers from a Record, though that happens now to be lost.

The Censure is next applied to *Cranmer*'s Character. He observes great Defects in my *Sincerity*, and (to let me see how civily he intends to use me, he says he will not add) *my want of Judgment.* I am sure he has shewed a very ill Judgment in charging me so severely in so tender a Point as *Sincerity*, and using a Reserve in another Point, that does not touch me so much. I am accountable both to God and Man for my *Sincerity* : But I am bound to have no more *Judgment* than God has given me; and so long as I maintain my *Sincerity* entire, I have little to Answer for, though I may be defective in the other : But I leave it to you to judge whether the Defect was in his *Sincerity*, or his *Judgment*, when he does not bring any one Particular against *Cranmer*, but what he takes from me. So if I have confessed all his Faults, and yet give a Character of him that is Inconsistent with these, I may be justly charged for want of *Judgment* ; but my *Sincerity* is still untainted. When he reckons up his Charges against *Cranmer*, he begins with this, that he was put out of his College for his Incontinence. He was then a Layman, under no Vows, only he held a Place, of which he was incapable after he was married; now what Sort of Crime can he reckon this Marriage, I leave it to himself to make it out. His next Charge is, that though I say he was a *Lutheran*, yet he signed the Six Articles, which he says, proves that he valued his Benefice more than his Conscience.

He wrote this with too much precipitation, otherwise he would have seen that *Cranmer* never signed those Articles. He disputed much against them before they passed into a Law : Nor could he be prevailed on, though the King pressed him to it, to abstain from coming to the Parliament while that Act passed. He came and opposed it to the last; and even after the Law was made, he wrote a Book for the King's Use against these Articles. There was no Clause in the Act that required that they should be signed. Men were only bound to Silence and Submission. If he was at all Faulty, with relation to that Act, it was only in this, that he did not think himself bound to declare openly against it when it was published. From this, he goes next to charge him for consenting to the Dissolution of King *Henry*'s Marriage with *Anne* of *Cleve*, upon Grounds plainly contrary to those upon which his First Marriage with *Catherine* of *Spain*, was dissolved. Since one Pretence in the Divorce of *Anne* of *Cleve* was, that it was not Consummated, though in the other it was declared that a Marriage was compleat, though not Consummated. Whatever is to be said of this Matter, the Whole Convocation was engaged in it. *Gardiner* promoted it the most of any. So the Bishops, who were so Zealous for Popery in Queen *Mary*'s Time, were as guilty as *Cranmer*. I do not deny that he shewed too much Weakness in this Compliance. He had not Courage enough to swim against the Stream : And he might think that the Dissolving a Marriage, the Parties being contented, was not to be much withstood. But my Censurer is afraid to touch on the Chief Ground on which that Marriage was dissolved; which was, that the King gave not a pure inward Consent to it, for this touches a tender Point of the In-

tention of the Minister in the Sacrament; on which I did not Reflect when I wrote my History. By the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, the Parties are the Ministers; so if the Intention was wanting, there was no Sacrament iu this Marriage, This having been the Common Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, some Remnant of that might have too great an Effect on *Cranmer*. But if the consenting to an unjust Sentence, in a Time of much Heat, and of a General Consternation, is so Criminal a Thing, what will he make of *Liberius*, *Filix*, *Osfius*, and many more, whose Names are in the *Roman* Calendar. The carrying this too far, will go a great way to the justifying the *Luciferians*. Whatever may be in this, I had opened the Matter of *Anne* of *Cleve* so impartially, that I deserve no Censure on that Account.

After he had attacked the Matter of my History in these Particulars, he falls next upon my way of Writing. In this, I confess, I am not so much concerned, for if the Things are truly related by me, I can very easily bear all the Reflections that he can lay on my way of Writing. But that he may Censure me with a better Grace, he bestows some good Words on me. " He is not displeased with my " Preface, and the Beginning of my Work : But all these Hopes " were soon blasted, I fall into a detail of little Stories, with which " he was quite disgusted. Yet if he had considered this better, he would have been milder in his Censure. My Design was to shew what Seeds and Dispositions were still in the Minds of many in this Nation, that prepared them for a Reformation, in the Beginning of King *Henry*'s Reign, before ever *Luther* had preached in *Germany*, and several Years before that King's Divorce came to be treated of in *England*. I therefore judged it was necessary for me to let the Reader know what I found in our Registers of those Matters : How that many were tried, and some condemned upon those Opinions, that were afterwards reckoned among the Chief Grounds of our separating from the Church of *Rome*. It seemed a necessary Introduction to my Work, to open this as I found it upon Record. My Censurer blames me for not opening more Copiously what the Opinions of the *Lollards* and the *Wicklifists* were : He may see in these Articles that I mention, what the Clergy were then charging them with, and what was confessed by those, who were brought into their Courts. I wrote in *English* for my own Countrymen. There are many Books that give a very particular Account of *Wickliff*, and his Followers : This being so well known, it was not necessary for me to run this Matter up to its Original; all that was incumbent on me, was to shew the present State of that Party and their Opinions, and Sufferings in the Beginning of the Reign of King *Henry* : So that a fair Judge will not think that a few Pages spent in opening this, was too great an Imposition on his Patience : This having such a Relation to my main Design in Writing, It is he, and not I, that has transgressed *Polybius*'s Rule : He considers these Particulars as little Stories, without observing the End for which I set them down : Though I have made that appear so plainly, that I have more Reason to complain of his Sincerity, than of his Judgment.

His

His next Exception is, that I give Abſtracts of the Reaſons on which the Proceedings in the Reformation were grounded. He thinks that in this, I plead as an Advocate, and do not write as a Hiſtorian. I do believe there are few Things in my Hiſtory with which he is more diſpleaſed than this. I give no Reaſons of my own making, nor do I put Speeches in the Mouths of our Reformers, though if I had done this, he knows that I could have ſaid that I followed the Precedents ſet me by the beſt Writers of Hiſtory, both among the *Greeks* and the *Romans*. But ſince I was engaged to write of a Reformation of Errors in Doctrine, and of Abuſes in Worſhip and Government, I muſt have been very defective, if I had not ſet out the Reaſons upon which thoſe of that Time went, as well as I related the Series of what was done by them. Both Father *Paul*, and Cardinal *Palavicini*, in the Hiſtories that they wrote of the Council of *Trent*, have related the Arguments uſed of all Sides very copiouſly. In Political Matters, the chief Uſe and Beauty of Hiſtory is, the laying open the ſecret Reaſons of State, upon which all Parties have proceeded: And certainly thoſe who write concerning Matters of Religion, ought to open all that comes in their way, of the Grounds on which any Changes were made.

He thinks all the King's Reaſonings for the Divorce were fully anſwered by Queen *Catherine's* Reaſons againſt it. But he does not conſider that he is in a Communion, in which Tradition is ſet up, as that which muſt decide all Controverſies. King *Henry's* Arguments run all upon Tradition, whereas the Queen pretended to no Tradition, but only brought Arguments of another Sort, which was the way of thoſe called Hereticks: But in that Matter the King inſiſted upon Tradition, the great Topick of *Papiſts*. He Cenſures me for bringing a *Jew* on the Stage, after I had ſet out the Opinions of the Univerſities: But it ſeemed very reaſonable to ſhew the Notions that the *Jews* had of their own Laws.

He returns again to Reflections on the Divorce of *Anne* of *Cleve*. It ſeems he had few Things to reflect on, when in ſo ſhort a Paper he returns twice to the ſame Matter. From her he paſſes to *Anne Bullen*; he fancies my Whole Deſign in Writing, was to eſtabliſh her Deſcent; but that I do not acquit her Mother of the Imputations *Sanders* had laid on her; nor her ſelf of the Amours in the Court of *France*, and K. *Henry's* ill Commerce with her. If the Crown of *England* had remained in a Line derived from that Queen, it might be ſuppoſed that ſome would have wrote on ſuch a Deſign: But that not being the Caſe, there is little Reaſon to think that any Man would have given himſelf the Trouble, only on Deſign to juſtify her Title to the Crown. I have made it fully out that a great Part of *Sanders's* Charge on her, was an ill invented Calumny, to bring her Right to the Crown in Queſtion: And by proving ſome Part of his Relation to be falſe, I have deſtroyed the Credit of the Whole. I cannot be obliged to prove the Negative in every Particular, the Proof lies upon the Affirmative, and the Author of a train of Defamation is ſufficiently diſproved, when it is apparent that ſome Parts of his Relation muſt certainly be falſe. If any of theſe Slanders had been in any ſort believed in that Time, there is no Reaſon to think that the Pope, or

the

the Emperor would have published them : For the Court of *Rome* kept none of the Measures of common Decency with the King. Nor were these Things objected to *Anne Bullen* after that her Unhappy Fate gave some Colour to believe every Thing to her Prejudice. Her Brother and She did both at their Death deny all Criminal Commerce together : Nor was any Thing proved against them, only the Testimony of a Dead Woman was alledged to destroy them.

His last Charge relates to *More* and *Fisher* ; but how this comes to support his Censure of my Manner of Writing is not so clear. I seem in these Matters to write like one that intended to raise their Character, rather than to depresse it : Nor do I justify King *Henry*'s Violencies, but set them out as there is Occasion for it. *More* knew a Law was made, requiring the Subjects to swear to the King as Supreme Head, under the Pain of perpetual Imprisonment ; upon which he ought to have gone out of *England*, since he resolved not to take the Oath. *Fisher* knew that the Nun of *Canterbury* had in very indecent Words foretold the King's Death, and had not revealed it, as he ought to have done.

He says my History reflects much on the Memory of King *Henry*. I did not undertake to write a Panegyrick on him, but only to write the History of that Time : In doing this, as I have discovered the Injustice of many Scandals that have been cast on him, so I have not spared to lay open many ill Practices, when I was obliged to do it, by that impartial Sincerity to which I obliged my self when I undertook that Work : Though he charges me as byassed by Partiality, a Censure I deserved not. But I do more easily submit to his Charging me with my Ignorance of Law, and of Ecclesiastical Antiquity. Such general Censures are little to be regarded : When he is at Leisure to reckon up the Particulars in which I have erred, I shall be very glad to be instructed by him. For though I have looked a little into Law, and Ecclesiastical History, yet I value my self upon nothing but my Sincerity. It is very easy to lay a detracting Character in some general Words upon any Person. The Artifice is so commonly practised, that it will not pass upon any, but those, who by some Prejudices are prepared to take down every Thing that is boldly asserted. It seems that how great a Mind soever he had to find Fault, he could not find much Matter for his Spleen to work on, when in so short a Paper he is forced to return in Three several Places to the Article of the Divorce of *Anne* of *Cleve* : And he shews such an Inclination to Censure, that I have no Reason to think he would have spared me, if he had found greater Matters to have objected to me. So all he says that seems to intimate that, must pass for Words of Course, which ought to make no Impression.

Number

Number IV.

Corrections of the Two Volumes of the History of the Reformation.

Vol. I. Edit. 2.

P. 4. *The Emperor broke his Word,—— the Cardinal dissembled his Resentments,* &c.] I have seen a Collection of this Cardinal's Letters; and amongst 'em, the same Letter (I suppose) that is here quoted: Wherein he presses the Emperor's, and the King his Master's Interest, with great Zeal; and sollicits the new-elected Pope, to join with them against the *French*; and that in such a manner, as seems to leave no Room for Dissimulation. To the same Purpose, in the following Letter. *Collect. MS.* p. 27, 43.

P. 19. *The King sent—the Bishop of* Rochester, &c. *to Sit in that Council.*] The Bishop of *Rochester, &c.* was intended to be sent this Year, and again *An.* 1513,14: But his Journey was stopp'd; as appears both by his own Account of this Matter, and by a *MS. Latin* Life I have of this Bishop, and otherwise.

P. 26. W. Sautre—*burnt by Writ* de Hæretico comb.—*upon what Grounds of Law, I cannot tell.*] Nor will I pretend to say. But from *Fitzherbert* it seems to appear, that this Writ issued, before this Act of Parliament pass'd; [*Fox* places *Sautre*'s Death, *Anno* 1400.] and that the Custom for the Writ had been formerly so. *De Naturâ Brevium,* p. 269.

Ib. *Relating to the Customs beyond Sea.*] From the same *Fitzherbert,* it appears pretty plain, this was the Customary Punishment in *England*: Who quotes *Breton,* Cap. 17. (Cap. 9. it should be) *Heretikes sert auxi comburs & arces, & appiert per ceo Liver, que ceo est le Comen Ley. Quod vide in* Breton, C. 17. Who liv'd many Years before.

The King—writes against Luther.] No doubt this Book was wrote by the King, as other Books were under his Name; that is, by his Bishops, or other Learned Men. Sir *Thomas More* (who must have known the Authors) gives this Account of it, in his *MS.* Life by *Roper*: *That after it was finish'd by his Grace's Appointment, and Consent of the Makers of the same, I was only a Sorter out, and Placer of the Principal Matters therein contain'd.* So it seems others were Makers, and Sir *Thomas More* only a Sorter. By the Style, it was guess'd by some to be wrote by *Erasmus*; and he (in Mirth, I suppose) owns, the King might have hit upon his Style, several Letters having pass'd between them.

P.

P. 22. *The Houses being thus suppress'd by the Law,—belong'd to the King.*] This seems not to agree with what is said *P.* 261. of this Volume.

P. 34, 5. The Queen, under her Picture, is said to be, *Nata* 1486.] The Book *de Visibili Ro. Manarchiâ*, an Authentick Piece, says thus: *Hæc decimum octavum, ille decimum quintum Ætatis Annum, cum hæ Nuptiæ celebrarentur, expleverat.* P. 135. *Sandford*, p. 445.

P. 37. *Made* Longland, *Bishop of* L.—*possess the King's Mind in Confession.*] In a *MS.* Life of Sir *Thomas More*, wrote not many Years after *Longland*'s Death, this Account is given. *I have heard Dr.* Draycot, *that was his* [Longland'*s*] *Chaplain and Chancellor, say, That he once told the Bishop, what Rumor ran; and desired to know of him the very Truth. Who answer'd, That in very deed, he did not break the Matter after that sort, as is said; but the King brake the Matter to him first; and never left urging him, until he had won him to give his Consent—— Of which his Doings, he did sore forethink himself, and repented afterward*, &c. MS. Coll. Eman. Cant.

P. 42. *There is great Reason to think*, Rastal *never writ such a Book, as the Life of Sir* Thomas More.] I do not think the Book was of great Authority; but he wrote such a Book undoubtedly. I have seen, *Certen breef Notes appertaining to Bishope* Fyshere; *Collected out of Sir* Tho. More'*s Lyfe, written by Mr. Justice* Restall; which may be produced, wrote near that Time.

P. 80. *Then was his Palace of* York-House—*seis'd on for the King*, &c.] The House of his See could not be forfeited, or seiz'd. It was convey'd over by him to the King; [the Conveyance confirm'd by the Dean and Chapter of *York*] So his Life by *Cavendish*, Ch. 18. and others.

P. 81. *Lieutenant of the* Tower.] Sir *W. Kingston* was Constable of the *Tower*. So *Cavendish*, Chap. 20.

P. 83. *Another Bill, which because of its singular Nature——and was not printed.*] This Bill was not singular: For *An.* 35 *H.* VIII. there pass'd a Bill of the like, or an Higher Nature, which is printed in the Book of *Statutes*, *An.* 1544. being an Act for the Remission of the Loan, *An.* 35. *Hen.* VIII. c. 12.

P. 85, 6. Your Lordship is very hard upon the *Oxford* Historian. He had other Vouchers besides *Sanders*; one of which I have seen in *MS.* but do not commend his Prudence, in the Representation of that Matter.

P. 86. Your Lordship having been very Nice, in placing the Determination of *Oxford* before that of the *Sorbon*; I presume, your Lordship meant the same Exactness, in placing *Oxford* before *Cambridge*: And yet it pass'd here, before it did at *Oxford*; and was deliver'd to the King at *Windsor*, before *Palm-Sunday*, by Dr. *Buckmaster*, Vicechancellor, *&c. An.* 1529, 30. I have a Letter from Dr. *Buckmaster*, to Dr. *Edmonds*, Master of *Peter-House*, (the same whom your Lordship mistakes for *Edmund Boner*) dated from *Cambridge in Crastino Dominic. Palmarum*, after his Return from *Windso*, giving some Account of that Matter, not very much to our Advantage.

vantage. But I will not imitate the *Oxford* Historian: Tho' I may do him this Right, to say, That in the Conclusion of his Letter, speaking of the Proceedings at *Oxford*, (which, it seems, were tumultuary) he adds, *I hear say also, that Mr.* Provost (It seems, *Fox* was sent down thither likewise) *was there in great Jeopardy.* That is the Word; which, I suppose, implies Danger.

P. 87. *Sixteen Batchellors.*] *Skip, Hadway, Deye, Bayne,* &c. were only *Masters of Arts*, as appears by the Register: So I suppose, by *Magistri in Theologiâ*, may be meant, Masters of Arts, that were *Divines*, as well as *Batchelors*.

P. 89. *No Money nor Bribes given for Subscriptions.*] The Act of Parliament, *An.* 1 *Mar.* Chap. 1. charges Corruption with Money—on the Foreign Universities,——and sinister Working, secret Threatnings, *&c.* on our own. There are several private Authorities to the same Purpose; but I am not concerned to make them good.

P. 91. Crook *died, before he could receive a Reward.*] He lived many Years after, to the Reign of Queen *Mary*; and had the Reward due to his Ingratitude to his Patron, who had provided for him. He is well known at *Cambridge*, as well as at *Oxford*.

P. 102. Laurence—*excommunicated King* Edbald——] *Laurence* did not excommunicate *Edbald*, nor could he; *Edbald* being yet a Heathen; and upon his Conversion, he put away his Wife. *Bed. Hist.* Lib. 2. Cap. 5, 6. *Malmsb.* Lib. 1. But I suppose, your Lordship may follow your Authority; and then all is well.

P. 103. *I could never see either MSS. or Printed Books,—except* Cajetan's, *and* Victoria's.] There was a Book printed at *Lunenburgh*, *Anno* 1532, dedicated to the Emperor's Ambassador in *England*, *Eustathius Chapnysius*, &c. It is against the Divorce; and charges very indirect Practices on the other Side, by Moneys, and Bribes, *&c.* *Cochleus* likewise wrote against the Divorce, *ad Paulum Tertium*; but whether his Book was printed before the Year 1535, I do not know. It was then printed in *Quarto*.

P. 104. *Married his own Sister*, &c.] Not his own Sister, but his Wife's own Sister; or the Sister of one, whom he had carnally known. *Antonin. Flor.* Par. 3. Tit. 1. Cap. 11.

P. 106, 129. Enough has been observ'd upon these Two Pages already; otherwise I have the Proceedings [a Copy] of this Convocation, or Synod, *An.* 1533, (which Mr. *Wharton* seems to place in 1531) from a Publick Instrument, drawn up and attested by a Publick Notary: A further Account whereof, your Lordship may have, if it be of any Use to your Design.

P. 129. *This Protestation—he repeated, when he took the Oath to the Pope*;] That is, publickly, and at his Consecration. I know this has been said; but I wish it could be prov'd. I have Two Letters [*MSS. Latin*] of Cardinal *Pole*, to Archbishop *Cranmer*; wherein he charges him, with having done it only in a private manner, and brands his Proceeding therein with such Expressions, as I am unwilling to transcribe. I have likewise seen a Copy of this Protestation, attested by Publick Notaries; wherein it is said to have been made in St. *Stephen*'s Chapel; but nothing of its being repeat-

ed at his Consecration. If your Lordship has met with any Thing to destroy these Testimonies, I shall be very glad.

P. 137. *Letter—to* Reginald (*soon after Cardinal*) Pole.] He was then Cardinal; for they exhort him to return to his Duty to the King, and to surrender up his Red Hat. *Letter printed* cum Priv.

P. 151. *A Crime of so high a Nature, was so slightly passed over.*] It was not passed over: For *Stow* says, [P. 561.] these Fryars, and all the rest of that Order, were shortly after banish'd;——and that after that, none durst openly oppose themselves against the King's Affections.

P. 155. *Prioress and Convent of the* Dominican *Nuns at* Deptford, *or* Bedford.] *Appen.* I suppose, it should be the Prioress and Convent at *Dartford*, of the Order of St. *Austin*. *Lambard*, p. 448. *Dugdale Mon.* Vol. 2. p. 357.

Ib. *Meeting of the Privy-Council at* Lambeth, *&c.*] Not Privy-Council, (as I suppose): For it is there said, He came before the King's Commissioners. The Abbot of *Westminster*, I suppose, was no Privy-Counsellor; tho' he were a Commissioner.

P. 158. John Hilsey *not Consecrated Bishop of* Rochester *before* 1537.] I am not sure this has not been taken notice of; but I am very sure, from several Authorities, that he was Bishop *An.* 1535.

P. 166. *One* William Tracy *of* Worcestershire,—*his Will brought to the Bishop of* London'*s Court.*] *Tracy* was of *Toddington* in *Glocestershire*. If the Register says, it was brought into the Bishop of *London*'s Court, there is no contradicting such Authority. But *Tyndall*'s Exposition of *Tracy*'s Will, says it was brought before the Archbishop: And in *Fox* [*Commentar. Lat.* p. 125.] the Archbishop is said to have committed the Execution of this Business to Dr. *Parker*, Chancellor of the Diocese of *Worcester*; in which Diocese, *Glocestershire* then was. Nor do I see, how it could be regularly brought into the Bishop of *London*'s Court.

P. 187. Edward *the Confessor founded* Coventry, &c.] *Coventry* was not founded by *Edward* the Confessor, but by Count *Leofric*. *Monast.* Vol. 1. p. 303. *Hist. of* Warw. p. 100.

P. 189. Netherlands, *where the greatest Trade of these Parts was driven*, &c.] Your Lordship has been since better acquainted with the Trade of the *Indies*; which was then (I suppose) chiefly divided betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, and the *Netherlands* had a very small Share. Sir *W. Temple* (P. 75.) gives this Account: *Before the Revolt*, *the Subjects of the* Low-Countries——*never allowed the Trade of the* Indies, *but in the* Spanish *Fleets*, *and under* Spanish *Covert*, &c.

P. 213. Cromwell, *the King's Vicar-General*,—*was not yet Vicegerent.*] In a Publick Instrument, in *Fuller*'s History of *Cambridge*, p. 109, (which we have upon our Registers, and otherwise *MS.*) dated *Octob.* 22. 1535, *Cromwell* is styled *Vicegerent* that Year: And in the Writ of Summons, 1539, (in *Dugdale*) he is styled *Vicarius Generalis*. So that these Two Titles seem to have been us'd promiscuously.

P. 214.

P. 214. Alex. Aless, *a* Scotchman—— *him* Cromwell *brought to the Convocation*, &c.] An Account of this Conference is publish'd by this *Alex. Aless*; by him in *Latin*, translated into *English* by *Edm. Alen*; and he is there styled, *Alex Alane*, *Scot*. He was sent for into *England* by the Lord *Cromwell*, and the Archbishop—— Sent to *Cambridge*— driven thence— withdrew to *London*, where he study'd, and practis'd Physick certain Years— met by chance with the Lord *Cromwell*— who took him with him to *Westminster*— where he found all the Bishops gathered together— unto whom all the Bishops and Prelates did rise up and did Obedience as to their Vicar General— and he sat him down in the Highest Place— then follows an Account of the Debate, and how the Bishops were divided--- but, I think, he places this Meeting (I have not the Book by me) in the Year 1537. The Book is without Date, so it does not appear when it was printed.

P. 221. *Book de Unione Ecclesiastia.*] The Title is, *De Unitate Ecclesiasticâ*. I have not seen the First Edition, being very scarce, and having been kept up in a few Hands; but it was Re-printed in *Germany*, *Anno* 1555, said in the Preface to have been printed Fifteen Years before; that is, about the Year 1540: But I think there are some Things said in the Body of the Book, that suppose it to be printed sooner. It was without Date.

P. 224. Betlesden *in* Bedfordshire.] It is in *Buckinghamshire*. Ib. *None of our Writers have taken notice of this*— *Dugdale* in his *Monast*. Vol. 3. P. 21. has taken notice of two such New Foundations, *viz. Bisham* in *Berks*; and *Stixwould*, *Linc*.

P. 252. Cranmer *at that Time of* Luther's *Opinion.*] *Cranmer* at his Tryal being asked what Doctrine he taught concerning this Sacrament, when he condemned *Lambert* the Sacramentary, expressly says, *I maintained then the Papists Doctrine*. *Fox* Vol. 3. P. 656. Nor could he well otherwise have argued against *Lambert*, as he then did. To name no more Authorities.

P. 256. *All the Parl. Abbots had their Writs.*] According to *Dugdale*, the Abbots of St. *Edmundsbury* and *Tavestoke*, were not summon'd to this Parliament, *Apr*. 28, 1539.

P. 266, 7. *The opposite Party*— Bonner, *&c.*] This does not seem to agree with what is said after, p. 299. *Hitherto he* (Bonner) *had acted another Part— now began to show his Nature*, &c.

P. 296. *But his Friends complained to the King— he being a Privy Councellor.*] *Gardiner* in his *Declaration of such true Articles*, &c. Printed *An*. 1546, 8vo. says, he complain'd himself to the King; and expresly says, *when* Barnes *was sent to the* Tower, *I was not of the Privy Council*— He seems not to have been much employ'd at this Time, having been left out of the Number of those that compiled the King's Book, or not acting.

P. 303. Cranmer *set out an Order.*] This Order I have seen printed 1541, amongst Archbishop *Parker*'s Papers, but it was with the Consent of the other Archbishop, and most of the Bishops.

P. 347. *The Coronation of the Prince of* Wales.] I think *Creation* is the usual Term at this Solemnity.

P. 349 *To discover Things— hitherto unknown.*] This has been taken notice of by *Lesley*, (a noted Author, and your Lordship's Countryman; and the Testimonies of my Lord *Paget*, Sir *Edward Montague*, and this *Clark* there appealed to— after follows— *Quæ Testimonia cum juramento perhibita, postquam diligenter & circumspectè perpensa atq; examinata fuissent, Maria Regina de Sententia Consiliationum suorum, ad Honorem Dei & Regni, ad veritatis & Justitiæ Patrocinium, & Legitimæ in Regnum Successionis, ad multa nefanda mala devitanda, quæ illa corruptione ex illo figmento, consecutura erant, jussit exemplar Memoriale suppostitii Testamenti, quod extabat in Cancellariâ conscindi, expungi, aboleri tanquam indignum quod inter vera & in corrupta Nobilissimi Regni exemplaria locum obtineret — Jo. Leslæus, de titulo & jure Serenissimi Principis Mariæ Scotiæ Reginæ, quo Regni Angliæ Successionem sibi juste vindicat. Rhemis* 1586, P. 43, 44. I think it was publish'd in *English* sooner.

P. 356. *That* Fisher *and he penned the Book.*] It is true Sir *Tho. More* was only a Sorter, and *Fisher* could be no more than one of the Makers, though some have asserted it to be his Work alone. But as to Sir *Tho. More*'s Testimony, I think it may with much more Reason be taken from *Roper* his Son-in-Law, who marry'd his beloved Daughter, and knew his inward Thoughts, than from a Letter to a Minister of State, where *loquendum cum Vulgo.* Your Lordship is a very able Judge of Stile, and of the Elegancy wherewith this Book is wrote: Your Lordship has given us a Specimen of the King's Stile, in the Marginal Notes of the last Page of this Volume, P. 368. I dare appeal to your Lordship whether you think the Style to be the same. The last Words are so Elegant, that I cannot forbear reciting them. *Cum qua nec Pontifex Romanus, nec quivis alius Prælatus aut Pontifex, habet quicquid agere, præterquam in suas Dioceses.*

However, I am very willing the King should enjoy the Honour of his Book, provided I am allow'd to enjoy my Opinion.

Upon this Occasion, I have only to add, that whereas this Life of Sir *Tho. More* by *Roper* is somewhere cited, P. 279, as printed, (if I am not mistaken) I think I may be positive it was never printed. I have it in Manuscript. Sir *Tho. More*'s Life was twice printed in 4to and in 8vo, and by different Hands, but neither of them by *Roper*, though both of them have borrow'd from him pretty freely.

P. 362. Gardiner— *and Three other Priests— executed.*] *Gardiner* was executed, the other Three were pardon'd, according to an Account I have seen, MS. Their Names are there said to be Master *More*, Master *Heyhode*, and Master *Roper*.

Collection

Collection of RECORDS.

P. 186. *Dr. Clyss.*]We had no such Doctor at *Cambridge* : I suppose it may be a Mistake of the Press, for Dr. *Cliff*; of which Name there were Two, and both of them *Civilians.*

P. 178. *Injunctions by* Cromwell.] These Injunctions exhibited *Anno* 1538. were Printed by *Barthelet* cum Priv. containing some small Variations, which might have been noted in the Margin, (as some other little things might) but they are not considerable.

P. 201. *MSS. Dr.* Stillfleet.] I can do your Lordship that Right to say, that these MSS. are Published with Faithfulness enough ; only they might have been quoted as my Lord *Salisbury*'s, to whom they belong ; and are probably Two of these Six or Seven Volumes, said P. 171. of this Volume to have been in the Hands of my Lord *Burghley.* There are some few Omissions, or Verbal Mistakes, which might have been noted in the Margin ; I shall only mention some few that alter the Sense. P. 215. *Justification by the Word,* Institution by the Word, MS. Ib. *receive them,* retain them, MS. And the same Page, for *Conjunction* should be read Commixtion. P. 216. *Significantia,* Sanctificantia, MS. P. 223. *Apostolicis,* Apostolis, MS. P. 227. *Multisque aliis,* nullisque aliis, MS. P. 229. *Prophetam,* Prophetiam, MS. P. 232. *Lacius,* Laicus, MS. P. 238. *Eleventh,* Fifteenth, MS. P. 240. *nonnullis,* novellis, MS. And after *Sentence,* should be read *of Excommunication.* P. 243. *Authors,* Doctors, MS. Such Mistakes might easily happen, either through the Neglect of the Transcriber, or of the Press.

I shall not enter into the Criticism of *T. Cantuarion* to *Leighton*'s Paper. The meaning is more plain in *Robertson*'s ; for he not having subscribed his Name at the end of his Paper, the Arch-bishop might add his own to attest it ; and *Robertson*'s Name afterwards appearing at the beginning of his Paper, the Bishop might dash his own Name, as it now stands, if done by the same Hand.

P. 257. *A Collection of Passages out of the Canon-Law,* &c.] Here your Lordship must have trusted an unskilful Amanuensis : The Copy is so full of Mistakes, I will note a few.

P. 257. *De summa excom.* De Sententia, MS. *Nominat,* noverit, MS. P. 258. *A vecta memoria,* A recta memoir, MS. *Efficiund,* officium, MS. *De Summa,* De Sententia, MS. P. 259. Electi *proprietate,* Potestate, MS. *Si modo,* Sinodum, MS. *Non vos,* non nos MS. *De pecunia,* De pœnitentia, MS. *Poprietate,* Potestate, MS. P. 260. *Proprietate* [bis] Potestate, MS. *Fælicum,* Fœlicis, MS. P. 261. *Ex Clericus,* Quod Clericus, MS. *Si vero,* Quod vero, MS. *Si quibus,* Si quis, MS. *De Summa,* De Sententia, MS. *Nom,* noverit, MS. *De pecuniis,* Pœnitentiis, MS. *Si,* Etsi, MS. *Ad usus,* Adversus, MS. *Nor is it not,* nor it is not, MS. P. 262. *Et quæ sequitur,* quæ sequuntur, MS. *Si quisquis,* Si quisquam, MS. *Quicunque,* Quæcunque, MS. P. 263. In *Clementini,* Clementinis,

3 MS.

MS. *Per excelsa*, pre excelsa, MS. *De præmiis*, De pænitentiis, MS. *De summa*, De sententia, MS. P. 264. *Ut verum*, ut jejuni, MS.

History of the Reformation, Vol. II. Edit. 2.

PAge 1. *Lost his Mother the Day after he was Born.*] The King's Journal, printed by your Lordship, says, *within few Days after the Birth of her Son, died.* *Geo. Lilly*, who liv'd at the same Time, and near the Place, says, *Duodecimo post die moritur*—*Chron.* And so the Continuation of *Fabian*, *Octob.* 23. These seem to be the best Authorities.

P. 17. *The next Day the Seal was put into the Lord St.* John's *Hands.*] 29 *Junii sigillum magnum Will. Pawlet Militi Domino S. Jo. de Basing liberatum fuit. Pat.* 1. *Edw.* 6. *P.* 4. *Dugdal. Orig. Jurid.*

P. 39. *The Lord* Rich *made Lord Chancellor on the 24th of Octob.*] *Rich. Rich Miles Dominus Rich constitutus Cancellarius Angliæ* 30. *Nov. Pat.* 1. *Edw.* 6. *P.* 3. *M.* 14. *Dugdal ibid.*

P. 58. *There is another Paper given in— but most of the Fathers there cited, are of the later Ages*, &c.] The Fathers and Canons cited in that Paper are, *Hermes*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Basil*, *Ambrose*, *Jerome*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome* : The Councils of *Arles*, *Elvira*, and *Milevi.* If any modern Authorities are cited, I have not noted them.

P. 62. *The Bishops of* London, Worcester, Chichester, *and* Hereford, *gave in their Answers once in one Paper.*] The Bishops of *London*, *Worcester*, *Chichester*, and *Hereford*'s Answers related to another set of Questions.

Ib. Cranmer'*s Hand is over every one of them.*] *Cranmer*'s Hand is not over *Richard Cox*, nor *W. Menevens.* nor *John Taylor*'s ; who have subscribed their own Names.

Ib. *Dr.* Cox *hath set his Hand and Seal to his Answer.*] I can assure your Lordship, there is no Mystery in this. *Cox* had sent in his Paper folded, and closed with Wax : The Foldings yet remain, according to which Foldings the Paper had been seal'd, which is now torn, where it had been sealed, and some of the Paper left upon the Wax.

P. 88. Bucer *and* Fagius *invited over to* England, *and sent to* Cambridge, *where* Fagius *died soon after.*] This your Lordship seems to place in the Year 1548 ; whereas they did not leave *Germany* till *April* 1549, and *Fagius* died in *November* following. I have his Will, proved *Jan.* 12. 1549.

P. 92. *Thus had this Matter been argued in Books—written by* Parker, &c.] *Parker*'s Book was not wrote till the Reign of Queen *Mary*, *ad leniendum suum in illa Marianâ Persecutione mærorem*— as said in his Life ; nor publish'd till the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, and could have no Relation to this Reign.

P. 100. *What his Behaviour was on the Scaffold, I do not find.*] There is a pretty Remarkable Account of his Death and Behaviour, in Bishop *Latymer*'s Fourth Sermon, *Edit.* 1. *p.* 56. (left out of the following Editions) where, amongst other Things, he says, *He* [the Admiral] *dyed very dangerously, yrksomelye, horryblye.* And surely so he did, if the Letters referr'd to by him on the Scaffold were genuine, which *Latymer* says he saw.

P. 120. *They were required to procure a Resignation of some Colleges, and to unite them with others,* &c.] There were no other Colleges to be suppress'd, besides *Clare-Hall,* in order to found a New College of *Civilians,* either by Uniting it to *Trinity-Hall,* or by Augmenting the Number of *Trinity-Hall* to Twenty Fellows; as appears by King *Edward*'s Statutes, (drawn up before the Visitors came down) compar'd with his Injunctions, (all upon the *Black Book*) drawn up after.

Indeed *Trinity-Hall* was to be surrender'd, in order to the Union, or New Foundation; wherein *Gardiner,* Bishop of *Winchester,* then Master, did good Service: Who refus'd to Surrender; and that, I suppose, partly upon Politick Reasons. For had he parted with his Old House, he would never have been made Master of the New Law-College, tho' he were Doctor both of the Canon and Civil Law.

P. 121. *Mr.* Cheek——*was either put from the Chair, or willingly left it to avoid the Indignation of so great a Man—as* Gardiner *was,* &c.] *Cheek* was not put from the Chair; nor did he part with it, till after he was sent for by the King to instruct the Prince; as appears from the Account of the Life of his Successor, *Nicholas Carr,* p. 59, and otherwise.

P. 129. *The Confusions this Year, occasion'd that Change to be made in the Office of dayly Prayers, where the Answere to the Petition,* [Give Peace in our Time, O Lord] *was now made,* [Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God]. This, my Lord, I do not well understand: For this Petition and Answer stand in the First Liturgy of *Edward* the Sixth, Fol. 4.

P. 154. *The Earl of* Warwick—*writ earnestly in his* [Hooper'*s*] *Behalf, to the Archbishop, to dispense—with the Oath of Canonical Obedience at his Consecration,* &c.] The Oath of Canonical Obedience, (as printed in the Form of Consecration, *An.* 1549,) is so unexceptionable, that there seems to be no Ground for Scruple; being only a Promise of all due Reverence and Obedience to the Archbishop, *&c.* It seems to have been the Oath of Supremacy, which at that time contain'd Expressions more liable to Exception, being a kind of *&c*-Oath, requiring Obedience *to Acts and Statutes, made or to be made*; and concluding with, *So helpe me God, All Sainctes,* &c.

Fuller, who was once of Opinion, that it was the Oath of Canonical Obedience that *Hooper* scrupled, yet alter'd his Opinion [*Worthies in* Somersetshire, *p.* 22.] upon these, or such like Reasons. If *Parsons* his Authority were of any Weight, he expresly says, it was the Oath of Supremacy. *De tribus Convers.* Par. 3. Chap. 6. Sect. 68.

Ibid.

Ibid. John Alasco, *with a Congregation of* Germans, *that fled from their Country—upon the* Interim, &c.] They were most of them *Netherlanders*, or *French*, (only a few *Germans*) and consequently not concern'd with the *Interim*; and the Language they officiated in, was the *Low-German* and *French*, &c. *Utenhov. Narrat. de Institut. & Dissipat. Belgarum*, &c. P. 12, 28, &c. Those that went off with *Alasco*, were *Low-Germans*, *French*, *English*, or *Scots*. Ib. p. 22. This seems confirm'd, by what is said P. 250 of this Volume, of their being of the *Helvetian Confession*, and of their Reception in *Denmark*. However, I am not positive, further than *Utenhovius*'s Account will bear me out, which I have not by me.

P. 162. *Dr.* Smith—*was brought to* London, *upon Complaints*—Cranmer *got his Sureties to be discharged*; *upon which he writ him a Letter.—Soon after he writ another Letter to* Cranmer, &c.] These Letters I have seen: I can assure your Lordship, they are wrote to *Parker*, not to *Cranmer*: And if your Lordship has any doubt of it, I can make it very evident.

P. 163. *He* (Dr. *Smith*) *had made a Recantation— of some Opinions—but what these were—the Journal does not inform us.*] The Particulars were, 1. Concerning Submission to Governors in Church and State. 2. Concerning Unwritten Traditions. 3. Concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass, *&c.* As may be seen in his Retractation, printed at *London*, *An.* 1547 *cum Priv.* entituled, *A Godly and Faithful Retractation, made and published at* Paul's-*Cross in* London, Anno 1547, 15 May; *by Master* Richard Smith, *D. D. and Reader of the King's Majesties Lecture in* Oxford; *revoking therein certain Errors and Faults, by him committed in some of his Books.* It was repeated at *Oxford*, *July* the 24th, the same Year.

Ib. M. Bucer *died—on the* 28*th of* February.] It is not very material, whether he died this Day, or the Day after: But he died the 1st of *March*, if *Parker* and *Haddon*'s Account may be taken, who were present, and bore a Part at his Funeral, and were Executors of his Will.

Nicholas Carr likewise present, says, *Calendis Martiis*, in his Letter to *Cheke*. These, I suppose, are the best Authorities.

P. 165. Griffith *and* Leyson, *Two Civilians.*] *Griffith Leyson* was only one Civilian: The other Civilian was, *John Oliver*, L. L. D.

P. 196. ——*said in the* Preface *of the Book, that* Cranmer *did the whole Work almost himself.*] All that I find in that *Preface*, is, that these Thirty two were divided into Four Classes; and that what was concluded in one Class, was to be communicated to the rest; and that *Summæ Negotij præfuit* Tho. Crannerus, *Archiep' Cant'*; as it was fit he should preside.

Ib. *Dr.* Haddon, *that was University-Orator at* Cambridge.] *Haddon* never was University-Orator at *Cambridge*; as appears from a very Exact Catalogue upon the Orator's Book, and otherwise.

P. 204. Wanchop, *a* Scotchman—*who tho' he was blind*—] He was not blind, only short-sighted: *Il quale Huomo di brevissima vi-*

sta

sta era commendato di questa virtu, di correr alla posta meglio d' huomo del mondo. Hist. del Conc. Trid. l. 2. p. 144.

P. 240. *The Queen—received them all very favourably, except—* Dr. Ridley.—— *She gladly laid hold on any Colour, to be more severe to him,—for bringing* Boner *to* London *again.*] There needed no Colours; he had given too just Offence. In a *MS.* C. C. C. *Miscel. P.* this Account is given.

Sunday, *July 16th*, *Dr.* Ridley *Bishop of* London, *preach'd at* Paul's-*Cross*: *Where he declared in his Sermon—the Lady* Mary *and* Elizabeth *to be Illegitimate, and not lawfully begotten*, &c. *according to God's Law;——and so found, both by the Clergy and Acts of Parliament, in* Henry *the* VIIIth's *Time; which the People murmured at.*

P. 244. *Himself* [Cranmer] *perform'd all the Offices of the Burial*, &c.] It is highly improbable, that he who was now under Displeasure, about this Time confin'd to his House, and soon after to the *Tower*, should be allow'd to Perform these Offices in such manner. *Godwin* [An. 1553.] *Annal.* says,— *Concionem habente Daio Cicestr. Episcopo, qui etiam sacrum peregit vernacula usus Anglicana, & Eucharistiam præsentibus exhibuit*, &c. To the same Purpose *Holingshed*, Vol. 2. p. 1089. And I never could meet with any good Authority for the contrary, except your Lordship's.

P. 248. ——*Against all that would not change their Religion*:] Speaking of Judge *Hales*. Judge *Hales* did Change his Religion: So *Fox*, Vol. 3. p. 957. *Judge* Hales *never fell into that Inconvenience, before he had consented to* Papistry. This, probably, was one great Occasion of his Melancholy. So *Fox*, more expresly in the First Edition of his Book, p. 1116. *He was cast forthwith into a great Repentance of the Deed, and into a Terror of Conscience*——And *Bradford* [*Letters of the Martyrs*, p. 384.] proposes him as an Example, of one *that was fearfully left of God to our Admonition.*

P. 251. *He* [Horn] *had refused to accept of his Bishoprick*—] As far as I understand his Meaning, this was meant of the Administration of Episcopal Power: For *Horn* having said, The Bishop *was not asham'd to lay to my Charge,—that I had exercised his Office in his Bishoprick*; answers, —*I never meddled with his Office: I was in daunger of much displeasure,—bycause I wold not take upon me his Office*, &c.

P. 252. *One* Beal, *Clerk of the Council.*] His Name in *Fox* is *Hales*, Vol. 3. p. 976.

P. 272. *She* [the Lady *Jane*] *sent her* Greek *Testament—to her Sister, with a Letter in the same Language.*] The Letter, I suppose, must have been wrote in *English*, as it stands in *Fox*, Vol. 3. p. 35. and as printed amongst the Letters of the *Martyrs*, p. 662.

Ibid. That Lady, under her Picture, is said to have been *Nata* 1537.] According to *Ascham*, (who may be suppos'd, to have given in her Age at lowest) She was aged Fifteen, in the Year 1550, when he found her Reading *Plato's Phædon* in *Greek*; which was very unusual at that Age, but would have been Extraordinary indeed at Thirteen.

P. 275. Goodrick, *of* Ely, *died in* April *this Year.*] There is an Institution upon his Register, by his Authority, *May* 9th 1554: And in a Catalogue of their Bishops, upon their *Black Book*, it is said, *Decimo Maij, Anno Dom.* 1554,—*mortem obiit apud Somersham, &c.* This, I think, has been taken notice of: I only mention it, because it is from unquestionable Authority.

P. 277. *Dr.* Martin—*studied the Law at* Bourges; *where* Francis Baldvin *had publickly noted him for his Lewdness, as being not only over-run himself with the* French *P-x*;—*which* Baldvin *certified in a Letter.*] This Letter I have now by me, printed in *Bale's* Declaration of *Bonet's* Articles, *Fol.* 47, 48. But it was not *Martin*, but his Host, that was over-run with the *French* P-x: *Habitabat in Acad. Biturigum, apud quendam nomine Boium, Sacrificulum turpissimum,—toto corpore leprosum, & infami morbo Gallico infectum*: Tho' *Martin's* Character there is bad enough.

P. 279. *The* Spaniards *gave*—*Occasion, by Publishing* Philip's *Pedigree,*—*from* John of Gaunt:——*This made* Gardiner *look*—*to the Liberties of the Crown*, &c.] If *John Bale* be good Authority, the *English* were forward enough, *in Setting forth Genealogies from* John à Gaunt;——Gardiner, White, *and* Harpsfield *maintaining the same.* Ibid. Fol. 9.

P. 284. *The Letters of the Prisoners*—*gathered*—*and all printed by* Fox,—*and put into the Library of* Emanuel-*College, by Sir* Walter Mildmay, &c.] Most of these Letters are printed by *Fox*; but your Lordship knows, the Letters of the Martyrs were publish'd in a distinct Volume, with a Preface by *Coverdale*, (probably the Publisher) and printed by *John Day*, *An.* 1564; which I could have wish'd, had been taken Notice of by your Lordship in this Place.

P. 292. I have noted under Cardinal *Pole's* Picture, from *Ciaconius*, and *Petramellarius*, that he was at last Cardinal-Presbyter, (tho' first only Deacon) which will hardly consist with what is said *Vol.* 1. *p.* 221. that *he did not rise above the Degree of a Deacon*; tho' I suppose, Cardinals are of equal Dignity.

P. 302. Here I could have wish'd, your Lordship had taken notice of *Hooper's* Loyalty; which was very signal, as appears from his Printed Apology. *When She was at the worst, I rode my self from Place to Place, (as it is well known) to win and stay the People for her Party. And whereas another was proclaimed; I preferred Her, notwithstanding the Proclamations.*——*I sent Horses out of both Shires,* (Glocester *and* Worcester) *to serve her in her great Danger; as Sir* John Talbot, *Kt. and* William Ligon, *Esq*; *can testify*, &c. And more to this Purpose.

P. 317. William Wolley——*burnt at* Ely;—*where* Shaxton,—*now Suffragan of* Ely, *condemned them.*] *Shaxton* could not condemn them, being there only as an Assistant: They were condemned by *John Fuller*, L. L. D. '*Vicarium in Spiritualibus Domini Thomæ Episcopi Elien.*—*& ejusdem Commissarium*—*legitimè constitutum,*—*ad negotia infra Scripta expediend.*—*in Capellâ B. Mariæ Elien.*—*assistentibus ei tunc ibid. Rev. in Christo Patre Nicholao*— *modo Suffra-*

gano Episcopo. — *Rob. Steward Decano Elien. Jo. Christopherson S. T. B. Decano Norvic. &c. Registr. Thyrlby,* Fol. 81, 82, where the Process may be seen.

P. 320. Gardiner's *Picture.*] If your Lordship has seen this Picture with the Seals, *&c.* it must be *Gardiner*'s; though I have seen Two Pictures at *Trinity* College, and *Trinity* Hall, said to be *Gardiner*'s, very unlike this. I have often suspected it to belong to *Horn*, who was a severe rough sort of a Man, and gives the Bugle Horns for his Arms (but without a Chevron); which though they are said to belong to the *Gardiners*, yet *Gardiner* when he was Chancellor of *Cambridge*, gives different (Paternal) Arms, as may be seen in the Appendix to Archbishop *Parker*'s *Antiq. Brit.*

Poinet, his Successor, describes him thus— *He had a hanging Look, frowning Brows, Eyes an inch within the Head, a Nose hooked like a* Buffard, *wide Nostrils like a* Horse,— *a* Sparrow *Mouth*, &c. And truly by this Description, it may be *Gardiner*'s.

P. 337. John Hallier, *a Priest, was burnt at* Canterbury.] *John Hullier*, a Priest, was burnt at *Cambridge*, as appears from *Thirlby*'s Register. He is there said to have been Vicar of *Badburham*; of which Vicaridge he was first depriv'd, and afterwards burnt, for maintaining Erroneous and Heretical Opinions. *Fox*, (*P.* 696) likewise says he was burnt at *Cambridge*, as also the Letters of the Martyrs, P. 517.

P. 339. Knox *had written indecently of the Emperor*, &c.] This my Lord, is rather too soft an Expression, *Knox* was accus'd of Treason against the Emperor, his Son, and the Queen of *England*, as may be seen in *the Troubles of* Frankford, where the Words are reported at large. p. 44.

P. 340. — *Brought him*, (Pool) *under the Suspicion of having procur'd his* (Cranmer's) *Death.* From your Lordship's Opinion of the Cardinal's Probity and Vertue, p. 370, I think I can clear him from this Suspicion from his own Letter, MS. where he thus accosts *Cranmer. Ea est mea salutis tuæ cura ac studium, ut si te ab horribili illâ, quæ tibi nisi resipiscas, impendet, non solum Corporis, sed Animæ etiam mortis Sententiâ, ullo modo liberare possem, id profectò omnibus divitiis atque honoribus, qui cuiquam in hac vitâ contingere possint (Deum testor) libentissime anteponerem. MS. p.* 54.

P. 341. *I have not met with her Foundation of it* (Westminster) *which perhaps was razed*— The King and Queen's Licence, or Patent. Dat. *Sept.* 7. *An.* 3. and 4. *P. M.* may be met with in *Rymer*, (*Apostol. Benedict.* P. 233.) and as there said, *habetur* 12. *Parte Patentum.* The rest, I suppose, was done by the Pope's Authority. The Cardinal's Licence (towards the Suppressing of the College) may be met with in the *Monastic.* Vol. II. p. 847.

P. 353. Peyto *had begun his Journey into* England— *Stopt his Journey*, &c.] From the Answer to *English* Justice, (suppos'd to be wrote by Sir *Will. Cecil*, or by his Order) it appears that *Peyto* was now in *England*, p. 20, 23, *&c.* Edit. *Lat.* p. 48; as likewise from the Answer, p. 147, 149. *Ciaconius* says the same Thing *An. Dom.* 1557. and *Pallavicini* Hist. *Conc. Trid.* Lib. 14. Cap. 2. 5. (and that he was then an Old Decrepit Man) besides other Authorities that

might be nam'd, if it were material. It was the Bulls that were ſtopt at *Calice*, with the Nuncio, or Bearer, which may have occaſion'd the Miſtake of *Godwin*, and others.

P. 364. *He that writ the Preface to Biſhop* Ridley's *Book* De Cœnâ Domini, *ſuppoſed to be* Grindal.] The Author of the Preface to *Ridley*'s Book, was *William Wittingham*, according to *Bale* (p. 684, 731.) who knew the Man very well, as well as his Writings.

P. 369. *Reſerving nothing to himſelf, but* Pool's *Breviary, and Diary.*] *Ex quibus Polus Deum precari ſolitus erat, Breviarium vocamus & diurnale. Becatell.* p. 80.

P. 374. *On the* 19*th at* Highgate *all the Biſhops met her*, &c.] The Queen was at *Hatfield*, *Nov.* 20. and yet there, *Nov.* 22. as appears from a Regiſter, or Council-Book, which I have ſeen. *Nov.* 24. She was at the *Charter-Houſe*, and not ſooner, as far as appears from that Book. *Nov.* 25. She was yet at the *Charter-Houſe*; it does not appear from thence that ſhe was at the *Tower* 'till *Decemb.* 1.

P. 395. *The laſt* (Coverdale) *being Old, had no mind to return to his Biſhoprick.*] I ſuppoſe *Coverdale* might have other Reaſons, for in a Book Intitl'd, *Part of a Regiſter*, I find him rank'd with thoſe that then, or ſoon after, were ſtyled *Puritans*. p. 12, 23, 25, *&c.* and having been of the *Engliſh* Congregation at *Geneva*, might probably there receive a Tincture, that he could not be brought co conſent to Impoſitions. (*Troubles of* Frankfort, p. 188, 215.) This further appear'd by his Practice at Archbiſhop *Parker*'s Conſecration, where, *Togâ lancâ talari utebatur*; and if he would not uſe the Epiſcopal Habits on ſuch an Occaſion, I am fully perſwaded he never would. However, it was very well in your Lordſhip to treat him with Tenderneſs, he having been a peaceable good Man, and a very uſeful Inſtrument in the Reformation.

P. 396. Boner *was ſuffered to go about in ſafety.*] Biſhop *Andrews*, who gives a very particular Account of the Treatment of the ſeveral Biſhops, has this Account of *Boner*— *Bonerus autem Londinenſis, qui regnante Mariâ cum leniente præeſſet, in odium veneret omni Populo (ut nec tutum eſſet ei prodire in publicum, ne ſaxis obrueretur) ille quidem in carcere conſenuit*— Tort. Torti, P. 146, 147.

P. 396. Watſon, *a moroſe ſullen Man— given to Scholaſtical Divinity*, &c.] *Watſon*, who was Fellow, and Maſter, of St. *John*'s College, was noted for polite Learning; I ſuppoſe, it was Dr. *John Watſon*, that was given to Scholaſtical Divinity, ſtyled *Scotiſt* by *Eraſmus*.

Collection of RECORDS.

PAge 125, Numb. 20. *Simpliciter & Uxor Viro.*] Similiter & Uxor Viro, MS. *Possunt aliis nubere.* Poteſt alii nubere, MS. *Æquo jure juxta*— Æquo jure qu illæ juxta, &c. MS.

P. 134. *The Sacrament of Thanks.*] The Sacrament of the Altar, MS. *Dr. Tyler*— D. Tayler, MS. *De Populo*— De Poculo, MS. P. 137. *Scil.* (bis) Chriſti (bis) MS. And betwixt the 3d and 4th Anſwer of the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, MS. has theſe Words, *The Prayers of the Prieſt in the Maſs, having before him the Precious Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, by the Teſtimony of St.* Auſtin, *St.* Chryſoſtome, *and other Antient Fathers, are of great Efficacy, and much to be eſteemed.*

P. 139. *Mark* 19.] Mark 14, MS. *Communicating* - Communing, MS. P. 140. *Frequent* — Fervent, MS. P. 141. *Caveant*—— Caveat, MS. Ib. *Come daily*—— Commune daily, MS. P. 145. *Convenient.* Expedient, MS. P. 147. After *Paul Ep. Briſtol.* Dr. *Cox*, becauſe all the Benefits of the Maſs, do alſo appertain unto the People, it were very convenient to uſe ſuch Speech therein, which the People might underſtand, MS. Ib. Queſt. 10. After *Lincoln*'s Anſwer. Dr. *Cox*, I ſuppoſe that the Reſervation of the Sacrament began about the Time of *Ambroſe*, *Jerome*, and *Auguſtine*. When it began I cannot tell, and for what Purpoſe it ſhould hang there, I cannot tell, MS.

P. 148. *Some Queſtions*, &c.] Before the Queſtions thus, *London*, *Worceſter*, *Chicheſter*, *Hereford.* On the Back of the Paper thus, *Worceſter*, *Chicheſter*, and *Hereford.* Firſt Anſwer, for *far and ſundry.* Far aſunder, MS.

P. 157. Numb. 30. *Continuing.* Conteyning, MS. C. C. C. P. 158. *To marry a Wife.* To marry One Wife, &c.

P. 249. *A Manifeſto*— *by* Cranmer, &c. This was printed, *An.* 1554 by *V. Pollanus*, under this Title, *Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patris ac Domini D. Archiepiſcopi Cant. Epiſtola Apologetica*; which ſeems a more proper Expreſſion for a Subject.

P. 386. *I do not find One Head of a College* —*was turned out*, &c.] *Day*, Provoſt of *King*'s, was not turned out (as has been ſaid by Mr. *Wharton*) for he reſigned, though perhaps not altogether voluntarily, though his Reſignation is ſaid to be voluntary. But *Rowland Swinburn*, Maſter of *Clare*-Hall, was certainly turned out by the King's Viſitors, as appears from a Journal of the Viſitation, MS. C. C. C. a Copy whereof I have, nor can there be any doubt, but *Gardiner* was turned out at *Trinity*-Hall, where his Succeſſors, *Haddon* and *Mowſe*, are ſtyled Maſters *de facto*.

P. 396. Coverdale *not married.*] *Coverdale* was married; he and *Machabeus* married Two Siſters. *Fox*, Vol. III. p. 182. *Hollingſhed*, Vol II. p. 1309. ſpeaks of *Coverdale*'s Wife twice in one

Page

Page. Eight of the Proteſtant Biſhops in this Reign were married. *Parkhurſt*, Epigram *Juv.* p. 56, 165, 6.

Apol. p. 241. 2d *Edit.* 1533.

In the Introduction Sir *Tho. More* is quoted, as calling Convocations Confederacies. It is not he that calls them ſo, but the Perſon whom he Anſwers; for the Words that go before ſhew this very clearly. *But, I ſuppoſe, he calleth thoſe Aſſemblies at the Convocations by the Name of Confederacies. For, but if he do ſo. I wot nere what he meaneth by that Word. And on the t'other ſide if he do ſo, for ought that I ſee, he giveth a good Thinge, and an Holſome, an Odyouſe Heighnouſe Name. For if they do aſſemble after*, &c.

Number V.

Some Remarks ſent me by an unknown Perſon.

KEilway's Reports were publiſhed 1602, by *Jo. Crook*, who was afterwards a Judge. He gives a Character of *Keilway*, as a Lawyer of good Reputation; and that he was Surveyor of the Courts of Wards in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign. It appears that the King's ordering the Attorney General to confeſs Dr. *Horſey*'s Plea, without bringing the Matter to a Trial, was plainly a Contrivance to pleaſe the Clergy, and to ſtifle that Matter without bringing it to a Trial, and ſo muſt have ſatisfied them better than if he had pardoned him. Little Regard is to be given to *Raſtall*, who ſhewed his Partiality in Matters in which the Pope's Authority was concerned; for in his Edition of the Statutes at Large, he omitted one Act of Parliament made in the 2d Year of *Richard* the Second, Cap 6. which is thus abridged by *Poulton*. *Urban* was duly choſen Pope, and ſo ought to be accepted and obeyed: Upon which the Lord *Coke* in his *Inſtitutes*, p. 274. infers, that Antiently Acts of Parliament were made concerning the Higheſt Spiritual Matters; but it ſeems *Raſtall* had no mind to let that be known. He was a Judge in Queen *Mary*'s Time, but went beyond Sea, and lived in *Flanders* in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and there he wrote, and printed his Book of Entries.

There is a very ſingular Inſtance in the Year Book, 43. *Ed.* 3. 33. 6. by which it appears, that the Biſhop of *Litchfield* was ſometimes called the Biſhop of *Cheſter*; for a *Quare Impedit* was brought by the King

againſt

against him called Bishop of *Chester* : The Judgment given at the End of it, is, That he should go to the *Great Devil*. This is a singular Instance of an Extraordinary Judgment ; there being no Precedent like it in all our Records.

In *Brook*'s Abridgment, *Tit. Præmunire*, Sect. 21. it is said, That *Barlow* had, in the Reign of *Edward* the VIth, deprived the Dean of *Wells*, (which was a Donative) and had thereby incurred a *Præmunire* ; and that he was forced to use Means to obtain his Pardon : So if he had not his Bishoprick confirmed, by a New Grant of it, he must have lost it, in a Judgment against him in a *Præmunire*. And if he wrote any such Book, it was in order to the obtaining his Pardon. *Brook* was Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, in the 1st of Queen *Mary* : But yet it is no ways probable, that *Barlow* wrote any such Book, as is mention'd P. 270. of the Second Volume of the History of the *Reformation* : For he went out of *England*, and came back in the 1st of Queen *Elizabeth*. He assisted in the Consecration of Archbishop *Parker*, and was made Bishop of *Chichester* ; which probably would not have been done, if he had written any such Book, unless he had made a Publick Recantation of it ; which I do not find that he did. So there is Reason to believe, that was a Book put out in his Name by some Papist, on design to cast a Reproach on the *Reformation*. This is further confirmed, by what I have put in the History : For by a Letter of *Sampson*'s it appears, that *Barlow* did feebly promise to be reconciled to the Church of *Rome* : But it seems, that was only an Effect of Weakness, since he quickly got beyond Sea ; into which the Privy-Council made an Enquiry : That shews, that he repented of that which was extorted from him.

'There are in this Paper some Quotations out of *Harmer*'s *Speci-*
'*men*, on which General Remarks are made, but Particulars are not
'added. The Writer of this has not thought fit to name himself to
'me ; so I can give no other Description of him, but that he seems to be
'a Person who has studied the Law, and perused our Historians care-
'fully.

Number VI.

Observations and Corrections of the Two Volumes of the History of the Reformation, *made by Mr.* Strype.

PAge 50. Lin. 20. *Stophileus* was a Bishop ; *Simoneta* was Dean of the *Rota*.

P. 54.

P. 54. l. 10. S. *Greg. Caſſali* was not then at *Rome*, but at *Orviet*, where the Pope was at that Time. *Stophileus* was not yet come: And when he came, he did not promote, but hinder'd the King's Buſineſs all he could. See *Gardiner*'s Letters.

P. 55. l. 10. This was the Third Commiſſion ſent from the Pope. The Firſt was ſent from *Rome* by *Gambera*, and the Second from *Orvieto*, brought over by *Fox*, but both were diſliked; ſo this was now obtained.

P. 86. l. 32. *Boner* was an *Oxford* Man: But this was Dr. *Edmonds*, Maſter of *Peter-Houſe*.

P. 112. l. 19. from the Bottom. *They cried out.* It was only *One*: *Quidam reſpondebat.* Jour. Convoc.

Ibid. l. 3. from the Bottom. For 42 r. 62, in the Lower-Houſe 36 preſent; Proxies 48: In all 84.

P. 126. l. 7. *Stow* is in the right: For in a Letter of *Cranmer*'s to *Hawkins*, then the King's Ambaſſador with the Emperor, dated in *June* from *Croydon*, he wrote, *Q.* Anne *was married much about St.* Paul'*s Day laſt*; *as the Condition thereof doth well appear, by reaſon She is now ſomewhat big with Child.*

Ibid. l. 11. *Cranmer* was not preſent at the Marriage. For in the ſame Letter he writes, *Notwithſtanding it hath been reported throughout a great Part of the Realm, that I married her*; *which was plainly falſe: For I my ſelf knew not thereof a Fortnight after it was done. And many other Things be reported of me, which be mere Lies and Tales.*

P. 128. l. 7. from the Bottom. For 13, r. 30.

P. 129. l. 13. from Bott. The Number of thoſe who Voted being only 23, muſt be underſtood only of the *Divines*: For the Second Queſtion was put only to the *Juriſts*, who (in thoſe Times) exceeded the *Divines* in Number, and they did all Vote in the Affirmative: So that the Numbers did far exceed 23.

P. 131. l. 2. *Cranmer*, in a Letter, gives this Account of the Final Sentence of Divorce, in theſe Words: " As touching the final " Determination and Concluding of the Matter of Divorce, between " my Lady *Katherine* and the King's Grace: After the Convocation " in that behalf had determined and agreed, according to the former Sentence of the Univerſities; it was thought convenient, by " the King and his Learned Council, that I ſhould repair to *Dunſtable*,——and there to call her before me, to hear final Sentence in this ſaid Matter. Notwithſtanding She would not at all " obey thereunto. On the 8th of *May*, according to the ſaid Appointment, I came to *Dunſtable*; my Lord of *Lincoln* being aſſiſtant to me: And my Lord of *Wincheſter*, Dr. *Bell*, Dr. *Claybroke*, " Dr. *Tregonnel*, Dr. *Sterkey*, Dr. *Olyver*, Dr. *Britton*, Mr. *Bedel*, " with divers others Learned in the Law, being Counſellors for " the King. And ſo there, at our coming, kept a Court, for the " Appearance of the ſaid Lady *Katherine*: Where we examined " certain Witneſſes; who teſtified that She was lawfully cited,—and " called to appear, as the Proceſs of the Law thereunto belongeth: " Which continued Fifteen Days, after our firſt coming thither. " The Morrow after *Aſcenſion-Day*, I gave Sentence therein; How

" that it was indispensible for the Pope, to License any such Marriage". All this is taken out of *Cranmer*'s Letter to *Hawkins*.

P. 134. l. 3. Q. *Elizabeth* was born the 13th or 14th Day of *September*: For so *Cranmer* wrote to *Hawkins*; and says, That he himself was Godfather at her Christening, and the Old Dutchess of *Norfolk*, and the Marchioness of *Dorset*, were Godmothers.

P. 166. l. 11. *Tracy*'s Business was never in the Bishop of *London*'s Court: It was brought into the Convocation, by the *Prolocutor*, on the 24th of *February* 1530; and after 80 Days, the Archbishop gave Sentence against the Will, and condemned it. In another Session, the Bishop of *London* read the Sentence in the Archbishop's Name. It was also decreed, that *Tracy* died a Heretick, and his Body was ordered to be dug up, and cast a great way from Ecclesiastical Sepulture. The *Prolocutor* had indeed moved, that his Body should be burnt; but the Sentence went not so far: Yet the Execution of it being committed to *Parker*, Chancellor of *Worcester*, he went further than the Sentence warranted him, and burnt the Body.

P. 192. l. 20. For *Two Hundred Nobles*, r. *Twenty Nobles*. L. 25. for *Dear*, r. *Good*.

P. 198. l. 18. After *writ*, add, *by Sir* William Kingston, *to Secretary* Cromwell.

P. 220. l. 8. After *Cott. Libr.* in the Margin, add *Otho* C. 10.

P. 203. l. 19. For *Privy-Council*, r. *his Learned Council in the Law Spiritual.*

P. 204. l. 15. and 14. from the Bott. For *Cooke*, r. *Loke*; and for *Wetspall*, r. *Wythspall*.

Ibid. l. 13. from Bott. For *of those*, r. *bothe*; that is, *of other*.

P. 226. l. 25. The 7th Article is wholly omitted, for Providing a Bible in *Latin* and *English*, and laying it in the Quire.

P. 245. l. 5. Not a Convocation, but a Commission from the King, to Bishops and other Learned Divines. L. 7. add, Both the Archbishops, and 17 Bishops.

P. 247. l. 14. *Summer* saith, *that* Becket'*s Bones were burnt to Ashes*.

P. 327. l. 18. For *Cardine*, r. *Cawardin*.

Collection of RECORDS.

PAge 95. l. 4. It is not *Cranmer*'s own Hand, but writ by another; but after every Article, follows the Proof of it. This seems to be *Cranmer*'s Original Book, presented to the King.

P. 127. l. 4. from the Bottom. For *many*, r. *Men*.

P. 148. l. 25. *Reonen*, perhaps *Roanen*: *King*, Abbot of *Osney*, had the Title *Episcopus Roanansis*: He was afterwards Bishop of *Oxford*.

P. 162. Here is a whole Article left out, marked before, now inserted in this Volume.

P. 163. l. 13. from the Bottom. This Letter is writ in *Morison's* Hand, who was *Cromwell's* Secretary.

P. 180. l. 6. After *and* r. *wall.* L. 7. Remove the Comma from *duly*, and set it after *otherwise.*

P. 183. l. 21. For *Ministry*, r. *Minister.* L. 2. from the Bottom, after *in*, r. *his.*

P. 184. l. 2. For 6, r. 7. L. 19. *here*, r. *bear.* L. 3. add *H. R.*

P. 200. l. 16. This Letter was drawn by *Gardiner*; but it is not certain that it was sent.

P. 203. The Agreement at the End of these Questions is in *Cranmer's* Hand. *Cott.* Libr. *Cleopatra*, E. 5.

P. 257. l. 5. There are 26 more Books prohibited at this Time, as appears by a *MS.* of the Bishop of *Ely's*; which follow:

1. *The* A B C *against the Clergy.*
2. *The Book made by Fryar* Roys, *against the Seven Sacraments.*
3. *The Wicked Mammon.*
4. *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon.*
5. *The Liberty of a Christian Man.*
6. Ortulus Animæ, *in* English.
7. *The Supper of the Lord*; *by* G. Joye.
8. Frith's *Disputation against Purgatory.*
9. Tyndal's *Answer to Sir* T. More's *Defence of Purgatory.*
10. *The Prologue to* Genesis, *translated by* Tindal.
11, 12, 13, 14. *The Prologues to the other Four Books of* Moses.
15. *The Obedience of a Christian Man.*
16. *The Book made by Sir* John Oldcastle.
17. *The Summ of Scripture.*
18. *The Preface before the* Psalter, *in* English.
19. *The Dialogue between the Gentleman and the Ploughman.*
20. *The Book of* Jonas, *in* English.
21. *The Dialogue of* Goodale.
22. Defensorium Paris; *out of* Latin *into* English.
23. *The Summ of Christianity.*
24. *The Mirror of them that be Sick and in Pain.*
25. *Treatise of the Supper of Lord*; *by* Calwyn. [I suppose it is *Calvin.*]
26. *Every one of* Calwyn's *Works.*

P. 257. l. 12. Add, *written by* Tyndal. L. 16. for *4th* r. *7th.* L. 19. for *and* r. *ad.* L. 23. *and* r. *ad.*

P. 315. l. 18. Add *de Corariis*, an Abbey in *East-Smithfield.* L. 25. add, *& Procurator Cleri Coven. & Litchf.* L. 26. dele *Litchfield.* 2 Col. l. 1. r. *Prior five.* L. 6. r. *Buckfestria.* L. 15. add *de Helvenham.* L. 17. add *Bruera.* After l. 25. add *Nicolas Medcalfe.*

P. 316.

P. 316. l. 6. For *Har*, r. *Bar*. L. 12. r. *Arche*. L. 18. For *Samil*, r. *Savile*.

P. 316, and 319. Two Papers said to be *Cranmer*'s, but they are not written by him, nor by his Secretary: So it does not appear that they are his.

Ib. l. 18. For *discrepet*, r. *discredit*.

P. 324. *Col.* 3. l. 14. It is not *Redman*: It is difficult to be read. It seems to be *Edmondes*.

P. 364. l. 6. For *the*, r. *our*. L. 16. For *Directors probable*, r. *direct and probable*.

P. 368. l. 8. Of the Marg. set Comma's after *acceptione*, and *unitate*, and *dele Aunexa*.

Ib. l. 20. *Sic tamen ut eorum jussio atque*. L. *ult*. for *alius*, r. *aliquis*.

Corrections of the Second Volume.

PAge 1. l. 10. fr. bott. Queen *Jane* died the 24th of *October*, in a Journal written by *Cecil*, that was in 12 Days after King *Edward*'s Birth: So it is in the *Herald*'s Office. Last Line, The Duke of *Suffolk* was Godfather at his Confirmation, not at his Baptism.

P. 13. l. 11. fr. bott. For *Sheen*, r. *Syon*.

P. 15. l. 9. fr. bott. For *Richard*, r. *Robert*.

P. 26. l. 19. This Rule was not observed; in some Circuits there were Four Visitors; in others Six; in some no Civilians; in some Two Divines; in some One Gentleman; and in some Three. See *Cranmer*'s Mem. p. 146.

P. 27. l. 10. These Titles are not as they are in the Original Book: They are only abridged.

P. 28. l. 1. Many Articles and Injunctions: The Injunctions are only abstracted, not the Articles.

P. 29. l. 17. These Articles are not in Bishop *Sparrow*'s Collection, but were printed *Anno* 1547.

P. 39. l. 6. fr. bott. *Cloth of State*, not mentioned.

P. 40. l. 1. The Lord *Rich* made the Speech mentioned, though not inserted in the Lord's Journal. L. 2. for *December*, r. *November*. L. 5. 23, r. 24.

P. 43. l. 29. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* might use his own Name in all Faculties and Dispensations.

P. 50. l. 10. For *Tyler*, r. *Taylour*.

P. 71. l. 1. This Catechism was first made in *Latin* by another, but translated by *Cranmer*'s Order, and it was reviewed by him.

P. 81. l. 23. This Proclamation was printed by *Grafton*, among King *Edward*'s Proclamations.

P. 94. l. 19. *Rugg*, Bishop of *Norwich*, was not Employed in Compiling the Book, the other Three were.

P. 97. l. *ult.* For 12000, r. 10000.

P. 113. l. 15. fr. bott. After *Articles*, add, *before this they drew up their Demands in Seven Articles.*

P. 117. l. 23. That the Service might be sung, or said, in the Choir.

P. 120. l. 12. fr. bott. The Two Colleges of *Clare*-Hall and *Trinity*-Hall, could not be brought to surrender, in order to the Uniting them: Some Visitors were for doing it by the King's Absolute Power; to this *Ridley* would not agree, and for this he was complained of.

P. 150. l. 19. fr. bott. The Duke of *Somerset* was not then fallen; it was between his Two Falls: The Proceedings in Council are signed by him. L. 18. *Fox* says it, It is so in King *Edward*'s Journal.

P. 154. l. *Penult.* The Passport was signed in *March* 1554, to go with 4 Servants, and 3 Horses.

P. 159. l. 20. For *Beginning*, say the 24th. L. 32. These Reasons were drawn up by *Ridley*.

P. 162. l. 19. fr. bott. This was not before *Cranmer*, but long after, before Archbishop *Parker*.

P. 165. l. 3. *Soon after*, r. *Sometime before*, it was on the 14th of *Feb.*

P. 166. l 5. The greater Part of the Bishops were Enemies to the Reformation.

P. 171. l. 18. fr. bott. The Name of the Sixth was *Knox*.

P. 176. l. 4. fr. bott. And both lie buried in the Chancel of *Bugden* Church, they dying at the Bishop's House.

P. 182. l. 24. fr. bott. He was Sick before; for a Commission was granted to some to do the Business of the *Chancery*.

P. 196. l. 24. fr. bott. For *First*, r. *Eleventh*. L. 7. fr. bott. *Cranmer*'s Part is thus expressed, *Summæ Negotii præfuit*. L. 5. *Haddon* was the King's Professor of *Civil-Law*, and not the University Orator.

P. 219. l. 25. Instead of *Pagnel*, undoubtedly by *Alexander Nowel*. L. 7. fr. bott. *John*, r. *Richard*.

P. 233. l. 5. fr. bott. *Cranmer* came at this Time oft to Council.

P. 234. l. 7. On the 8th of *July* also, they sent for the Mayor and certain Aldermen, and told them of the King's Death, and of the Succession; but bade them keep it secret. L. 18. give Pardon, r. she wrote, *she was ready to remit and pardon; and that she could take their Doings in good Part.*

P. 235. l. 28. For *Robert*, r. *Richard*.

P. 237. l. 10. fr. bott. For *Suffolk*, r. *Sussex*.

P. 243. l. 3. Yet in the 2d Session of this Parliament, a private Act passed, to make void the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Attainder. L. 25. for *Humphrey*, r. *Henry*.

P. 246. l. 11. It was not her First Proclamation: For on the 19th of *July* she had by a Proclamation taken on her the Imperial Crown of the Realm.

P. 247. l. *ult.* *Circuits*, r. *the Quarter-Sessions.*

P. 248.

P. 248. l. 3. *Marshalsea*, r. *the King's Bench.* L. 5. The Reason of the Wounding himself was the Trouble of Mind that he felt for his Compliance, upon Bishop *Days*'s Communication with him the Day before.

P. 251. l. 7. fr. bott. *The Tenth*, r. *the Fifth.*

P. 252. l. 1. *The Day of her Coronation*, r. *a Month before*, for it was on the 1st of *September.* L. 24. *the Tenth*, r. *the Fifth.* This Mistake is taken from *Fabian* and *Fox*.

P. 253. l. 1. Yet *Tregonnel*, a Prebendary of *Westminster*, sate in the House in the 2d Sessions of this Parliament. L. 15. After *Prison*, r. *for Treason, Petty-Treason, or Misprision of Treason* : *Such were also excepted who stood attainted, or imprisoned the last Day of* September.

P. 257. l. 16. For 3*d of* November, r. *the Thirteenth.*

P. 259. l. 13. fr. bott. Card. *Pole* was stopped in his Journey by *Mendoza*, sent Post to him from the Emperor, desiring him not to proceed in his Journey, upon which he went back to *Diling*, a Town belonging to the Card. of *Ausbourg*.

P. 262. l. 16. fr. bott. After *Esther*, add *Judith*, Mary *the Sister of* Martha, *and the Virgin* Mary.

P. 286. false printed for 270. L. 2. fr. bott. *Poinet* wrote a Book to justify resisting the Queen, which I have seen.

P. 272. l. 5. fr. bott. For 21, r. 23.

P. 273. l. 26. *Cheek* was sent to the *Tower* with the Duke of *Suffolk*, and had Licence to travel. L. 30. *They did not render themselves, but were seized in their Journey* ; *bound and thrown into a Cart, and sent Prisoners to* England. L. 6. fr. bott. Seven Persons were discovered to be Complices : The Words spoken from the Wall were against the Queen, the Prince of *Spain*, the Mass, and Confession.

P. 276. l. 16. He was married, and had 7 Sons, and 5 Daughters. L. 23. *Harvey*, r. *Harley.*

P. 279. l. 2. fr. bott. The Bill was to *avoid*, and not to *revive* the Statute of the Six Articles.

P. 281. l. 8. fr. bott. Thrice in One Day. It was read twice on the 19th, and the 3d Time on the 20th.

P. 275. l. 10. fr. bott. *Hopton*, by the Regist. of *Cant.* was consecrated the 28th of *October* ; *Anthony Harmer*, p. 134. says it was the 25th of *October.*

P. 314. l. 24. For *Lease*, r. *Leafe.*

P. 315. l. 29. 25th of *June*, r. on the 12th of *July.* L. 33. *Stoning*, r. *Stening.* L. 26. *Sheterden.*

P. 317. l. 17. fr. bott. For *Weybridge*, r. *Uxbridge.* L. 11. fr. bott. *Wharwood*, r. *Harwood.* L. 10. fr. bott. After *marked*, r. *And in this Month of* August, Richard Hook *suffered at* Chichester. L. 3. fr. bott. For *Wolley*, r. *Wolsey.*

P. 318. l. 2. *Shaxton* did not condemn them : *Fuller* the Bishop's Chancellor condemned them : *Steyward* Dean of *Ely*, and *Christopherson* Dean of *Norwich*, with others, were in the Commission, but the Chancellor was the Chief.

P. 320. l. 6. fr. bott. For *Edward the VIth*, r. *Edward the IVth.*

P. 321.

P. 321. l. 8. fr. bott. *Heath* was appointed Chancellor on New-Years-Day.

P. 323. l. 15. The 13th of *December*. The Parliament was dissolved on the 9th of *December*. L. 24. *Justices of Peace*. The Bill was that no Servants to Gentlemen, and wearing their Cloths, (except the King and Queen's) should be Justices. It was read the 2d Time on the 12th of *November*.

P. 324. l. 28. After 50000 *l.* and with it to have made a Rebellion. L. 29. For *Petham*, r. *Perkham*. L. 30. *White* was not executed, he discovered the Conspiracy. Ibid. For *Felony*, r. *High-Treason, and were executed accordingly; there were Eight who suffered; the Three besides those named were* Rosses, Bedyland, Dethick.

P. 325. l. 13. fr. bott. Cardinal *Pole* had Two Brothers, *Arthur* and *Jeffrey*, both arraigned in the Year 1562, for a Conspiracy against Queen *Elizabeth*. *David* was not his Brother, nor a Bastard; for there is no Bull of Dispensation in his Favour, among those sent over at that Time.

P. 346. l. 15. The Reason given in the Cardinal's Letter for raising her Body, is, *Quoniam juxta Corpus Sanctissimæ Fridernidæ jurabat Corpus Catherinæ Uxoris P. Martyris*.

P. 353. l. 12. The Queen and *Philip* both wrote to the Pope in Favour of Cardinal *Pole*; the Letter is dated, *May* 21. shewing how serviceable he had been in restoring Religion in *England*. The Parliament seconded this by another Letter. L. 15. *Heresy*; they were 22 in Number, their Submission is in *Fox*, p. 17, 92.

P. 360. l. 29. The Complaint was against all the *French* Denisons, as well as others, but the Act was more favourable. L. 4. fr. bott. and p. 361. l. 4. *Coxley*, r. *Copley*.

P. 363. l. 7. fr. bott. For the 19th *May*, r. 26th. L. 6. fr. bott. For 3 *Men*, r. 2 *Men and* 1 *Woman*. There were indeed Three Men burnt on the 19th of *May* at *Norwich*, not at *Colchester*.

P. 364. l. 7. Martial Law: The Words of the Proclamation are *according to the Order of the Martial Law*. L. 17. fr. bott. Lord *Burleigh* in the *Execution of Justice*, says there died by Imprisonment, Torments, Famine, and the Fire, near 400: On this we may depend.

P. 370. l. 20. She understood, and wrote well, both in *Spanish* and *French*.

P. 374. l. 14. Queen *Elizabeth* stayed some Days at *Hatfield*; she came to the *Charter-House*, 24. *November*. On the 28th, she went to the *Tower*, and came to *Westminster* on the 23d of *December*.

P. 375. l. 8. fr. bott. The Earl of *Pembroke* favoured the Reformation.

P. 376. l. 1. For *Parr*, r. *Parry*.

P. 378. l. 17. fr. bott. For 5 *December*, r. 13. L. 11. fr. bott. *'till the Parliament; the Council set him at Liberty on the* 19*th* Jan. and the Parliament met on the 25th.

P. 387. l. 7. The Bishop of *Duresme* came not to the Parliament, for his Presence was needed in the *North*, for guarding the Marches against the *Scots*, and the *French*, ready to invade *England*.

L. 19. The Bishop of *Ely* was absent, being in an Embassy at *Cambray*; but was come over on the 17th of *April*, and joined with the other Dissenting Bishops.

P. 389. l. 12. *Cole*'s Speech seems to be a Reply to *Horn*, and so should be set after it.

P. 393. l. 4. Abbot *Feckenham* made that Speech, and not *Hethe*.

P. 396. l. 7. The Oath was tender'd to them in *July*. L. 11. *Christopherson* died before the Parliament met.

P. 397. l. 9. For *Thomas*, r. *Richard*. L. 22. This Matter belongs to the Year 1560, or 1561.

P. 400. l. 10. from the Bottom. This was not a High Commission, warranted by Act of Parliament; but a Commission for a Royal Visitation, by Virtue of the Queen's Supremacy.

P. 402. l. 19. from the Bottom. The 8th of *July*: *Mason* has it the 18th of *July*.

P. 403. l. 23. For *Par*, r. *Scambler*. L. 28. *May* Dean of St. *Paul*'s, was Elected Archbishop; but died before he was Consecrated.

P. 406. l. 21. from the Bott. *A. P. C.* stands for *Andrew Pierson Cantuar*. L. 18. from bott. *A. P. E.* stands for *Andrew Pern Eliensis*. L. 12. from bott. *C. G.* stands for *Christopher Goodman*.

P. 407. l. 9. The New Translation of the *Bible* was not printed before the Year 1572.

Collection of RECORDS.

PAge 6. l. 17. For *Thomas*, r. *William*.

P. 11. l. 19. For *Char.* r. *Chartres*.

P. 16. l. 4. from the Bottom. For *Tates*, r. *Gates*.

P. 21. l. 7. For 1200000, r. 120000. L. 24. for *Richumber*, r. *Ricebank*.

P. 23. l. 18. from bott. *Archer*, r. *Aucher*.

P. 24. l. 25. *Crasted*, r. *Croftis*. L. 11. from the Bottom, *Tates* r. *Gates*.

P. 25. l. *ult.* Dr. *John Olyver* was the other Lawyer.

P. 37. l. 27. For *Seditiously*, r. *Seditious*; and for *attagned*, r. *attached*. L. 28. for *James*, r. *Thomas*. L. 29. *attagned*, *attached*. L. 16. from the Bottom, for *R.* r. *Rabble*.

P. 42. l. 24. from Bott. *on*, *Confessed*, r. *on Confession*. L. 4. from Bott. The Name was *Knox*.

P. 45. l. 18. *Roberts*, r. *Robert*.

P. 51. l. *ult.* For *Lecister*, r. *Lister*.

P. 52. l. 15. *The* Pirry, *the Mintmaster*; r. *that* Pirry *the Mintmaster*. L. 16. for *Brabanion*, r. *Brabazon*. L. 10. from Bottom, *August Pyso*, r. *August Py*, *so*.

P. 61. l. 16. *Archer*, r. *Aucher*.

P. 63.

P. 63. l. 27. *Sturley*, r. *Strelly*.

P. 103. l. *penult*. For *Barker*, r. *Bakere*.

P. 105. l. 8. For *Water-cloth*, r. *Auter-cloth*. L. 24. for *good*, r. *God*. L. 37. *à quo Sancta*, r. *qui Sanctorum*. L. 8. from the Bottom, before *Realme*, r. *Noble*.

P. 115. l. 3. from Bott. For *Jane*, r. *Jent*.

P. 117. l. 24. For *Soveraigne*, r. *Conscience*.

P. 148. l. 1. These Queries were put by *Cranmer* to those Bishops; but this Paper is all in *Boner's* Hand, with whom these Three Bishops agreed. L. 11. for *sundry*, r. *asunder*. In the Margin, set *London* first.

P. 149. l. *ult*. After these Answers, follows a Reply by *Cranmer*, in other Queries; as, "If you cannot tell what and where the Acts "of *John* can profit *Thomus*, being so far distant from him, that he "can never hear of him; Why do you then affirm that to be true, "which you cannot tell how, nor wherein it can be true?

"Whether our Praiers for al the Souls departed, do profit the A-"postles, Prophets and Martyrs?

"Whether they know all the Actions of every Man here in Earth? "And if not; how do they rejoice of those good Actions, which "they know not?

"Whether our Evil Deeds do them hurt, as our Good Deeds pro-"fit them?

"Whether the Presentation of the Body and Blood of Christ, do "stand in all the Words and Actions that the Priest useth in the "Mass, which now we do use?

"Whereby is it known, that in the Primitive Church were Priests, "that preached not?

"Why may not we as well alter the Mass into the *English* Tongue, or alter the Ceremonies of the same, as we alter the Communion "to be under both Kynds, that in other Churches is Uniformly "Ministred to the People under one Kind; seeing that the Uni-"formity of al Churches, requireth no more the Uniformity in one, "than in the other?

P. 183. l. 5. from Bott. For *Security*, r. *Surety*.

P. 184. l. 4. Dele *such*. L. 21. for *daily*, r. *diligently*.

P. 205. l. 20. After *another*, r. *holding up the Forefingers*. L. 24. for *saying*, r. *sacring*.

P. 206. at Bottom, follow *Proverbs* the 5th: *The Ear that hearkeneth to the Reformation of Life, shall dwell among the wise: He that refuseth to be Reformed, despiseth his own Soul: but he that submitteth himself to Correction, is wise.*

3. Reg. 18. *Elias, How long halt ye between two Opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him; but if* Baal *be he, go after him.*

P. 208. This Letter was not written to Archbishop *Cranmer*, but to Archbishop *Parker*.

P. 232. Set on the Margin here, *Ex Chartophylacro Regio.*

P. 234. l. 2. from the Bottom. For *met*, r. *meant*.

P. 239. This seems not to be the Proclamation, declaring *Jane Grey* to be Queen; but rather her Letters-Patents, declarative of her Right of Succession.

P. 243. in the Margin. For *C.* 20. r. *C.* 10. The same Error is in *P.* 245, and 246.

P. 252. l. *ult:* For *Ungodlinesss*, r. *Ungodly Rate.*

P. 253. l. 2. *Slander*, r. *no little Slander.* L. 11. After *Diocese*, r. *and Jurisdictions.* L. 20. *to them*, for *to thende.* L. 30. *Hand*, r. *Signet.* L. 5. from the Bottom. After *Person*, r. *with other Persons.*

P. 254. l. 13. from Bott. After *Officers*, r. *as they.*

P. 255. l. 5. from Bott. For *Unthiftiness*, r. *Unchristiness.* L. 4. from Bott. Dele *each.*

P. 269. The 17th Article is in the *MS.* scratched out, and crossed.

P. 282. l. 8. Add *Councellour.*

P. 283. l. 6. After *Cousins*, add *other.* L. 20. For 26, r. 25. *L.* 12. from the Bottom. For *their* r. *the.* L. 9. from the Bott. For *and* r. *or.*

P. 284. l. 16: After *amongst*, r. *nigh.* L. 4. from the Bottom, after *Sessions*, r. *at the least once.*

P. 314. l. 16. from the Bottom. Put a *Comma* between *Dudley* and *Ashton.* L. 4. from Bott. *Pronouncing*, r. *Procuring.*

P. 315. l. 14. *Perseverance*, r. *Preservation.*

P. 328. l. 16. from Bott. For *Heed*, r. *Head.*

P. 329. l. 20. *Came*, twice, for *can.*

P. 330. l. 12. For *fear*, r. *too far.* L. 14. *Oppresse*, r. *represse.*

P. 331. l. 4. After *more*, r. *Chaplains* : After *Memory*, r. *said* : After *the*, r. *seldomer* : Dele *or.* L. 7. from the Bottom, *Renew*, r. *review* : Dele *certain.* L. 6. from the Bott. *When*, r. *where.*

P. 337. l. 22. At the End of this Paper, there is added in the *MS.* Testimonies confirming it, out of *Ambrose*, *Jerom*, *Chrysostom*, *Dionysius*, *Cyprian* and *Austin*, and the *Constitution* of *Justinian*; and they are to be seen printed in *Fox*'s first Edition. The Names at the End are not Subscriptions : They are added in *Parker*'s Hand; who forgot to write *Sands* among them, for he was one of them.

P. 348. l. 7. For *G*, r. *E*; for his Name was *Edward.* Set in the Margin, to *Number* 6. *Ex MSS.* C. C. C. *Miscellanea* B.

P. 350. l. 11. Set here in the Margin, *Paper-Office.*

P. 396. l. 20. *Worchester*, r. *Winchester*. Lin. *ult.* *Worcester* was not entirely suppress'd: For he was entitled Bishop of *Worcester*, and enjoyed a great Part of the Revenues of *Glocester* and *Worcester*, and kept great Hospitality with them.

P. 398. l. 8. from the Bottom. Queen *Mary* did set forth in *August* 1553, a Proclamation, *for Assigning the Value of the Coin.*

A TA-

A TABLE OF THE Records and Papers That are in the COLLECTION,

With which the Places in the Hiftory to which they relate, are marked: The Firft Number, with the Letter *C*, is the Page of the *Collection*; The Second, with the Letter *H*, is the Page of the *Hiftory*.

BOOK I, II, III.

30. *Instru-*

Collection of RECORDS, belonging to BOOK IV, V, VI.

10. *King*

An *APPENDIX*.

FINIS.